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HIS MOST GRACIOUS MAJESTY.

THE ACTS AND MONUMENTS OF JOHN FOXE.

VOL. V.

ACTES
and Monuments
of these latter and perillous dayes,
touching matters of the Church,
wherein are comprehended and described
the great persecutions & horrible troubles,
that haue bene wrought and practised by
the Romishe Prelates, speciallye in this
Realme of England and Scotlande,
from the yeare of our Lorde a
thousande, unto the tyme
nowe present.
Gathered and collected according to the
true copies and wrytinges certificatorie as wel
of the parties themselues that suffered,
as also out of the Bishops Registers,
which wer the doers therof,
by John Foxe.
¶ Imprinted at London by Iohn Day,
dwellyng ouer Aldersgate.
Cum priuilegio Regie Majestatis.

THE ACTS AND MONUMENTS OF JOHN FOXE:

A NEW AND COMPLETE EDITION:

WITH A PRELIMINARY DISSERTATION,

BY THE

REV. GEORGE TOWNSEND, M.A.

OF TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE,

PREBENDARY OF DURHAM,
AND VICAR OF NORTHALLERTON, YORKSHIRE.

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AND CHAPLAIN TO THE RIGHT HONOURABLE THE EARL OF SCARBROUGH.

VOL. V.

A-l-24

PUBLISHED BY R. B. SEELEY AND W. BURNSIDE;
AND SOLD BY L. & G. SEELEY,
FLEET STREET, LONDON.
M DCCC XXXVIII.

TOWN ACT
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LONDON:
PRINTED BY R. CLAY, BREAD-STREET-HILL,
DOCTORS' COMMONS.

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ACTS AND MONUMENTS.

VOL. V.

ACTS AND MONUMENTS.

CONTINUATION OF BOOK VIII.

PERTAINING TO

THE LAST THREE HUNDRED YEARS FROM THE LOOSING OUT OF SATAN.

CONTINUING THE HISTORY OF ENGLISH MATTERS APPERTAINING TO BOTH STATES, AS WELL ECCLESIASTICAL, AS CIVIL AND TEMPORAL.[1]

The Story, Examination, Death, and Martyrdom of John Frith.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1533.

AMONGST all other chances lamentable, there hath been none a long time which seemed unto me more grievous, than the lamentable death and cruel handling of John Frith, so learned and excellent a young man; who had so profited in all kind of learning and knowledge, that there was scarcely his equal amongst all his companions; and who besides, withal, had such a godliness of life joined with his doctrine, that it was hard to judge in which of them he was more commendable, being greatly praiseworthy in them both: but as touching his doctrine, by the grace of Christ we will speak hereafter.

Of the great godliness which was in him, this may serve for experiment sufficient, for that notwithstanding his other manifold and singular gifts and ornaments of the mind, in him most pregnant, wherewithal he might have opened an easy way unto honour and dignity, notwithstanding he rather chose wholly to consecrate himself unto the church of Christ, excellently showing forth, and practising in himself, the precept so highly commended of the philosophers, touching the life of man: which life, they say, is given unto us in such sort, that how much the better the man is, so much the less he should live unto himself, but unto others, serving for the common utility; and that we should think a great part of our birth to be due unto our parents, a greater part unto our country, and the greatest part of all to be bestowed upon the church, if we will be counted good men. First of all he began his study at Cambridge; in whom

(1) Edition 1563, p. 497. Ed. 1570, p. 1178. Ed. 1576, p. 1004. Ed. 1583, p. 1031. Ed. 1597, p. 941. Ed. 1684, vol. ii. p. 250.—ED.

Henry VIII. A. D. 1533.

nature had planted, being but a child, marvellous instinctions and love unto learning, whereunto he was addicted. He had also a wonderful promptness of wit, and a ready capacity to receive and understand any thing, insomuch that he seemed not only to be sent unto learning, but also born for the same purpose. Neither was there any diligence wanting in him, equal unto that towardness, or worthy of his disposition; whereby it came to pass, that he was not only a lover of learning, but also became an exquisite learned man; in which exercise when he had diligently laboured certain years, not without great profit both of Latin and Greek, at last he fell into knowledge and acquaintance with William Tyndale, through whose instructions he first received into his heart the seed of the gospel and sincere godliness.

At that time Thomas Wolsey, cardinal of York, prepared to build a college in Oxford, marvellously sumptuous, which had the name and title of Frideswide, but is now named Christ's-church, not so much (as it is thought) for the love and zeal that he bare unto learning, as for an ambitious desire of glory and renown, and to leave a perpetual name unto posterity. But that building, he being cut off by the stroke of death (for he was sent for unto the king, accused of certain crimes, and in the way, by immoderate purgations, killed himself), was left partly begun, partly half ended and imperfect, and nothing else save only the kitchen was fully finished. Whereupon Rodulph Gualter, a learned man, being then in Oxford, and beholding the college, said these words in Latin: "Egregium opus, cardinalis iste instituit collegium, et absolvit popinam." How large and ample those buildings should have been, what sumptuous cost should have been bestowed upon the same, may easily be perceived by that which is already builded, as the kitchen, the hall, and certain chambers, where there is such curious graving and workmanship of stonecutters, that all things on every side did glister for the excellency of the workmanship, for the fineness of the matter, with the gilt antics and embossings; insomuch that if all the rest had been finished to that determinate end as it was begun, it might well have excelled not only all colleges of students, but also palaces of princes. This ambitious cardinal gathered together into that college whatsoever excellent thing there was in the whole realm, either vestments, vessels, or other ornaments, beside provision of all kind of precious things. Besides that, he also appointed unto that company all such men as were found to excel in any kind of learning and knowledge; to recite all whose names in order would be too long. The chief of those who were called from Cambridge were these: Master Clerk, master of arts, of thirty-four years of age; Master Frier, afterwards doctor of physic, and after that a strong papist; Master Sumner, master of arts; Master Harman, master of arts, afterwards fellow of Eton college, and after that a papist; Master Bettes, master of arts, a good man and zealous, and so remained; Master Cox, master of arts, who conveyed himself away toward the north, and after was schoolmaster of Eton, and then chaplain to doctor Goodrich, bishop of Ely, and by him preferred to king Henry, and, of late, bishop of Ely; John Frith, bachelor of arts; Bayly, bachelor of arts; Goodman, who being sick in the prison with the others, was had out, and died in

the town; Drumme, who afterwards fell away and forsook the truth; Thomas Lawney, chaplain of the house, prisoner with John Frith. *Henry VIII.* A. D. 1533.

To these join also Taverner of Boston, the good musician,[1] besides many others called also out of other places, most picked young men, of grave judgment and sharp wits; who, conferring together upon the abuses of religion, being at that time crept into the church, were therefore accused of heresy unto the cardinal, and cast into a prison, within a deep cave under the ground of the same college, where their salt fish was laid; so that, through the filthy stench thereof, they were all infected, and certain of them, taking their death in the same prison, shortly upon the same being taken out of the prison into their chambers, there deceased.

The troublers and examiners of these good men, were these: Dr. London; Dr. Higdon, dean of the said college; and Dr. Cottesford, commissary.

Master Clerk, Master Sumner, and sir Bayly, eating nothing but salt fish from February to the midst of August, died all three together within the compass of one week.

Master Bettes, a witty man, having no books found in his chamber, through entreaty and surety got out of prison, and so remaining a space in the college, at last slipped away to Cambridge, and afterwards was chaplain to queen Anne, and in great favour with her.

Taverner, although he was accused and suspected for hiding of Clerk's books under the boards in his school, yet the cardinal, for his music, excused him, saying that he was but a musician: and so he escaped.

After the death of these men, John Frith with others, by the cardinal's letter, who sent word that he would not have them so straitly handled, were dismissed out of prison, upon condition not to pass above ten miles out of Oxford; which Frith, after hearing of the examination of Dalaber[2] and Garret, who bare then faggots, went over the sea, and after two years he came over for exhibition of the prior of Reading (as is thought), and had the prior over with him.

John Frith set in the stocks at Reading.

Being at Reading, it happened that he was there taken for a vagabond, and brought to examination; where the simple man, who could not craftily enough colour himself, was set in the stocks. After he had sitten there a long time, and was almost pined with hunger, and would not, for all that, declare what he was, at last he desired that the schoolmaster of the town might be brought to him, who at that time was one Leonard Cox, a man very well learned. As soon as he came unto him, Frith, by and by, began in the Latin tongue to bewail his captivity.

Leonard Cox, schoolmaster there.

The schoolmaster, by and by, being overcome with his eloquence, did not only take pity and compassion upon him, but also began to love and embrace such an excellent wit and disposition unlooked for, especially in such a state and misery. Afterwards, conferring more together upon many things, as touching the universities, schools, and tongues, they fell from the Latin into the Greek, wherein Frith did so inflame the love of that schoolmaster towards him, that he brought

(1) This Taverner repented him very much that he had made songs to popish ditties, in the time of his blindness.

(2) Of this Dalaber, read more in the story of Thomas Garret.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1533. him into a marvellous admiration, especially when the schoolmaster heard him so promptly by heart rehearse Homer's verses out of his first book of the Iliad; whereupon the schoolmaster went with all speed unto the magistrates, grievously complaining of the injury which they did show unto so excellent and innocent a young man.

John Frith, through his help, delivered out of the stocks.

Thus Frith, through the help of the schoolmaster, was freely dismissed out of the stocks, and set at liberty without punishment. Albeit this his safety continued not long, through the great hatred and deadly pursuit of sir Thomas More, who, at that time being chancellor of England, persecuted him both by land and sea, besetting all the ways and havens, yea, and promising great rewards, if any man could bring him any news or tidings of him.

Sir Thomas More a deadly persecutor of Frith.

Thus Frith, being on every part beset with troubles, not knowing which way to turn him, seeketh for some place to hide him in. Thus fleeting from one place to another, and often changing both his garments and place, yet could he be in safety in no place; no not long amongst his friends; so that at last, being traitorously taken (as ye shall after hear), he was sent unto the Tower of London, where he had many conflicts with the bishops, but especially in writing with sir Thomas More. The first occasion of his writing was this: Upon a time he had communication with a certain old familiar friend of his, touching the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ; the whole effect of which disputation consisted specially in these four points:

The occasion of Frith's writing against More.

I. First, That the matter of the sacrament is no necessary article of faith under pain of damnation.

II. Secondly, That forasmuch as Christ's natural body in like condition hath all properties of our body, sin only except, it cannot be, neither is it agreeable unto reason, that he should be in two places or more at once, contrary to the nature of our body.

III. Moreover, thirdly, it shall not seem meet or necessary, that we should in this place understand Christ's words according to the literal sense, but rather according to the order and phrase of speech, comparing phrase with phrase, according to the analogy of the Scripture.

IV. Last of all, how that it ought to be received according to the true and right institution of Christ, albeit that the order which at this time is crept into the church, and is used now-a-days by the priests, do never so much differ from it.

The occasion of Frith's writing upon the sacrament.

And forasmuch as the treatise of this disputation seemed somewhat long, his friend desired him that such things as he had reasoned upon he would briefly commit unto writing, and give unto him for the help of his memory. Frith, albeit he was unwilling, and not ignorant how dangerous a thing it was to enter into such a contentious matter, at last, notwithstanding, he, being overcome by the entreaty of his friend, rather followed his will, than looked to his own safeguard.

William Holt a Judas.

There was at that time in London a tailor named William Holt, who, feigning a great friendship towards this party, instantly required of him to give him license to read over that same writing of Frith's; which when he unadvisedly did, the other, by and by, carried it unto More, being then chancellor: which thing, afterwards, was occasion of great trouble, and also of death, unto the said Frith; for More, having not only gotten a copy of his book of this sycophant, but

also two other copies, which at the same time, in a manner, were sent him by other promoters, he whetted his wits, and called his spirits together as much as he might, meaning to refute his opinion by a contrary book. *Henry VIII.* A.D. 1533.

The Sum of John Frith's Book of the Sacrament.

This in a manner was the whole sum of the reasons of Frith's book; first, to declare the pope's belief of the sacrament to be no necessary article of our faith; that is to say, that it is no article of our faith necessary to be believed under pain of damnation, that the sacrament should be the natural body of Christ: which he thus proveth; for many so believe, and yet in so believing the sacrament to be the natural body, are not thereby saved, but receive it to their damnation.

Again, in believing the sacrament to be the natural body, yet that natural presence of his body in the bread, is not that which saveth us, but his presence in our hearts by faith. And likewise, the not believing of his bodily presence in the sacrament, is not the thing that shall damn us, but the absence of him out of our heart, through unbelief. And if it be objected, that it is necessary to believe God's word under pain of damnation: to that he answereth that the word taken in the right sense, as Christ meant, maintaineth no such bodily presence as the pope's church doth teach, but rather a sacramental presence. And that, saith he, may be further confirmed thus: Not believing in the corporal presence of Christ is no damnation.

Argument.

Ce- None of the old fathers before Christ's incarnation were bound under pain of damnation to believe this point.

la- All we be saved by the same faith that the old fathers were.

rent. *Ergo*, None of us are bound to believe this point under pain of damnation.

The first part, saith he, is evident of itself; for how could they believe that which they never heard nor saw?

The second part, saith he, appeareth plainly by St. Augustine, writing to Dardanus, and also by a hundred places more; neither is there any thing that he doth more often inculcate than this, that the same faith that saved our fathers, saveth us also. And therefore upon the truth of these two parts, thus proved, must the conclusion, saith he, needs follow.

Another Argument.

None of the old fathers before Christ's incarnation, did eat Christ corporally in their signs, but only mystically and spiritually, and were saved.

All we do eat Christ even as they did, and are saved as they were.

Ergo, None of us do eat Christ corporally, but mystically and spiritually in our signs, as they did.

For the probation of the first part, Frith, proceeding in his discourse, declareth as follows:—

The ancient fathers, before Christ's incarnation, did never believe any such point of this gross and carnal eating of Christ's body; and yet, notwithstanding, they did eat him spiritually, and were saved; as Adam, Abraham, Moses, Aaron, Phinehas, and other godly Israelites besides. All which, saith he, did eat the body of Christ, and did drink his blood as we do. But this eating and drinking of theirs was spiritual, pertaining only to faith, and not to the teeth: 'For they were all under the cloud, and drank of the rock which followed them; this rock was Christ,'[1] who was promised them to come into the world. And this promise was first made unto Adam, when it was said unto the serpent, 'I will put hatred between thee and the woman, between her seed and thy seed,'[2] &c. And afterwards again unto Abraham: 'In thy seed

(1) 1 Cor. x. (2) Gen. iii.

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shall all people be blessed,'[1] &c.: adding also the sacrament of circumcision, which was called the covenant; not because it was so indeed, but because it was a sign and a token of the covenant made between God and Abraham; admonishing us thereby, how we should judge and think touching the sacrament of his body and blood; to wit, that albeit it be called the body of Christ, yet we should properly understand thereby the fruit of our justification, which plentifully floweth unto all the faithful by his most healthful body and blood. Likewise the same promise was made unto Moses, the most meek and gentle captain of the Israelites, who did not only himself believe upon Christ, who was so often promised, but also did prefigurate him by divers means, both by the manna which came down from heaven, and also by the water which issued out of the rock, for the refreshing of the bodies of his people.

Bread is called the body, as the sacrament of circumcision is called the covenant.

The water of the rock, and bread and wine, figures of Christ's body.

Neither is it to be doubted, but that both manna and this water had a prophetical mystery in them, declaring the very self-same thing then, which the bread and the wine do now declare unto us in the sacrament. For this saith St. Augustine, 'Whosoever did understand Christ in the manna, did eat the spiritual food that we do. But they, who by that manna sought only to fill their bellies, did eat thereof, and are dead.' So, likewise, saith he of the drink: 'For the rock was Christ.[2] And, by and by after, he inferreth thus: Moses did eat manna, and Phinehas also; and many others also did eat thereof, who pleased God, and are not dead. Why? because they did understand the visible meat spiritually. They did spiritually hunger, and did spiritually taste of it, that they might be spiritually satisfied. They all did eat the same spiritual meat, and all did drink the same spiritual drink: all one spiritual thing, but not all one corporal matter (for they did eat manna, and we another thing), but the self-same spiritual thing that we do; and although they drank the same spiritual drink that we do, yet they drank one thing, and we another: which nevertheless signified all one thing in spiritual effect. How did they drink all one thing? The apostle answereth, 'Of the spiritual rock which followed them, for the rock was Christ.' And Bede also, adding these words, saith, 'Behold the signs are altered, and yet the faith remaineth one.'' Thereby a man may perceive that the manna which came down from heaven, was the same unto them, that our sacrament is unto us; and that by either of them is signified, that the body of Christ came down from heaven; and yet, notwithstanding, never any of them said that manna was the very body of Messias; as our sacramental bread is not indeed the body of Christ, but a mystical representation of the same. For like as the manna which came down from heaven, and the bread which is received in the supper, do nourish the body, even so the body of Christ coming down from heaven, and being given for us, doth quicken up the spirits of the believers unto life everlasting. Then, if the salvation of both people be alike, and their faith also one, there is no cause why we should add transubstantiation unto our sacrament, more than they believed their manna to be altered and changed. Moreover because they are named sacraments, even by the signification of the name they must needs be signs of things, or else of necessity they can be no sacraments.

The fathers ate the same spiritual, but not the same corporal food that we do.

Manna, and the body of Christ.

Objection. But some may here object and say, If only faith, both unto them and also unto us, be sufficient for salvation, what need then any sacraments to be instituted? He answered, that there are three causes why sacraments are instituted. The first St. Augustine declareth in these words, writing against Faustus: 'Men,' saith he, 'cannot be knit together into one name of religion, be it true or be it false, except they be knit by the society of signs and visible sacraments, the power whereof doth wonderfully prevail, in so much that such as contemn them are wicked: for that is wickedly contemned, without which godliness cannot be made perfect, &c. Another cause is, that they should be helpers to graft and plant faith in our hearts, and for the confirmation of God's promises. But this use of sacraments many are yet ignorant of, and more there be who do preposterously judge of the same, taking the signs for the thing itself, and worshipping the same: even by like reason in a manner, as if a man would take the bush that hangeth at the tavern door, and suck it to slake his thirst, and will not go into the tavern where the wine is. Thirdly, they do serve unto this use, to stir up the minds and hearts of the faithful to give thanks unto God for his benefits.

Answer. Three causes why sacraments are ordained.

Sacraments not to be worshipped.

(1) Gen. xxvi. (2) 1 Cor. x.

And these in a manner are the principal points of Frith's book.

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When More (as is aforesaid) had gotten a copy of this treatise, he sharpened his pen all that he might, to make answer unto this young man (for so he calleth him throughout his whole book), but in such sort, that when the book was once set forth, and showed unto the world, then he endeavoured himself, all that he might, to keep it from printing: peradventure lest that any copy thereof should come unto Frith's hands. But notwithstanding, when at last Frith had gotten a copy thereof, by means of his friends, he answered him out of the prison, omitting nothing that any man could desire to the perfect and absolute handling of the matter. And as it were a great labour, so do I think it not much necessary to repeat all his reasons and arguments, or the testimonies which he had gathered out of the doctors; especially forasmuch as Cranmer, the archbishop of Canterbury, in his apology against the bishop of Winchester, seemed to have collected them abundantly, gathering the principal and chiefest helps from thence that he leaned unto against the other; and I doubt much whether the archbishop ever gave any more credit unto any author of that doctrine, than unto this aforesaid Frith.

More writeth against Frith.

Frith answereth him.

Cranmer holpen by the book of Frith.

What dexterity of wit was in him, and excellency of doctrine, it may appear not only by his books which he wrote of the sacrament, but also in those which he entitled Of Purgatory. In that quarrel he withstood the violence of three most obstinate enemies; that is to say, of Rochester, More, and Rastal, whereof the one by the help of the doctors, the other by wresting of the Scripture, and the third by the help of natural philosophy, had conspired against him. But he, as a Hercules, fighting not against two only, but even with them all three at once, did so overthrow and confound them, that he converted Rastal to his part.

Rochester, More, and Rastal against Frith.

Frith converted Rastal.

Besides all these commendations of this young man, there was also in him a friendly and prudent moderation in uttering of the truth, joined with a learned godliness; which virtue hath always so much prevailed in the church of Christ, that, without it, all other good gifts of knowledge, be they ever so great, cannot greatly profit, but oftentimes do very much hurt. And would to God that all things, in all places, were so free from all kind of dissension, that there were no mention made amongst Christians of Zuinglians and Lutherans, when neither Zuinglius nor Luther died for us; but that we might be all one in Christ. Neither do I think that any thing more grievous could happen unto those worthy men, than for their names so to be abused to sects and factions, who so greatly withstood and strove against all factions. Neither do I here discourse which part came nearest unto the truth, nor so rashly intermeddle in this matter, that I will detract any thing from either part, but rather wish of God I might join either part unto the other.

But now, forasmuch as we treat of the story of John Frith, I cannot choose, but must needs earnestly and heartily embrace the prudent and godly moderation which was in that man, who, maintaining his quarrel of the sacrament of the Lord's Supper, no less godly than learnedly (and so as no man in a manner had done it more learnedly and pithily), yet he did it so moderately, without any contention, that he would never seem to strive against the Papists, except he had

Prudent temperance and moderation of Frith.

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been driven to it even of necessity. In all other matters, where necessity did not move him to contend, he was ready to grant all things for quietness' sake, as his most modest reason and answers did declare. For when More, disputing in a certain place upon the sacrament, laid against him the authority of doctor Barnes, for the presence of the body and blood in the sacrament, he answered unto More and his companions, that he would promise under this condition, that if the sentence of Luther and Barnes might be holden as ratified, he would never speak more words of it:[1] for in that point they did both agree with him, that the sacrament was not to be worshipped; and that idolatry being taken away, he was content to permit every man to judge of the sacrament, as God should put into their hearts: for then there remained no more poison, that any man ought or might be afraid of. Wherefore, if they did agree in that which was the chief point of the sacrament, they should easily accord and agree in the rest.

Moderation commended in disputation.

Thus much he wrote, in the treatise entitled "The Exile," of Barnes against More; which words of this most meek martyr of Christ, if they would take place in the seditious divisions and factions of these our days, with great ease and little labour men might be brought to a unity in this controversy; and much more concord and love should be in the Church, and much less offence given abroad than there is.

*But[2] I know not what cruel pestiferous fury hath secretly intermeddled herself in these matters, so corrupt in all things, that there is almost none so light a cause or occasion wherein one man can bear with another, if he dissent or disagree from his opinion. And while every man doth seek, even by the teeth, to defend his own quarrel, many men would rather seek to give occasion, than, in any case, seek to relent or remit. There are also some, who will seek to assuage the matter, but others will willingly take the bellows in hand to blow the fire, and but few there are that will seek to quench it. But if we had but a few like this John Frith, these factions, peradventure, would easily be accorded, or at least if the opinions could not be agreed, their minds, notwithstanding, might be united and joined. Albeit I do not think their opinions to be of so great force and effect that they should seem to be worthy of all these tragedies, for so much as they do not of necessity touch either the damnation or salvation of souls: and again, they are not so far discrepant amongst themselves, but that they may by reason be reconciled, so that there be some temperature of Frith's moderation adhibited thereunto, which may something impetrate and obtain on their part.

Those who judge the reason of the sacrament to be spiritually understood, do think well, and, peradventure, do draw near to Christ's mind and institution; but, notwithstanding, they be never a whit better men than they, who, following the letter together with them, do take away the superfluity of the ceremonies. They do take away transubstantiation from the sacrament; the like do the others also. They take away the sacrifice of the private mass; the same also do the others. These men put away all false worshipping; the others

(1) John Frith, speaking according to that time, showed the opinion of Luther might be received.

(2) See Edition 1563, pp. 500, 501.—Ed.

also do not suffer it, but both parts do affirm the presence of Christ in the mystical supper. Hitherto they both have agreed in these articles: what cause is there then of discord, when they both, as I said, do confess the presence of Christ, and disagree only upon the manner of the presence, which the one part do affirm to be real, and the other spiritual? But how much were it better, in my opinion, if that, by a common consent of either party, they would come to this point; that every man being contented with his own opinion, we should all simply agree upon the presence of Christ, that, even thus, as touching the manner of his presence, all manner of disputation should cease for a time, and so, by little and little, all controversies be turned into truce and quietness; until that time should breed more love and charity amongst men, or that love and charity should find a remedy for these controversies. *Henry VIII.* A. D. 1533.

But this shall now suffice for this present, being more than I was determined to speak; and, brought hither by occasion of John Frith, I know not myself by what wind or weather, and peradventure somewhat too far passed into the German seas, now, casting the helm about, we will hold our course which we had begun, into England, and treat of the death and examination of John Frith.*

John Frith, after he had now sufficiently contended in his writings with More, Rochester, and Rastal, More's son-in-law, was at last carried to Lambeth, first before the bishop of Canterbury, and afterwards unto Croydon, before the bishop of Winchester, to plead his cause. Last of all, he was called before the bishops, in a common assembly at London, where he constantly defended himself, if he might have been heard. Frith convented before the bishop.

The order of his judgment, with the manner of his examination and the articles which were objected against him, are comprised and set forth by himself in a letter written and sent unto his friends, whilst he was prisoner in the Tower.

A Letter[1] of John Frith to his Friends, concerning his Troubles; wherein, after he had first with a brief preface saluted them, entering then into the matter, thus he writeth:—

I doubt not, dear brethren, but that it doth some deal vex you, to see the one part to have all the words, and freely to speak what they list, and the others to be put to silence, and not be heard indifferently. But refer your matters unto God, who shortly shall judge after another fashion. In the mean time I have written unto you, as briefly as I may, what articles were objected against me, and what were the principal points of my condemnation, that ye might understand the matter certainly.

The whole matter of this my examination was comprehended in two special articles, that is to say, Of Purgatory, and Of the substance of the Sacrament.

And first of all, as touching purgatory, they inquired of me whether I did believe there was any place to purge the spots and filth of the soul after this life? But I said, that I thought there was no such place: for man, (said I) doth consist and is made only of two parts, that is to say, of the body and the soul, whereof the one is purged here in this world, by the cross of Christ, which he layeth upon every child that he receiveth; as affliction, worldly oppression, Purgatory.

(1) This letter is to be seen in the end of that excellent and worthy work which he made in the Tower, concerning the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ. [The title of this letter is 'A Boke made by Johan Fryth, prysonner in the Tour of London, answering unto M. Mores letter against the treatyse Johan Fryth made concerning the sacrament, &c. printed at London by Anthony Scoloker, 1548; and afterwards by R. Jugge, 8vo. 1548. Ames' Typographical Antiquities, by Dibdin, vol. iv. p. 197.—Ed.]

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persecution, imprisonment, &c. The last of all, the reward of sin, which is death, is laid upon us: but the soul is purged with the word of God, which we receive through faith, to the salvation both of body and soul. Now if ye can show me a third part of man besides the body and the soul, I will also grant unto you the third place, which ye do call purgatory. But because ye cannot do this, I must also of necessity deny unto you the bishop of Rome's purgatory. Nevertheless I count neither part a necessary article of our faith, to be believed under pain of damnation, whether there be such a purgatory or no.

Secondly, They examined me touching the sacrament of the altar, whether it was the very body of Christ or no?

The sacrament of Christ's body.

I answered, that I thought it was both Christ's body and also our body, as St. Paul teacheth us in 1 Cor. x. For in that it is made one bread of many corns, it is called our body, which, being divers and many members, are associated and gathered together into one fellowship or body. Likewise of the wine, which is gathered of many clusters of grapes, and is made into one liquor. But the same bread again, in that it is broken, is the body of Christ; declaring his body to be broken and delivered unto death, to redeem us from our iniquities.

Furthermore, in that the sacrament is distributed, it is Christ's body, signifying that as verily as the sacrament is distributed unto us, so verily are Christ's body and the fruit of his passion distributed unto all faithful people.

In that it is received, it is Christ's body, signifying that as verily as the outward man receiveth the sacrament with his teeth and mouth, so verily doth the inward man, through faith, receive Christ's body and the fruit of his passion, and is as sure of it as of the bread which he eateth.

Transubstantiation.

Well (said they) dost thou not think that his very natural body, flesh, blood, and bone, is really contained under the sacrament, and there present without all figure or similitude? No (said I), I do not so think: notwithstanding I would not that any should count, that I make my saying (which is the negative) any article of faith. For even as I say, that you ought not to make any necessary article of the faith of your part (which is the affirmative), so I say again, that we make no necessary article of the faith of our part, but leave it indifferent for all men to judge therein, as God shall open their hearts, and no side to condemn or despise the other, but to nourish in all things brotherly love; and one to bear another's infirmity.

After this they alleged the place of St. Augustine, where he saith, 'He was carried in his own hands.'[1]

The place of St. Augustine expounded.

Whereunto I answered, that St. Augustine was a plain interpreter of himself; for he hath in another place, 'He was carried as it were in his own hands:'[2] which is a phrase of speech not of one that doth simply affirm, but only of one expressing a thing by a similitude. And albeit that St. Augustine had not thus expounded himself, yet, writing unto Boniface, he doth plainly admonish all men, that the sacraments do represent and signify those things whereof they are sacraments, and many times even of the similitudes of the things themselves, they do take their names. And therefore, according to this rule, it may be said, he was borne in his own hands, when he bare in his hands the sacrament of his body and blood.

Then they alleged a place of Chrysostome, which, at the first blush, may seem to make much for them, who, in a certain Homily upon the Supper, writeth thus: 'Dost thou see bread and wine? Do they depart from thee into the draught, as other meats do? No, God forbid! for as in wax, when it cometh to the fire, nothing of the substance remaineth or abideth; so likewise think that the mysteries are consumed by the substance of the body,' &c.

The place of Chrysostome answered.

Chrysostome expoundeth himself.

These words I expounded by the words of the same doctor, who, in another Homily, saith on this manner; 'The inward eyes,' saith he, 'as soon as they see the bread, they flee over all creatures, and do not think of the bread that is baked by the baker, but of the bread of everlasting life, which is signified by the mystical bread.' Now confer these places together, and you shall perceive that the last expoundeth the first plainly. For he saith, Dost thou see the bread and wine? I answer by the second, Nay. For the inward eyes, as soon as they see the bread, do pass over all creatures, and do not any longer think upon the bread, but upon him that is signified by the bread. And after this manner

(1) 'Ferabatur in manibus propriis.' (2) 'Ferabatur tanquam in manibus suis.'

he seeth it, and again he seeth it not: for as he seeth it with his outward and carnal eyes, so with his inward eyes he seeth it not; that is to say, regardeth not the bread, or thinketh not upon it, but is otherwise occupied. Even as when we play or do any thing else negligently, we commonly are wont to say, we see not what we do; not that indeed we do not see that which we go about, but because our mind is fixed on some other thing, and doth not attend unto that which the eyes do see.

In like manner may it be answered unto that which followeth; 'Do they avoid from thee,' saith he, 'into the draught as other meats do?' I will not so say, for other meats, passing through the bowels, after they have of themselves given nourishment unto the body, be voided into the draught: but this is a spiritual meat, which is received by faith, and nourisheth both body and soul unto everlasting life, neither is it at any time avoided as other meats are.

And as before I said that the external eyes do behold the bread, which the inward eyes, being otherwise occupied, do not behold or think upon, even so our outward man doth digest the bread, and void it into the draught; but the inward man doth neither regard nor think upon it, but thinketh upon the thing itself that is signified by that bread. And therefore Chrysostome,[1] a little before the words which they alleged, saith; 'Lift up your minds and hearts:' whereby he admonisheth us to look upon and consider those heavenly things which are represented and signified by the bread and wine, and not to mark the bread and wine itself.

Here they said, that was not Chrysostome's mind; but that by this example he declareth that there remained no bread nor wine. I answered, that was false: for the example that he taketh tendeth to no other purpose, but to call away our spiritual eyes from the beholding of visible things, and to transport them another way, as if the things which are seen were of no force. Therefore he draweth away our mind from the consideration of these things, and fixeth it upon him who is signified unto us by the same. The very words which follow, sufficiently declare this to be the true meaning of the author, where he commandeth us to consider all things with our inward eyes; that is to say, spiritually.

Mysteries to be seen with inward eyes.

But whether Chrysostome's words do tend either to this or that sense, yet do they indifferently make on our part against our adversaries, which way soever we do understand them. For if he thought that the bread and wine do remain, we have no further to travel: but if he meant contrariwise, that they do not remain, but that the natures of the bread and wine are altered, then are the bread and wine falsely named sacraments and mysteries, which can be said in no place to be in the nature of things: for that which is in no place, how can it be a sacrament, or supply the room of a mystery? Finally, if he speak only of the outward forms and shapes (as we call them), it is most certain that they do continually remain, and that by the substance of the body they are not consumed in any place: wherefore it must necessarily follow that the words of Chrysostome be to be understood in such sense as I have declared.

Chrysostome against the popish doctrine of the sacrament.

The objection of Chrysostome avoided by a dilemma.

Here peradventure many would marvel,[2] that forasmuch as the matter touching the substance of the sacrament, is separate from the articles of faith, and bindeth no man of necessity either unto salvation or damnation, whether he believe it or not, but rather may be left indifferently unto all men, freely to judge either on the one part or on the other, according to his own mind, so that neither part do contemn or despise the other, but that all love and charity be still holden and kept in this dissension of opinions: what then is the cause, why I would therefore so willingly suffer death? The cause why I die is this: for that I cannot agree with the divines and other head prelates, that it should be necessarily determined to be an article of faith, and that we should believe, under pain of damnation, the substance of the bread and wine to be changed into the body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, the form and shape only not being changed. Which thing if it were most true (as they shall never be able to prove it by any authority of the Scripture or doctors), yet shall they not

(1) The argument from Chrysostome: the belly of man cannot avoid any part of Christ's body: the belly of man avoideth some part of every thing that the mouth receiveth: ergo, the mouth of man receiveth not the body of Christ.

(2) A question is here asked, with the cause declared, why that, seeing the matter of the sacrament itself importeth neither salvation nor damnation, Frith offereth himself to death for the same?

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so bring to pass, that that doctrine, were it ever so true, should be holden for a necessary article of faith. For there are many things, both in the Scriptures and other places, which we are not bound of necessity to believe as an article of faith. So it is true, that I was a prisoner and in bonds when I wrote these things, and yet, for all that, I will not hold it as an article of faith,[1] but that you may, without danger of damnation, either believe it, or think the contrary.

Three causes why transubstantiation is not to be believed.

But as touching the cause why I cannot affirm the doctrine of transubstantiation, divers reasons do lead me thereunto: first, for that I do plainly see it to be false and vain, and not to be grounded upon any reason, either of the Scriptures, or of approved doctors. Secondly, for that by my example I would not be an author unto Christians to admit any thing as a matter of faith, more than the necessary points of their creed, wherein the whole sum of our salvation doth consist, especially such things, the belief whereof hath no certain argument of authority or reason. I added moreover, that their church (as they call it) hath no such power and authority, that it either ought or may bind us, under the peril of our souls, to the believing of any such articles. Thirdly, because I will not, for the favour of our divines or priests, be prejudicial in this point unto so many nations, of Germans, Helvetians, and others, which, altogether rejecting the transubstantiation of the bread and wine into the body and blood of Christ, are all of the same opinion that I am, as well those that take Luther's part, as those that hold with Œcolampadius. Which things standing in this case, I suppose there is no man of any upright conscience, who will not allow the reason of my death, which I am put unto for this only cause, that I do not think transubstantiation, although it were true indeed, to be established for an article of faith.

And thus much hitherto as touching the articles and whole disputation of John Frith, which was done with all moderation and uprightness. But when no reason would prevail against the force and cruelty of these furious foes, on the 20th day of June, A.D. 1533, he was brought before the bishops of London, Winchester, and Lincoln, who, sitting in St. Paul's, on Friday the 20th day of June, ministered certain interrogatories upon the sacrament of the supper, and purgatory, unto the said Frith, as is above declared; to which when he had answered, and showed his mind in form and effect, as by his own words above doth appear, he afterwards subscribed to his answers with his own hand, in these words:[2] "I Frith, thus do think; and as I think, so have I said, written, taught, and affirmed, and in my books have published."

The subscription of John Frith.

But when Frith by no means could be persuaded to recant these articles aforesaid, neither be brought to believe that the sacrament is an article of faith, but said, "Fiat judicium et justitia:" he was condemned by the bishop of London to be burned, and sentence given against him; the tenor whereof here ensueth.

Frith condemned.

The Sentence given against John Frith.

In the name of God, Amen. We, John, by the permission of God, bishop of London, lawfully and rightly proceeding with all godly favour, by the authority and virtue of our office, against thee, John Frith, of our jurisdiction, before us personally here present, being accused and detected, and notoriously slandered of heresy; having heard, seen, and understood, and with diligent deliberation weighed, discussed, and considered, the merits of the cause, all things being observed which by us in this behalf, by order of law, ought to be observed, sitting in our judgment seat, the name of Christ being first called upon, and having God only before our eyes,[3] because by the acts enacted, propounded,

(1) This is to be weighed with the time when Frith wrote.
(2) 'Ego Frithus ita sentio, et quemadmodum sentio, ita dixi, scripsi, asserui, et affirmavi,' &c.
(3) As they had, which crucified Christ.

and exhibited in this manner, and by thine own confession judicially made before us, we do find, that thou hast taught, holden, and affirmed, and obstinately defended, divers errors and heresies, and damnable opinions, contrary to the doctrine and determination of the holy church, and especially against the reverend sacrament; and albeit that we, following the example of Christ, 'which would not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should convert and live,' have oftentimes gone about to correct thee, and by all lawful means that we could, and most wholesome admonitions that we did know, to reduce thee again to the true faith, and the unity of the universal catholic church, notwithstanding we have found thee obstinate and stiff-necked, willingly continuing in thy damnable opinions and heresies, and refusing to return again unto the true faith and unity of the holy mother church, and as the child of wickedness and darkness, so to have hardened thy heart, that thou wilt not understand the voice of thy shepherd, who, with a fatherly affection, doth seek after thee, nor wilt be allured with his godly and fatherly admonitions: We therefore, John, the bishop aforesaid, not willing that thou who art wicked, shouldest become more wicked, and infect the Lord's flock with thy heresy, which we are greatly afraid of, do judge thee, and definitively condemn thee, the said John Frith, thy demerits and faults being aggravated through thy damnable obstinacy, as guilty of most detestable heresies, and as an obstinate impenitent sinner, refusing penitently to return to the lap and unity of the holy mother church; and that thou hast been and art, by law, excommunicated, and do pronounce and declare thee to be an excommunicated person: Also we pronounce and declare thee to be a heretic, to be cast out from the church, and left unto the judgment of the secular power, and now presently so do leave thee unto the secular power, and their judgment; most earnestly requiring them, in the bowels of our Lord Jesus Christ, that this execution and punishment, worthily to be done upon thee, may be so moderated, that the rigour thereof be not too extreme, nor yet the gentleness too much mitigated, but that it may be to the salvation of thy soul, to the extirpation, terror, and conversion of heretics, to the unity of the catholic faith, by this our sentence definitive, or final decree, which we here promulgate in this form aforesaid.

Moderation pretended, but none shown.

This sentence thus read, the bishop of London directed his letter to sir Stephen Peacock, mayor of London, and the sheriffs of the same city, for the receiving of the aforesaid John Frith into their charge; who, being so delivered over unto them the 4th day of July, in the year aforesaid, was by them carried into Smithfield to be burned. And when he was tied unto the stake, there it sufficiently appeared with what constancy and courage he suffered death; for when the faggots and fire were put unto him, he willingly embraced the same; thereby declaring with what uprightness of mind he suffered his death for Christ's sake, and the true doctrine, whereof that day he gave, with his blood, a perfect and firm testimony. The wind made his death somewhat the longer, which bare away the flame from him unto his fellow that was tied to his back: but he had established his mind with such patience, God giving him strength, that even as though he had felt no pain in that long torment, he seemed rather to rejoice for his fellow, than to be careful for himself.

Frith delivered to the secular hands.

His constant death.

This truly is the power and strength of Christ, striving and vanquishing in his saints; Who sanctify us together with them, and direct us in all things to the glory of his holy name! Amen.

The day before the burning of these worthy men of God, the bishop of London certified king Henry VIII. of his worthy, yea, rather wolfish, proceeding against these men: the tenor whereof hereunder ensueth:

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*The Letter of John, Bishop of London, to certify the King of the Condemnation of John Frith and Andrew Hewet.

Unto[1] the most noble prince and lord in Christ, our lord Henry the eighth, by the grace of God king of England and of France, and lord of Ireland, defender of the faith: John, by the permission of God, bishop of London, with all manner of reverence, honour, and subjection. Whereas we, in a certain business of inquisition of heresy against certain men, John Frith and Andrew Hewet, heretics, have judged and condemned either of them, as obstinate, impenitent, and incorrigible heretics, by our sentence definitive, and have delivered the said John and Andrew unto the honourable man, sir Stephen Peacock, mayor of your city of London, and John Martin, one of your sheriffs of the same city (being personally present with us in judgment, according to the order of the law); and therefore all and singular the premises so by us done, we notify and signify unto your highness, by these presents sealed with our seal.

Dated the third day of July, in the year of our Lord 1533, and in the third year of our consecration.*

Andrew Hewet burned with Master Frith.

Andrew Hewet, born in Feversham, in the county of Kent, a young man of the age of four and twenty years, was apprentice with one Master Warren, a tailor in Watling-street. And as it happened that he went upon a holy-day into Fleet-street, towards St. Dunstan's, he met with one William Holt, who was foreman with the king's tailor, at that present called Master Malte; and being suspected by the same Holt, who was a dissembling wretch, to be one that favoured the gospel, after a little talk had with him, he went into an honest house about Fleet-bridge, which was a bookseller's house. Then Holt, thinking he had found good occasion to show forth some fruit of his wickedness, sent for certain officers, and searched the house, and finding the same Andrew, apprehended him, and carried him to the bishop's house, where he was cast into irons; and being there a good space, by the means of a certain honest man, he had a file conveyed unto him,[2] wherewith he filed off his irons, and when he spied his time, he got out of the gate. But being a man unskilful to hide himself, for lack of good acquaintance, he went into Smithfield, and there met with one Withers, who was a hypocrite, as Holt was. This Withers, understanding how he had escaped, and that he knew not whither to go, pretending a fair countenance unto him, willed him to go with him, promising that he should be provided for; and so kept him in the country where he had to do, from Low-Sunday till Whitsuntide, and then brought him to London, to the house of one John Chapman in Hosier-lane beside Smithfield, and there left him for the space of two days.

Hewet apprehended.

Then he came to the said Chapman's house again, and brought Holt with him. And when they met with the said Andrew, they seemed as though they meant to do him very much good; and Holt, for his part, said that if he should bring any man in trouble (as the voice was that he had done the said Andrew), it were pity but that the earth should open and swallow him up: insomuch that they

(1) See Edition 1563, p. 505; where it is also given in Latin.—Ed.

(2) The man that gave him this file was Valentine Freese, the painter's brother, who was afterwards, with his wife, burned in York.

would needs sup there that night, and prepared meat of their own charges. At night they came, and brought certain guests with them, because they would have the matter to seem as though it had come out by others. When they had supped, they went their way, and Holt took out of his purse two groats, and gave them to the said Andrew, and embraced him in his arms. As they were gone out, there came in one John Tibauld, who was banished from his own house by an injunction, for he had been four times in prison for Christ's cause. And within an hour after that Holt and Withers were gone, the bishop's chancellor, and one called sergeant Weaver, came, and brought with them the watch, and searched the house, where they found the said John Chapman and the beforenamed Andrew, and John Tibauld, whom they bound with ropes which sergeant Weaver had brought with him, and so carried them to the bishop's house: but Andrew Hewet they sent unto the Lollards' tower, and kept Chapman and Tibauld asunder, watched by two priests' servants. The next day bishop Stokesley came from Fulham, and after they were examined with a few threatening words, Chapman was committed to the stocks, with this threat, that he should tell another tale, or else he should sit there till his heels did drop off, &c.: and Tibauld was shut up in a close chamber; but, by God's provision, he was well delivered out of prison, albeit he could not enjoy his house and land because of the bishop's injunction, but was fain to sell all that he had in Essex; for the tenor of his injunction was, that he should not come within seven miles of his own house. And the aforesaid Chapman, after five weeks' imprisonment (whereof three weeks he sat in the stocks), by much suit made unto the lord chancellor, who at that time was lord Audley, after many threatenings was delivered: but the said Andrew Hewet, after long and cruel imprisonment, was condemned to death, and burned with John Frith. The examination of Hewet here followeth.

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John Tibauld five times in bands for Christ.

Hewet again taken.

Chapman in the stocks.

Tibauld not to come within seven miles of his house.

On the 20th day of the month of April, Andrew Hewet was brought before the chancellor of the bishop of London, where was objected against him, that he believed the sacrament of the altar, after the consecration, to be but a signification of the body of Christ, and that the host consecrated was not the very body of Christ. Now, forasmuch as this article seemed heinous unto them, they would do nothing in it without the consent of learned counsel: whereupon the bishop of London, associated with the bishops of Lincoln and Winchester, called him again before them; where, it being demanded of him what he thought as touching the sacrament of the last supper; he answered, "Even as John Frith doth." Then said one of the bishops unto him, "Dost thou not believe that it is really the body of Christ, born of the Virgin Mary?" "So," saith he, "do not I believe." "Why not?" said the bishop. "Because," said he, "Christ commanded me not to give credit rashly unto all men, who say, 'Behold, here is Christ, and there is Christ; for many false prophets shall rise up, saith the Lord.'"

Hewet examined before the bishop.

Christ not to be believed to be really in the sacrament.

Then certain of the bishops smiled at him; and Stokesley, the bishop of London, said, "Why, Frith is a heretic, and already judged to be burned; and except thou revoke thine opinion, thou shalt be burned also with him." "Truly," saith he, "I am content there-

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withal." Then the bishop asked him if he would forsake his opinions; whereunto he answered, that he would do as Frith did: whereupon he was sent unto the prison to Frith, and afterwards they were carried together to the fire. The bishops used many persuasions to allure this good man from the truth, to follow them: but he, manfully persisting in the truth, would not recant. Wherefore on the 4th day of July, in the afternoon, he was carried into Smithfield with Frith, and there burned.

Hewet constant in the faith.

Hewet burned with Frith.

When they were at the stake, one doctor Cook, a parson in London, openly admonished all the people, that they should in no wise pray for them, no more than they would do for a dog; at which words Frith, smiling, desired the Lord to forgive him. These words did not a little move the people unto anger, and not without good cause. Thus these two blessed martyrs committed their souls into the hands of God.

The History of the Persecution and Death of Thomas Benet, burned in Exeter: collected and testified by John Dowel, alias Poker.

This Thomas Benet was born in Cambridge, and, by order of degree, of the university there made master of arts, and, as some think, was also a priest; a man doubtless very well learned, and of a godly disposition, being of the acquaintance and familiarity of Thomas Bilney, the famous and glorious martyr of Christ. This man, the more he did grow and increase in the knowledge of God and his holy word, the more he did mislike and abhor the corrupt state of religion then used; and therefore, thinking his own country to be no safe place for him to remain in, and being desirous to live in more freedom of conscience, he did forsake the university, and went into Devonshire, A.D. 1524, and first dwelled in a market-town, named Torrington, both town and country being to him altogether unknown, as he was also unknown to all men there; where, for the better maintenance of himself and his wife, he did practise to teach young children, and kept a school for the same purpose. But that town not serving his expectation, after his abode one year there, he came to the city of Exeter; and there, hiring a house in a street called the Butcher-row, did exercise the teaching of children, and by that means sustained his wife and family. He was of a quiet behaviour, of a godly conversation, and of a very courteous nature, humble to all men, and offensive to nobody. His greatest delight was to be at all sermons and preachings, whereof he was a diligent and attentive hearer. The time which he had to spare from teaching, he gave wholly to his private study in the Scriptures, having no dealings nor conferences with any body, saving with such as he could learn and understand to be favourers of the gospel, and zealous of God's true religion: of such he would be inquisitive, and most desirous to join himself unto them. And therefore, understanding that one William Strowd, of Newnham, in the county of Devonshire, esquire, was committed to the bishop's prison in Exeter, upon suspicion of heresy, although he were never before acquainted with him, yet did he send his letters of comfort and consolation unto him; wherein, to avoid all suspicion which might be conceived of him, he did disclose himself, and utter what he was, and the causes of his

Benet cometh from Cambridge to Devonshire.

Comes to Exeter.

William Strowd imprisoned in Exeter for God's word.

THE BURNING OF JOHN FRITH AND ANDREW HEWET

being in the country, writing among other things these words: "Because I would not be a whoremonger, or an unclean person, therefore I married a wife, with whom I have hidden myself in Devonshire, from the tyranny of the antichristians, these six years."[1] *Henry VIII.* A.D. 1533.

But, as every tree and herb hath its due time to bring forth its fruit, so did it appear by this man. For he, daily seeing the glory of God to be so blasphemed, idolatrous religion so embraced and maintained,[2] and that most false usurped power of the bishop of Rome so extolled, was so grieved in conscience, and troubled in spirit, that he could not be quiet till he did utter his mind therein. Wherefore, dealing privately with certain of his friends, he did plainly open and disclose how blasphemously and abominably God was dishonoured, his word contemned, and his people, whom he so dearly bought, were, by blind guides, carried headlong to everlasting damnation: and therefore he could no longer endure, but must needs, and would, utter their abominations; and for his own part, for the testimony of his conscience, and for the defence of God's true religion, would yield himself most patiently (as near as God would give him grace) to die and to shed his blood therein; alleging that his death should be more profitable to the church of God, and for the edifying of his people, than his life should be. To whose persuasions when his friends had yielded, they promised to pray to God for him, that he might be strong in the cause, and continue a faithful soldier to the end: which done, he gave order for the bestowing of such books as he had, and very shortly after, in the month of October, he wrote his mind in certain scrolls of paper, which, in secret manner, he set upon the doors of the cathedral church of the city; in which was written, "The pope is Antichrist; and we ought to worship God only, and no saints."

Why Benet married.

His godly zeal.

Benet setteth up bills against the pope.

These bills being found, there was no small ado, and no little search made for the inquiry of the heretic that should set up these bills: and the mayor and his officers were not so busy to make searches to find this heretic, but the bishop and all his doctors were as hot as coals, and enkindled as though they had been stung with a sort of wasps. Wherefore, to keep the people in their former blindness, order was taken that the doctors should in haste up to the pulpit every day, and confute this heresy. Nevertheless this Thomas Benet, keeping his own doings in secret, went the Sunday following to the cathedral church to the sermon, and by chance sat down by two men, who were the busiest in all the city in seeking and searching for this heretic; and they, beholding this Benet, said the one to the other, "Surely this fellow, by all likelihood, is the heretic that hath set up the bills, and it were good to examine him." Nevertheless, when they had well beheld him, and saw the quiet and sober behaviour of the man, his attentiveness to the preacher, his godliness in the church, being always occupied in his book, which was a Testament in the Latin tongue, they were astonied, and had no power to speak unto him, but departed, and left him reading in his book. As touching this point of Benet's behaviour in the church, I find the reports of some others a little to vary, and yet not much contrary

Almost taken in the church.

The stories a little vary touching his taking.

(1) 'Ut ne scortator aut immundus essem, uxorem duxi, cum qua hisce sex annis ab istorum Antichristianorum manibus in Devonia latitavi.'.

(2) Antichristians are those who are against Christ.

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one to the other. For in receiving the letters and writings of a certain minister, who at the same time was present at the doing hereof in Exeter, thus I find moreover added, concerning the behaviour of this Thomas Benet in the church.

Doctors and friars in Exeter.

At that time, saith he, as I remember, Dr. Moreman, Crispin, Caseley, with such others, bare the swinge there. Besides these, were also preachers there, one Dr. Bascavild, an unlearned doctor, God knoweth; and one Dr. David, as well learned as he, both grey friars, and Doctor I-know-not-who, a black friar, not much inferior unto them. Moreover, there was one bachelor of divinity, a grey friar

Gregory Basset.

named Gregory Basset, more learned indeed than they all, but as blind and superstitious as he which was most; which Gregory, not long before, was revolted from the way of righteousness, to the way of Belial: for in Bristol, saith the author, he lay in prison long, and was almost famished, for having a book of Martin Luther, called his Questions, which he a long time privily had studied, and for the teaching of youth a certain catechism. To be short, the brains of the canons and priests, the officers and commons of that city, were very earnestly busied, how, or by what means, such an enormous heretic, who had pricked up those bills, might be espied and known: but it was long first. At last, the priests found out a toy to curse him, whatsoever he were, with book, bell, and candle; which curse at that day, seemed most fearful and terrible. The manner of the curse was after this sort.

The priest's curse, they cannot tell whom.

One of the priests, apparelled all in white, ascended up into the pulpit. The other rabblement, with certain of the two orders of friars, and certain superstitious monks of St. Nicholas' house standing round about, and the cross (as the custom was) being holden up with holy candles of wax fixed to the same, he began his sermon with this theme of Joshua, "There is blasphemy in the army;"[1] and so made a long protestation, but not so long as tedious and superstitious: and so concluded that that foul and abominable heretic who had put up such blasphemous bills, was, for that his blasphemy, damnably accursed; and besought God, our lady, St. Peter, patron of that church, with all the holy company of martyrs, confessors, and virgins, that it might be known what heretic had put up such blasphemous bills, that God's people might avoid the vengeance.

The manner of the cursing of the said Benet was marvellous to behold, forasmuch as at that time there were few or none, unless a shearman or two, whose houses, I well remember, were searched for bills at that time, and for books, that knew any thing of God's matters, or how God doth bless their curses in such cases. Then said the prelate thus:

The Pope's Curse, with Book, Bell, and Candle.

Here is charity sold.

By the authority of God the Father Almighty, and of the blessed Virgin Mary, of Saint Peter and Paul, and of the holy saints, we excommunicate, we utterly curse and ban, commit and deliver to the devil of hell, him or her, whatsoever he or she be, that hath,—in spite of God and of St. Peter, whose church this is, in spite of all holy saints, and in spite of our most holy father the pope, God's vicar here in earth, and in spite of the reverend father in God, John our diocesan, and the worshipful canons, masters, and priests, and clerks,

(1) 'Est blasphemia in castris.'

who serve God daily in this cathedral church,—fixed up with wax such cursed and heretical bills, full of blasphemy, upon the doors of this and other holy churches within this city. Excommunicated plainly be he or she plenally, or they, and delivered over to the devil, as perpetual malefactors and schismatics. Accursed may they be,[1] and given body and soul to the devil. Cursed be they, he or she, in cities and towns, in fields, in ways, in paths, in houses, out of houses, and in all other places, standing, lying, or rising, walking, running, waking, sleeping, eating, drinking, and whatsoever thing they do besides. We separate them, him or her, from the threshold, and from all the good prayers of the church; from the participation of the holy mass; from all sacraments, chapels, and altars; from holy bread and holy water; from all the merits of God's priests and religious men, and from all their cloisters; from all their pardons, privileges, grants, and immunities, which all the holy fathers, popes of Rome, have granted to them; and we give them over utterly to the power of the fiend: and let us quench their souls, if they be dead, this night in the pains of hell-fire, as this candle is now quenched and put out (and with that he put out one of the candles): and let us pray to God, if they be alive, that their eyes may be put out, as this candle light is (so he put out the other candle); and let us pray to God and to our lady, and to St. Peter and Paul, and all holy saints, that all the senses of their bodies may fail them, and that they may have no feeling, as now the light of this candle is gone (and so he put out the third candle) except they, he or she, come openly now and confess their blasphemy, and by repentance, as much as in them shall lie, make satisfaction unto God, our lady, St. Peter, and the worshipful company of this cathedral church: and as this holy cross-staff now falleth down, so may they, except they repent and show themselves.

Mark the apish pageants of these popelings.

Here, one first taking away the cross, the staff fell down. But Lord! what a shout and noise was there; what terrible fear; what holding up of hands to heaven: that curse was so terrible!

Now this fond foolish fantasy and mockery being done and played, which was to a christian heart a thing ridiculous, Benet could no longer forbear, but fell to great laughter, but within himself, and for a great space could not cease; by which thing the poor man was espied. For those that were next to him, wondering at that great curse, and believing that it could not but light on one or other, asked good Benet, for what cause he should so laugh. "My friends," said he, "who can forbear, seeing such merry conceits and interludes played by the priests?" Straightway a noise was made, Here is the heretic! here is the heretic! hold him fast, hold him fast! With that, there was a great confusion of voices, and much clapping of hands, and yet they were uncertain whether he were the heretic or no. Some say, that upon the same he was taken and apprehended. Others report, that his enemies, being uncertain of him, departed, and so he went home to his house; where he, being not able to digest the lies there preached, renewed his former bills, and caused his boy, early in the morning following, to set the said bills upon the gates of the churchyard. As the boy was setting one of the said bills upon a gate, called 'The little Stile,' it chanced that one W. S., going to the cathedral church to hear a mass, called Barton's Mass, which was then daily said about five o'clock in the morning, found the boy at the gate, and asking him whose boy he was, did charge him to be the heretic that had set up the bills upon the gates: wherefore, pulling down the bill, he brought the same, together with the boy, before the mayor of the city; and thereupon Benet, being known and taken, was violently committed to ward.

Benet laughed at their cursing.

Benet is taken, by means of his boy setting up his bills.

(1) 'Bless and curse not,' saith the Lord: 'curse and bless not,' saith the pope.

Henry VIII. A. D. 1533. On the morrow began both the canons and the heads of the city joined with them, to fall to examination; with whom, for that day, he had not much communication, but confessed and said to them, "It was even I that put up those bills; and if it were to do, I would yet do it again; for in them I have written nothing but what is very truth."

He confesseth the cause why he set them up. "Couldst not thou," said they, "as well have declared thy mind by mouth, as by putting up bills of blasphemy?" "No," said he, "I put up the bills, that many should read and hear what abominable blasphemers ye are, and that they might the better know your Antichrist, the pope, to be that boar out of the wood, which destroyeth and throweth down the hedges of God's church; for if I had been heard to speak but one word, I should have been clapped fast in prison, and the matter of God hidden. But now I trust more of your blasphemous doings will thereby be opened and come to light; for God will so have it, and no longer will suffer you."

Benet sent to the bishop's prison. The next day after, he was sent unto the bishop, who first committed him to prison, called 'The Bishop's Prison,' where he was kept in stocks and strong irons, with as much favour as a dog should find. Then the bishop, associating unto him one Dr. Brewer, his chancellor, and other of his lewd clergy and friars, began to examine

Articles against him. him and burden him, that, contrary to the catholic faith, he denied praying to the saints, and also denied the supremacy of the pope. Whereunto he answered in such sober manner, and so learnedly proved and defended his assertions, that he did not only confound and put to silence his adversaries, but also brought them in great admiration of him; the most part having pity and compassion on him. The friars took great pains with him to persuade him from his erroneous opinions, to recant and acknowledge his fault, touching the bills; but they did but dig after day; for God had appointed him to be a blessed witness of his holy name, and to be at defiance with all their false persuasions.

To declare here with what cruelty the officers searched his house for bills and books, how cruelly and shamefully they handled his wife, charging her with divers enormities, it were too long to write. But she, like a good woman, took all things patiently that they did unto her; like as in other things she was contented to bear the cross with him, as to fare hardly with him at home, and to live with coarse meat and drink, that they might be the more able somewhat to help the poor, as they did to the uttermost of their power.

Amongst all other priests and friars, Gregory Basset was most busy with him. This Gregory Basset, as is partly touched before, was learned, and had a pleasant tongue, and not long before was

Gregory Basset in prison at Bristol, is compelled by the friars to recant. fallen from the truth, for which he was imprisoned in Bristol a long time; at whose examination was ordained a great pan of fire, where his holy brethren (as the report went abroad) menaced him to burn his hands off: whereupon he there before them recanted, and became afterwards a mortal enemy to the truth all his life. This Gregory,

Busy against Thomas Benet. as it is said, was fervent with the poor man, to please the canons of that church, and marvellously tormented his brains, how to turn him from his opinions; yea, and he was so diligent and fervent with him, that he would not depart the prison, but lay there night and day, who notwithstanding lost his labour: for good Benet was at a point

not to deny Christ before men. So Gregory, as well as the other holy fathers, lost his spurs, insomuch that he said in open audience, that there was never so obstinate a heretic.

The Matter between Gregory Basset and Thomas Benet.

The principal point between Basset and Benet was touching the supremacy of the bishop of Rome, whom in his bills he named Antichrist, the Thief, the Mercenary, and the Murderer of Christ's Flock: and these disputations lasted about eight days, where, at sundry times, repaired to him both the black and grey friars, with priests and monks of that city. They that had some learning persuaded him to believe the church, and showed by what tokens she is known. The others unlearned railed, and said that the devil tempted him, and spat upon him, calling him heretic; who prayed God to give them a better mind, and to forgive them: 'For,' said he, 'I will rather die, than worship such a beast, the very whore of Babylon, and a false usurper, as manifestly it doth appear by his doings.' They asked, What he did, that he had not power and authority to do, being God's vicar? 'He doth,' quoth he, 'sell the sacraments of the church for money, he selleth remission of sins daily for money, and so do you likewise: for there is no day but ye say divers masses for souls in feigned purgatory: yea, and ye spare not to make lying sermons to the people, to maintain your false traditions and foul gains. The whole world doth begin now to note your doings, to your utter confusion and shame.' 'The shame,' say they, 'shall be to thee, and such as thou art, thou foul heretic! Wilt thou allow nothing done in holy church? what a perverse heretic art thou!' 'I am,' said he, 'no heretic, but a christian man, I thank Christ; and with all my heart will allow all things done and used in the church to the glory of God, and edifying of my soul: but I see nothing in your church, but what maintaineth the devil.' 'What is our church?' said they. 'It is not my church,' quoth Benet, 'God give me grace to be of a better church, for verily your church is the plain church of Antichrist, the malignant church, the second church, a den of thieves, and an awmbry of poison, and as far wide from the true, universal, and apostolic church, as heaven is distant from the earth.'

Railing against Benet.

The abuses of the pope to be noted.

Selling of souls.

The pope's church painted in her colours.

'Dost not thou think,' said they, 'that we pertain to the universal church?' 'Yes,' quoth he, 'but as dead members, unto whom the church is not beneficial; for your works are the devices of man, and your church a weak foundation: for ye say and preach that the pope's word is equal with God's word in every degree.' 'Why,' said they, 'did not Christ say to Peter, To thee I will give the keys of the kingdom of heaven?' 'He said that,' quoth he, 'to all, as well as to Peter; and Peter had no more authority given to him than they, or else the churches planted in every kingdom by their preaching are no churches. Doth not St. Paul say, Upon the foundations of the apostles and prophets? Therefore I say plainly, that the church that is built upon a man, is the devil's church or congregation, and not God's. And as every church this day is appointed to be ruled by a bishop or pastor, ordained by the word of God in preaching and administration of the sacraments under the prince, the supreme governor under God, so, to say that all the churches with their princes and governors be subject unto one bishop, is detestable heresy; and the pope, your god, challenging this power to himself, is the greatest schismatic that ever was in the church, and the most foul whore; of whom John, in the Revelation, speaketh.'

The keys given to all the apostles.

The church builded upon man, is the devil's church.

'O thou blind and unlearned fool!' said they, 'is not the confession and consent of all the world, as we confess and consent—That the pope's holiness is the supreme head and vicar of Christ?' 'That is,' said Benet, 'because they are blinded and know not the Scriptures: but if God would of his mercy open the eyes of princes to know their office, his false supremacy would soon decay.' 'We think,' said they, 'thou art so malicious, that thou wilt confess no church.' 'Look!' said he, 'where they are that confess the true name of Jesus Christ; and where Christ only is the head, and under him the prince of the realm, to order all bishops, ministers, and preachers, and to see them do their duties in setting forth the only glory of God by preaching the word of God; and where it is preached that Christ is our only Advocate, Mediator, and Patron before God his Father, making intercession for us; and where the true faith and con-

Consent of the world.

Where the true church is.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1533.

fidence in Christ's death and passion, and his only merits and deservings are extolled, and our own depressed; where the sacrament is duly, without superstition or idolatry, administered in remembrance of his blessed passion and only sacrifice upon the cross once for all, and where no superstition reigneth:—of that church will I be!'

'Doth not the pope,' said they, 'confess the true gospel? do not we all the same?' 'Yes,' said he, 'but ye deny the fruits thereof in every point. Ye build upon the sands, not upon the rock.' 'And wilt thou not believe indeed,' said they, 'that the pope is God's vicar?' 'No,' said he, 'indeed.' 'And why?' said they. 'Because,' quoth he, 'he usurpeth a power not given to him by Christ, no more than to other apostles; and also because, by force of that usurped supremacy, he doth blind the whole world, and doth contrary to all that ever Christ ordained or commanded.' 'What,' said they, 'if he do all things after God's ordinance and commandment: should he then be his vicar?' 'Then,' said he, 'would I believe him to be a good bishop at Rome over his own diocese, and to have no further power. And if it pleased God, I would every bishop did this in his diocese: then should we live a peaceable life in the church of Christ, and there should be no such seditions therein. If every bishop would seek no further power than over his own diocese, it were a goodly thing. Now, because all are subject to one, all must do and consent to all wickedness as he doth, or be none of his. This is the cause of great superstition in every kingdom. And what bishop soever he be that preacheth the gospel, and maintaineth the truth, is a true bishop of the church.' 'And doth not,' said they, 'our holy father the pope maintain the gospel?' 'Yea,' said he, 'I think he doth read it, and peradventure believe it, and so do you also; but neither he nor you do fix the anchor of your salvation therein. Besides that, ye bear such a good will to it, that ye keep it close, that no man may read it but yourselves. And when you preach, God knoweth how you handle it; insomuch, that the people of Christ know no gospel well-near, but the pope's gospel; and so the blind lead the blind, and both fall into the pit. In the true gospel of Christ, confidence is none; but only in your popish traditions and fantastical inventions.'

The pope not God's vicar, and why.

What inconvenience followeth, that all bishops should be ruled by man.

The pope's gospel.

Then said a black friar unto him (God knoweth, a blockhead), 'Do we not preach the gospel daily?' 'Yes,' said he, 'but what preaching of the gospel is that, when therewith ye extol superstitious things, and make us believe that we have redemption through pardons and bulls of Rome, *a pœna et culpa*, as ye term it: and by the merits of your orders ye make many brethren and sisters; ye take yearly money of them, ye bury them in your coats, and in shrift ye beguile them; yea, and do a thousand superstitious things more: a man may be weary to speak of them.' 'I see,' said the friar, 'that thou art a damned wretch; I will have no more talk with thee.'

Then stepped to him a grey friar, a doctor (God knoweth of small intelligence), and laid before him great and many dangers. 'I take God to record,' said Benet, 'my life is not dear to me; I am content to depart from it, for I am weary of it, seeing your detestable doings, to the utter destruction of God's flock; and, for my part, I can no longer forbear. I had rather, by death (which I know is not far off), depart this life, that I may no longer be partaker of your detestable idolatries and superstitions, or be subject unto antichrist your pope.' 'Our pope,' said the friar, 'is the vicar of God, and our ways are the ways of God.' 'I pray you,' said Benet, 'depart from me, and tell not me of your ways. He is only my way, who saith, I am the way, the truth, and the life. In his way will I walk, his doings shall be my example; not yours, nor your false pope's. His truth will I embrace; not the lies and falsehood of you and your pope. His everlasting life will I seek, the true reward of all faithful people. Away from me, I pray you. Vex my soul no longer; ye shall not prevail. There is no good example in you, no truth in you, no life to be hoped for at your hands. Ye are all more vain than vanity itself. If I should hear and follow you this day, everlasting death should hang over me, a just reward for all them that love the life of this world. Away from me: your company liketh me not.'

Benet weary of the friar's talk.

Thus a whole week, night and day, was Benet plied by these and such other hypocrites. It were an infinite matter to declare all things

done and said to him in the time of his imprisonment; and the hate of the people that time, by means of ignorance, was hot against him: notwithstanding they could never move his patience; he answered to every matter soberly, and that, more by the aid of God's Spirit, than by any worldly study. I think he was at least fifty years old. Being in prison, his wife provided sustenance for him; and when she lamented, he comforted her, and gave her many good and godly exhortations, and prayed her to move him nothing to apply unto his adversaries.

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Benet patient and constant.

Thus when these godly canons and priests, with the monks and friars, had done what they could, and perceived that he would by no means relent, then they, proceeding unto judgment, drew out their bloody sentence against him, condemning him, as the manner is, to be burned. This being done, and the writ which they had procured 'de comburendo,' being brought from London, they delivered him on the 15th of January, 1531, unto sir Thomas Denis, knight, then sheriff of Devonshire, to be burned. The mild martyr, rejoicing that his end was approaching so near, as the sheep before the shearer, yielded himself with all humbleness to abide and suffer the cross of persecution. And being brought to his execution, in a place called Livery-dole, without Exeter, he made his most humble confession and prayer unto Almighty God, and requested all the people to do the like for him; whom he exhorted with such gravity and sobriety, and with such a pithy oration, to seek the true honouring of God, and the true knowledge of him; as also to leave the devices, fantasies, and imaginations of man's inventions, that all the hearers and beholders of him were astonied and in great admiration; insomuch that the most part of the people, as also the scribe who wrote the sentence of condemnation against him, did pronounce and confess that he was God's servant, and a good man.

Sentence read against Thomas Benet.

Benet delivered to the secular power.

Brought to the place of execution.

Nevertheless two esquires, namely, Thomas Carew and John Barnehouse, standing at the stake by him, first with fair promises and goodly words, but at length through rough threatenings, willed him to revoke his errors, and to call to Our Lady and the saints, and to say, "Precor sanctam Mariam, et omnes sanctos Dei," &c. To whom, with all meekness, he answered, saying, "No, no; it is God only upon whose name we must call; and we have no other advocate unto him, but only Jesus Christ, who died for us, and now sitteth at the right hand of his Father, to be an advocate for us; and by him must we offer and make our prayers to God, if we will have them to take place and to be heard.' With this answer the aforesaid Barnehouse was so enkindled, that he took a furze-bush upon a pike, and having set it on fire, he thrust it unto his face, saying, "Ah! horeson heretic! pray to our Lady, and say, Sancta Maria, ora pro nobis, or, by God's wounds, I will make thee do it." To whom the said Thomas Benet, with an humble and a meek spirit, most patiently answered, "Alas, sir! trouble me not." And holding up his hands, he said, "Pater! ignosce illis." Whereupon the gentlemen caused the wood and furzes to be set on fire, and therewith this godly man lifted up his eyes and hands to heaven, saying, "O Domine! recipe spiritum meum." And so, continuing in his prayers, he did never stir nor strive, but most patiently abode the cruelty of the fire, until

Benet refuseth to pray to our Lady.

One Advocate, Christ.

A furze-bush thrust in his face, because he would not pray to our Lady.

The constant end and martyrdom of Benet.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1528 to 1533.

his life was ended. For this the Lord God be praised, and send us his grace and blessing, that at the latter day we may with him enjoy the bliss and joy provided and prepared for the elect children of God.

This Benet was burned in a jerkin of neat's leather; at whose burning, such was the devilish rage of the blind people, that well was he or she that could catch a stick or furze to cast into the fire.

Hitherto we have run over, good reader, the names, and the acts and doings of those, who have sustained death, and the torment of burning, for Christ's cause, through the rigorous proclamation above specified, set out, as is said, in the name of king Henry, but indeed procured by the bishops. That proclamation was so straitly looked upon, and executed so to the uttermost in every point, by the said popish prelates, that no good man, "habens spiramentum,"[1] whereof Esdras' speaketh, could peep out with his head ever so little, but he was caught by the back, and brought either to the fire, as were these above mentioned; or else compelled to abjure. Whereof there was a great multitude, as well men as women; whose names, if they were sought out through all registers in England, no doubt it would make too long a discourse. Nevertheless, omitting the rest, it shall content us at this present, briefly, as in a short table, to insinuate the names, with the special articles, of such as, in the diocese of London, under Bishop Stokesley, were molested and vexed, and, at last, compelled to abjure, as here may appear.

The king's proclamation. Vide supra.

A TABLE OF CERTAIN PERSONS, ABJURED WITHIN THE DIOCESE OF LONDON, UNDER BISHOP STOKESLEY, WITH THE ARTICLES ALLEGED AGAINST THEM.

Articles objected against Jeffery Lome, sometime porter to St. Anthony's School; and for which articles he was abjured.[2] A.D. 1528.

Imprimis, for having and dispersing abroad sundry books of Martin Luther's, and others; as also for translating into the English tongue, certain chapters of the work of Luther, 'De Bonis Operibus:' as also, certain chapters of a certain book called 'Piæ Predicationes,' wherein divers works of Luther be comprehended.

Item, For affirming and believing that faith only without good works, will bring a man to heaven.

Item, That men be not bound to observe the constitutions made by the Church.

Item, That we should pray to God only, and to no saints.

Item, That christian men ought to worship God only, and no saints.

Item, That pilgrimages be not profitable for man's soul, and should not be used.

Item, That we should not offer to images in the church, nor set any lights before them.

Item, That no man is bound to keep any manner of fasting-days, instituted at the church.

Item, That pardons granted by the pope or the bishop do not profit a man.

For these articles Jeffery Lome was abjured before the bishops of London, Bath, and Lincoln; no mention being made of any penance enjoined him.

(1) 4 Esd. 7.

(2) The articles for which Lome was abjured being less fully given in recent editions, they are introduced from the first edition, (1563,) pp. 477, 478.—Ed.

Sigar Nicholson, Stationer, of Cambridge, A.D. 1528.

His articles were like; and moreover for having in his house certain books of Luther, and others prohibited, and not presenting them to the ordinary. The handling of this man was too, too cruel, if the report be true, that he should be hanged up in such a manner as well suffereth not to be named.

John Raimund, a Dutchman, A.D. 1528.

For causing fifteen hundred of Tyndale's New Testaments to be printed at Antwerp, and for bringing five hundred into England.

Paul Luther, Grey Friar, and Warden of the House at Ware, A.D. 1529.

His articles were for preaching and saying that it is pity that there be so many images suffered in so many places, where indiscreet and unlearned people be; for they make their prayers and oblations so entirely and heartily before the image, that they believe it to be the very self saint in heaven.

Item, That if he knew his father and mother were in heaven, he would count them as good as St. Peter and Paul, but for the pain they suffered for Christ's sake.

Item, That there is no need to go on pilgrimage.

Item, That if a man were at the point of drowning, or any other danger, he should call only upon God, and no saint; for saints in heaven cannot help us, neither know any more what men do here in this world, than a man in the north country knoweth what is done in the south country.

Roger Whaplod, Merchant Tailor, sent, by one Thomas Norfolk, unto Dr. Goderidge, this bill following, to be read at his sermon in the Spital. A.D. 1529.

A Bill read by the Preacher at the Spital.

'If there be any well-disposed person willing to do any cost upon the reparation of the conduit in Fleet-street, let him or them resort unto the administrators of the goods and cattle of one Richard Hun, late merchant tailor of London, which died intestate, or else to me, and they shall have toward the same six pounds thirteen shillings and fourpence, and a better penny, of the goods of the said Richard Hun; upon whose soul, and all christian souls, Jesus have mercy!'

For this bill, both Whaplod and Norfolk were brought and troubled before the bishop; and also Dr. Goderidge, who took a groat for reading the said bill,[1] was suspended for a time from saying mass, and also was forced to revoke the same at Paul's cross; reading this bill as followeth.

The Revocation of Dr. William Goderidge, read at Paul's Cross.

Masters! so it is, that where in my late sermon at St. Mary Spital, the Tuesday in Easter-week last past, I did pray specially for the soul of Richard Hun, late of London, merchant-tailor, a heretic, by the laws of holy church justly condemned: by reason whereof I greatly offended God and his church, and the laws of the same, for which I have submitted me to my ordinary, and done penance there-for: forasmuch as, peradventure, the audience that was there offended by my said words, might take any occasion thereby to think that I did favour the said heretic, or any other, I desire you, at the instance of

Dr. Goderidge revoketh his praying for the soul of Richard Hun.

(1) It was the manner at this time to take money for reading of bills at sermons. Ex Regist. Lond

Henry VIII. A.D. 1529 to 1533.

Almighty God, to forgive me, and not so to think of me, for I did it unadvisedly. Therefore, here before God and you, I declare myself that I have not favoured him or any other heretic, nor hereafter intend to do, but at all times shall defend the Catholic faith of holy church, according to my profession, to the best of my power.

Robert West, Priest, A.D. 1529.

Abjured for books and opinions contrary to the proclamation.

Nicholas White of Rye, A.D. 1529.

His articles:—For speaking against the priests' saying of matins; against praying for them that be dead: against praying to God for small trifles, as for the cow calving, the hen hatching, &c.: for speaking against the relic of St. Peter's finger: against oblations to images: against vowing of pilgrimage: against priesthood: against holy bread and holy water, &c.

Richard Kitchen, Priest, A.D. 1529.

His articles:—That pardons granted by the pope are naught, and that men should put no trust in them, but only in the passion of Christ: that he, being led by the words of the gospel, Mat. vii. 'De via lata, et angusta,' and also by the epistle of the mass, beginning, 'Vir fortissimus Judas,' had erred in the way of the pope, and thought, that there were but two ways, and no purgatory: that men ought to worship no images, nor set up lights before them: that pilgrimage doth nothing avail: that the gospel was not truly preached for the space of three hundred years past, &c.

William Wegen, Priest at St. Mary Hill, A.D. 1529.

His articles:—That he was not bound to say his Matins nor other service, but to sing with the choir till they came to 'prime;' and then, saying no more service, thought he might well go to mass: that he had said mass oftentimes, and had not said his matins and his divine service before: that he had gone to mass without confession made to a priest: that it was sufficient for a man, being in deadly sin, to ask only God mercy for his sin, without further confession made to a priest: that he held against pilgrimages, and called images, stocks, stones, and witches.

Item, That he being sick, went to the Rood of St. Margaret Patens; and said before him twenty Paternosters; and when he saw himself never the better, then he said, 'A foul evil take him, and all other images.'

Item, That if a man keep a good tongue in his head, he fasteth well.

Item, For commending Luther to be a good man, for preaching twice a day, &c.

Item, For saying that the mass was but a ceremony, and made to the intent that men should pray only.

Item, For saying, that if a man had a pair of beads or a book in his hand at the church, and were not disposed to pray, it was naught, &c.

William Hale, Holy Water Clerk of Tolenham, A.D. 1529.

His articles:—That offering of money and candles to images did not avail, since we are justified by the blood of Christ.

Item, For speaking against worshipping of saints, and against the pope's pardons. For saying, that since the sacraments that the priest doth minister, be as good as those which the pope doth minister, he did not see but the priest hath as good authority as the pope.

Item, That a man should confess himself to God only, and not to a priest, &c.

William Blomfield, Monk of Bury.

Abjured for the like causes.

John Tyndale, A. D. 1530.

For sending five marks to his brother William Tyndale beyond the sea, and for receiving and keeping with him certain letters from his brother.

William Worsley, Priest and Hermit, A. D. 1530.

His articles:—For preaching at Halestede, having the curate's license, but not the bishop's.

Item, For preaching these words, 'No man riding on pilgrimage, having under him a soft saddle, and an easy horse, should have any merit thereby, but the horse and the saddle,' &c.

Item, For saying that hearing of matins and mass, is not the thing that shall save a man's soul, but only to hear the word of God.

John Stacy, Tiler, A.D. 1530.

His articles were against purgatory, which, he said, were but a device of the priests to get money: against fasting days by man's prescription, and choice of meats: against superfluous holy days: Item, against pilgrimage, &c.

Lawrence Maxwell, Tailor, A.D. 1530.

His articles:—That the sacrament of the altar was not the very body of Christ in flesh and blood; but that he received him by the word of God, and in remembrance of Christ's passion.

Item, That the order of priesthood is no sacrament: that there is no purgatory, &c.

Thomas Curson, Monk of Eastacre, in Norfolk, A.D. 1530.

His articles were these:—For going out of the monastery, and changing his weed, and letting his crown to grow; working abroad for his living, making copes and vestments. Also for having the New Testament of Tyndale's translation, and another book containing certain books of the Old Testament, translated into English, by certain whom the Papists call Lutherans.

Thomas Cornewell or Austy, A.D. 1530.

His articles:—It was objected, that he, being enjoined afore, by Richard Fitzjames, bishop of London, for his penance to wear a faggot embroidered upon his sleeve under pain of relapse, he kept not the same; and therefore he was condemned to perpetual custody in the house of St. Bartholomew, from whence afterwards he escaped and fled away.

Thomas Philip, A.D. 1530.

Thomas Philip was delivered by sir Thomas More, to bishop Stokesley by indenture. Besides other articles of purgatory, images, the sacrament of the altar, holy-days, keeping of books, and such like, it was objected unto him, that he, being searched in the Tower, had found about him Tracy's Testament; and in his chamber in the Tower was found cheese and butter in Lent-time. Also, that he had a letter delivered unto him going to the Tower. This letter, with the Testament also of Tracy, because they are both worthy to be seen, we mind (God willing) to annex also unto the story of this Thomas Philip. As he was oftentimes examined before Master More and the bishop, he always stood to his denial, neither could there any thing be proved clearly against him, but only Tracy's Testament, and his butter in Lent. One Stacy first bare witness against him, but after, in the court, openly he protested that he did it for fear. The bishop then willing him to submit himself, and to swear never to hold any opinion contrary to the determination of holy church, he said 'he would:' and when the form of his abjuration was given him to read, he read it: but the bishop, not content with that, would have him to read it openly. But that he would not; and said, He would appeal to the king as supreme head of the

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church, and so did. Still the bishop called upon him to abjure. He answered, That he would be obedient as a christian man should, and that he would swear never to hold any heresy during his life, nor to favour any heretics.

But the bishop, not yet content, would have him to read the abjuration after the form of the church conceived, as it was given him. He answered again, that he would forswear all heresies, and that he would maintain no heresies, nor favour any heretics. The bishop with this would not be answered, but needs would drive him to the abjuration formed after the pope's church: to whom he said, If it were the same abjuration that he read, he would not read it, but stand to his appeal made to the king, the supreme head of the church under God. Again the bishop asked him, if he would abjure or not. 'Except,' said he, 'you will show me the cause why I should abjure, I will not say yea nor nay to it, but will stand to my appeal;' and he required the bishop to obey the same. Then the bishop, reading openly the bill of excommunication against him, denounced him for 'contumax,' and an excommunicated person, charging all men to have no company, and nothing to do with him. After this excommunication, what became of him, whether he was holpen by his appeal, or whether he was burned, or whether he died in the Tower, or whether he abjured, I find no mention made in the registers.

A Letter directed to Thomas Philip in the name of the Brethren, and given him by the way going to the Tower.

A letter sent by the congregation.

The favour of him that is able to keep you that you fall not, and to confess your name in the kingdom of glory, and to give you strength by his Spirit to confess him before all his adversaries, be with you ever. Amen.

Sir, the brethren think that there be divers false brethren craftily crept in among them, to seek out their freedom in the Lord, that they may accuse them to the Lord's adversaries, as they suppose they have done you. Wherefore, if so it be, that the Spirit of God move you thereunto, they, as counsellors, desire you above all things to be stedfast in the Lord's verity, without fear; for he shall and will be your help, according to his promise, so that they shall not minish the least hair of your head without his will; unto which will, submit yourself and rejoice: for the Lord knoweth how to deliver the godly out of temptation, and how to reserve the unjust unto the day of judgment, to be punished:[1] and therefore cast all your care on him, for he careth for you.[2] And in that you suffer as a christian man, be not ashamed, but rather glorify God on that behalf, 'Looking upon Christ the author and finisher of our faith, which, for the joy that was set before him, abode the cross and despised the shame.'[3] Notwithstanding, though we suffer the wrong after the example of our Master Christ, yet we be not bound to suffer the wrong cause, for Christ himself suffered it not, but reproved him that smote him wrongfully. And so likewise saith St. Paul also.[4] So that we must not suffer the wrong, but boldly reprove them that sit as righteous judges, and do contrary to righteousness. Therefore, according both to God's law and man's, ye be not bound to make answer in any cause, till your accusers come before you; which if you require, and thereon do stick, the false brethren shall be known, to the great comfort of those that now stand in doubt whom they may trust; and also it shall be a mean that they shall not craftily, by questions, take you in snares. And that you may this do lawfully, in Acts xx. it is written, 'It is not the manner of the Romans to deliver any man that he should perish, before that he which is accused have his accusers before him, and have license to answer for himself, as pertaining to the crime whereof he is accused.' And also Christ willeth that in the mouth of two or three witnesses all things shall stand.[5] And in 1 Tim. v., it is written, 'Against a senior, receive none accusation, but under two or three witnesses.' A senior, in this place, is any man that hath a house to govern. And also their own law is agreeable to this. Wherefore, seeing it is agreeable to the word of God, that in accusations such witnesses should be, you may with good conscience require it. And thus the God of grace, which hath called you unto his eternal glory by Christ Jesus, shall his own self, after a little affliction, make you perfect; shall settle, strengthen, and stablish you, that to him may be glory and praise for ever. Amen.

What is a senior by St. Paul.

(1) 2 Pet. ii. (2) 1 Pet. v. (3) Heb. xii. (4) Acts xxiii. (5) Matt. xviii.

Thus ye have heard the letter delivered to Thomas Philip. Now followeth the Testament of William Tracy. *Henry VIII.* A.D. 1531 to 1533.

William Tracy, Esquire, of Gloucestershire.

A little before this time, this William Tracy, a worshipful esquire in Gloucestershire, and then dwelling at Toddington, made, in his will, that he would have no funeral pomp at his burying, neither passed he upon mass; and he further said, that he trusted in God only, and hoped by him to be saved, and not by any saint. This gentleman died, and his son, as executor, brought the will to the bishop of Canterbury to prove: which he showed to the convocation, and there most cruelly they judged that he should be taken out of the ground, and be burned as a heretic, A.D. 1532. This commission was sent to Dr. Parker, chancellor of the diocese of Worcester, to execute their wicked sentence; who accomplished the same. The king, hearing his subject to be taken out of the ground and burned, without his knowledge or order of his law, sent for the chancellor, and laid high offence to his charge; who excused himself by the archbishop of Canterbury who was lately dead; but in conclusion it cost him three hundred pounds to have his pardon.

William Tracy taken up, being dead, and burnt.

The will and testament of this gentleman, thus condemned by the clergy, was as hereunder followeth:

The Testament of William Tracy.[1]

In the name of God, Amen. I William Tracy of Toddington in the county of Gloucester, esquire, make my testament and last will as hereafter followeth: First and before all other things, I commit myself to God and to his mercy, believing, without any doubt or mistrust, that by his grace, and the merits of Jesus Christ, and by the virtue of his passion and of his resurrection, I have and shall have remission of all my sins, and resurrection of body and soul, according as it is written, I believe that my Redeemer liveth, and that in the last day I shall rise out of the earth, and in my flesh shall see my Saviour: this my hope is laid up in my bosom.[2]

And touching the wealth of my soul, the faith that I have taken and rehearsed is sufficient (as I suppose) without any other man's works or merits. My ground and belief is, that there is but one God and one mediator between God and man, which is Jesus Christ; so that I accept none in heaven or in earth to be mediator between me and God, but only Jesus Christ: all others to be but as petitioners in receiving of grace, but none able to give influence of grace: and therefore will I bestow no part of my goods for that intent that any man should say or do to help my soul; for therein I trust only to the promises of Christ: 'He that believeth and is baptized shall be saved, and he that believeth not shall be damned.'[3]

As touching the burying of my body, it availeth me not whatsoever be done thereto; for St. Augustine saith, 'De cura agenda pro mortuis,' that the funeral pomps are rather the solace of them that live, than the wealth and comfort of them that are dead: and therefore I remit it only to the discretion of mine executors.

Funeral pomp serveth only for the living.

And touching the distribution of my temporal goods, my purpose is, by the grace of God, to bestow them to be accepted as the fruits of faith; so that I do not suppose that my merit shall be by the good bestowing of them, but my merit is the faith of Jesus Christ only, by whom such works are good, according to the words of our Lord, 'I was hungry, and thou gavest me to eat,' &c. And it followeth, 'That ye have done to the least of my brethren, ye have done it to me,' &c. And ever we should consider that true saying, that a good work

Our merits be only our faith in Christ.

(1) See Hall's Chronicle, p. 796. Edit. 4to. 1809. There is a commentary both by Tyndale and Frith upon this will, vol. iii. pp. 4 and 246 of their Works. London, 1831.—Ed.

(2) Job xix. (3) Mark 16.

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maketh not a good man, but a good man maketh a good work; for faith maketh a man both good and righteous: for a righteous man liveth by faith, and whatsoever springeth not of faith is sin, &c.[1]

And all my temporal goods that I have not given or delivered, or not given by writing of mine own hand, bearing the date of this present writing, I do leave and give to Margaret my wife, and Richard my son, whom I make mine executors. Witness hereof mine own hand the tenth of October, in the twenty-second year of the reign of king Henry the Eighth.

This is the true copy of his will, for which (as you heard before), after he was almost two years dead, they took him up and burned him.

THE TABLE CONTINUED.[2]

John Perinan, Skinner, A.D 1531.

His articles were much like unto the others before; adding, moreover, that all the preachers then at Paul's Cross preached nothing but lies and flatterings, and that there was never a true preacher but one; naming Edward Crome.

Robert Goldstone, Glazier, A.D. 1531.

His articles:—That men should pray to God only, and to no saints: that pilgrimage is not profitable: that men should give no worship to images. Item, for saying, that if he had as much power as any cardinal had, he would destroy all the images that were in all the churches in England.

Lawrence Staple, Serving-man, A. D. 1531.

His articles:—For having the Testament in English, the five books of Moses, the Practice of Prelates, the Sum of Scripture, the A. B. C.

Item, About the burning of Bainham, for saying, 'I would I were with Bainham, seeing that every man hath forsaken him, that I might drink with him, and he might pray for me.'

Item, That he moved Henry Tomson to learn to read the New Testament, calling it The Blood of Christ.

Item, In Lent past, when he had no fish, he did eat eggs, butter, and cheese. Also, about six weeks before Master Bilney was attached, the said Bilney delivered to him at Greenwich four New Testaments of Tyndale's translation, which he had in his sleeve, and a budget besides of books, which budget he, shortly after riding to Cambridge, delivered unto Bilney, &c.

Eating of eggs, made heresy.

Item, On Fridays he used to eat eggs, and thought that it was no great offence before God, &c.

Henry Tomson, Tailor, A. D. 1531.

His articles:—That which the priest lifteth over his head at the sacring-time, is not the very body of Christ, nor is it God; but a thing that God hath ordained to be done.

This poor Tomson, although at first he submitted himself to the bishop, yet they with sentence condemned him to perpetual prison.

Jasper Wetzell, of Cologne, A. D. 1531.

His articles:—That he cared not for going to the church to hear mass, for he could say mass as well as the priest: That he would not pray to our Lady, for she could do us no good.

Item, Being asked if he would go hear mass, he said, he had as lieve go to the gallows, where the thieves were hanged.

Item, Being at St. Margaret Patens, and there holding his arms across, he said unto the people, that he could make as good a knave as he is, for he is made but of wood, &c.

(1) Rom. xiv. (2) Ex Regist. Lond.

Robert Man, Serving-man, A. D. 1531.

His articles:—That there is no purgatory: That the pope hath no more power to grant pardon than another simple priest: That God gave no more authority to St. Peter than to another priest: That the pope was a knave, and his priests knaves all, for suffering his pardons to go abroad to deceive the people: That St. Thomas of Canterbury is no saint: That St. Peter was never pope of Rome.

Item, He used commonly to ask of priests where he came, whether a man were accursed, if he handled a chalice, or no? If the priest would say, Yea: then would he reply again thus: 'If a man have a sheep-skin on his hands,' meaning a pair of gloves, 'he may handle it.' The priests saying, Yea. 'Well then,' quoth he, 'ye will make me believe, that God put more virtue in a sheep-skin, than he did in a Christian man's hand, for whom he died.

Priests set more store by a pair of gloves, than by a layman's hand.

Henry Feldon, A. D. 1531.

His trouble was for having these books in English: A proper Dialogue between a Gentleman and a Husbandman, The Sum of Scripture, The Prologue, of Mark, a written book containing the Pater-noster, Ave-Maria, and the Creed, in English; The Ten Commandments, and The Sixteen Conditions of Charity.

Robert Cooper, Priest, A. D. 1531.

His article was only this:—For saying that the blessing with a shoe-sole, is as good as the bishop's blessing, &c.

Thomas Roe, A. D. 1531.

His articles were, for speaking against auricular confession and priestly penance, and against the preaching of the doctors.

William Wallam, A. D. 1531.

His opinion: That the sacrament of the altar is not the body of Christ in flesh and blood; and that there is a God, but not that God in flesh and blood, in the form of bread.

Grace Palmer, A. D. 1531.

Witness was brought against her by her neighbours, John Rouse, Agnes his wife, John Pole, of St. Osithe's, for saying, 'Ye use to bear palms on Palm-Sunday: it skilleth not whether you bear any or not, it is but a thing used, and need not.'

Against bearing of palms.

Also, 'Ye use to go on pilgrimage to our Lady of Grace, of Walsingham, and other places: ye were better tarry at home, and give money to succour me and my children, and others of my poor neighbours, than to go thither; for there you shall find but a piece of timber painted: there is neither God nor our Lady.

Item, For repenting that she did ever light candles before images.

Item, That the sacrament of the altar is not the body of Christ; it is but bread, which the priest there showeth for a token or remembrance of Christ's body.

Philip Brasier, of Boxted, A.D. 1531.

His articles:—That the sacrament holden up between the priest's hands is not the body of Christ, but bread, and is done for a signification: That confession to a priest needeth not: That images be but stocks and stones: That pilgrimage is vain: Also for saying, that when there is any miracle done, the priests do anoint the images, and make men believe that the images do sweat in labouring for them; and with the offerings the priests find their harlots.

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John Fairestede, of Colchester, A. D. 1531.

His articles:—For words spoken against pilgrimage and images. Also for saying these words, 'That the day should come that men should say, Cursed be they that make these false gods,' (meaning images.)

George Bull, of Much Hadham, Draper, A. D. 1531.

Three confessions.

A well-spring where Wickliff's bones were burned.

His articles:—That there be three confessions; one principal to God; another to his neighbour whom he had offended; and the third to a priest; and that without the two first confessions, to God and to his neighbour, a man could not be saved. The third confession to a priest, is necessary for counsel to such as be ignorant and unlearned, to learn how to make their confession with a contrite heart unto God, and how to hope for forgiveness; and also in what manner they should ask forgiveness of their neighbour whom they have offended, &c. Item, For saying that Luther was a good man. Item, That he reported, through the credence and report of Master Patmore, parson of Hadham, that where Wickliff's bones were burnt, sprang up a well or well-spring.

John Haymond, Millwright, A. D. 1531.

His articles:—For speaking and holding against pilgrimage and images, and against prescribed fasting-days.

That priests and religious men, notwithstanding their vows made, may lawfully forsake their vows and marry.

Item, For having books of Luther and Tyndale.

Robert Lambe, a Harper, A. D. 1531.

His article:—For that he, standing accursed two years together, and not fearing the censures of the pope's church, went about with a song in commendation of Martin Luther.

John Hewes, Draper, A.D. 1531.

His articles, For speaking against purgatory, and Thomas Becket.

Against kneeling to the cross.

Item, At the town of Farnham, he, seeing Edward Frensham kneeling in the street to a cross carried before a corse, asked, To whom he kneeled? He said, To his Maker. 'Thou art a fool,' said he, 'it is not thy Maker; it is but a piece of copper or wood,' &c.

Item, For these words, Masters! ye use to go on pilgrimage; it were better first that ye look upon your poor neighbours, who lack succour, &c.

† Also for saying, that he heard the vicar of Croydon thus preach openly, That there is much immorality kept up by going on pilgrimage to Wilsdon or Mouswell, &c.

Thomas Patmore, Draper, A.D. 1531.

This Patmore was brother to Master Patmore, parson of Hadham, who was imprisoned in the Lollards' Tower for marrying a priest, and in the same prison continued three years.

This Patmore was accused by divers witnesses, upon these articles:

That he had as lieve pray to yonder hunter (pointing to a man painted there in a stained cloth), for a piece of flesh, as to pray to stocks that stand in walls, (meaning images.)

Item, That men should not pray to saints, but to God only: 'For why should we pray to saints?' said he, 'they are but blocks and stocks.'

The truth of Scripture a long time kept from us.

Item, That the truth of Scripture hath been kept from us a long time, and hath not appeared till now.

Item, Coming by a tree wherein stood an image, he took away the wax which hanged there offered.

Item, That he regarded not the place whether it was hallowed or no, where he should be buried after he was dead.

Also in talk with the curate of St. Peter's, he defended that priests might marry. *Henry VIII.*

This Patmore had long hold with the bishop of London. First, he would not swear, 'Infamia non præcedente.' Then he would appeal to the king, but all would not serve. He was so wrapt in the bishop's nets, that he could not get out: but at last he was forced to abjure, and was fined to the king a hundred pounds. A.D. 1531 to 1533.

Note in the communication between this Patmore and the priest of St. Peter's, that whereas the priest objected against him (as is in the register) that priests have lived unmarried and without wives, these 1500 years in the church; he, and all other such priests therein say falsely, and deceive the people, as by story is proved in these volumes, that priests here in England had wives by law within these five hundred years and less. A false saying of the papists.

Simon Smith, Master of Arts, of Gunwell-hall, Cambridge, and Joan Bennore his Wife, A.D. 1531.

This Simon Smith, and Bennore his wife, were the parties whom Master Patmore, parson of Hadham, above mentioned, did marry, and was condemned for the same to perpetual prison. For this marriage, both the said Simon, and Bennore his wife, were called to examination before the bishop, and he caused to make the whole discourse of all his doings, how and where he married; then, after his marriage, how long he tarried; whether he went beyond sea; where he was, and with whom; after his return whither he resorted; how he lived; what mercery-ware he occupied; what fairs he frequented; where he left his wife; how he carried her over, and brought her home again, and how she was found, &c. All this they made him confess, and put it in their register. And though they could fasten no other crime of heresy upon him, but only his marriage, yet, calling both him and her (being great with child) to examination, they caused them both to abjure and suffer penance.

Thomas Patmore, Parson of Hadham, A.D. 1530.

This Thomas Patmore, being learned and godly, was preferred to the parsonage of Hadham, in Hertfordshire, by Richard Fitz-James, bishop of London, and there continued instructing and teaching his flock during the time of the said Fitz-James, and also of Tonstal his successor, by the space of sixteen years or more; behaving himself in life and conversation without any public blame or reproach, until John Stokesley was preferred unto the said bishopric, who, not very long after his installing, either for malice not greatly liking of the said Patmore, or else desirous to prefer some other unto the benefice (as it is supposed and alleged by his brethren in sundry supplications exhibited unto the king, as also unto queen Anne, then Marchioness of Pembroke), caused him to be attached and brought before him; and then, keeping him prisoner in his own palace, a certain time afterwards committed him to Lollards' tower, where he kept him most extremely above two years, without fire or candle, or any other relief, but such as his friends sent him; not suffering any of them, notwithstanding, to come unto him, no not in his sickness. Howbeit sundry times in the mean while he called him judicially, either before himself, or else his vicar-general Foxford, that great persecutor, charging him with these sundry articles, viz. first, whether he had been at Wittenberg; secondly, and had seen or talked with Luther; thirdly, or with any Englishman, abiding there; fourthly, who went with him or attended upon him thither; fifthly, also what books he bought there, either Latin or English; sixthly, and whether he had read or studied any works of Luther, Œcolampadius, Pomerane, or Melancthon.

Besides these, he ministered also other articles unto him, touching the marriage of Master Simon Smith (before mentioned) with one Joan Bennore, charging him that he both knew of, and also consented unto their marriage, the one Priests' marriages.

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being a priest and his curate, and the other his maidservant; and that he had persuaded his maidservant to marry with his said curate, alleging unto her, that though it were not lawful in England for priests to marry, yet it was, in other countries beyond seas. And that after their said marriage, he (knowing the same) did yet suffer the said Smith to minister in his cure all Easter-time, and fifteen days after; and that at their departure out of England, he supped with them at the Bell in New Fish-street; and again, at their return into England, did meet them at the said Bell, and there lent unto the said Smith a priest's gown.

He objected, moreover, against him in the said articles, that he had affirmed at Cambridge, first, that he did not set a bottle of hay by the pope's or bishop's curse; secondly, and that God bindeth us to impossible things, that he may save us only by his mercy; also thirdly, that though young children be baptized, yet they cannot be saved except they have faith; fourthly and lastly, that it was against God's law to burn heretics.

Unto these articles, after long imprisonment and great threats of the bishop and his vicar, he at last answered, making first his appeal unto the king, wherein he showed, that forasmuch as the bishop had most unjustly, and contrary to all due order of law, and the equity thereof, proceeded against him, as well in falsely defaming him with the crime of heresy, without having any just proof or public defamation thereof; as also, contrary to all justice, keeping him in most strait prison so long time (both to the great danger of his life, by grievous sickness taken thereby, as especially to his no small grief, that through his absence, his flock, whereof he had charge, were not fed with the word of God and his sacraments as he would); and then, to minister unto him such articles, mingled with interrogatories, as neither touched any heresy nor transgression of any law, but rather showing a mind to pick quarrels against him and other innocent people; he therefore, for the causes alleged, was compelled and did appeal from him and all his officers unto the king's majesty, whom, under God, he had for his most just and lawful refuge, and defender against all injuries. From which appeal although he minded not at any time to depart, yet because he would not show himself obstinate against the bishop, being his ordinary (although he had most just cause to suspect his unjust proceeding against him), he was nevertheless content to exhibit unto him this his answer: First, that howsoever the bishop was privately informed, yet because he was not 'publice diffamatus apud bonos et graves,' according to law, he was not, by the law, bound to answer to any of those articles.

And as touching the first six articles (as whether he was at Wittenberg, and spake with Luther, or any other, or bought or read any of their books, &c.), because none of those things were forbidden him by any law, neither was he publicly accused of them (for that it was permitted to many good men to have them), he was not bound to answer, neither was he to be examined of them. But as touching the marriage of Master Simon Smith with Joan Bennore, he granted that he knew thereof by the declaration of Master Smith; but, that he gave his maid counsel thereunto, he utterly denied. And as concerning the contracting of the marriage between them, he thought it not at all against God's law, who at the first creation made marriage lawful for all men: neither thought he it unlawful for him, after their marriage, either to keep him as his curate, or else to lend or give him any thing needful (wherein he said he showed more charity than the bishop, who had taken all things from them); and therefore he desired to have it proved by the Scriptures, that priests' marriages were not lawful.

Against whom, Foxford the bishop's vicar often alleged general councils, and determinations of the church, but no Scriptures, still urging him to abjure his articles; which Patmore long time refused, and sticking a great while to his former answers, at last was threatened by Foxford, to have the definitive sentence read against him. Whereupon he answered, that he believed the holy church as a christian man ought to do, and because it passed his capacity, he desired to be instructed, and if the Scriptures did teach it, he would believe it; for he knew not the contrary by the Scriptures, but that a priest might marry a wife; howbeit by the laws of the church, he thought that a priest might not marry. But the chancellor still so urged him to show whether a priest might marry without offence to God, that at length he granted that priests might not

marry without offence to God, because the church had forbidden it, and therefore a priest could not marry without deadly sin.

Now as touching the four last articles, he denied that he spake them as they were put against him; but he granted that he might perhaps jestingly say, That a bottle of hay were more profitable to him than the pope's curse, which he thought true. Also to the second, he affirmed that God had set before us, by his precepts and commandments, the way to justice, which way was not in man's power to go and keep; therefore Paul saith [Gal. iii.], 'Quod lex erat ordinata per angelos;' but yet, to fulfil it, it was 'in manu (id est, in potestate) intercessoris:' That none that shall be saved shall account their salvation unto their own deeds, or thank their own justice in observing the law; for it was in no man's power to observe it: but shall give all thanks to the mercies and goodness of God; according to the psalm, 'Laudate Dominum omnes gentes;' and according to the saying of Paul, 'Ut qui gloriatur, in Domino glorietur;' who hath sent his Son to do for us that which it was not in our own power to do. For if it had been in our power to fulfil the law, Christ had been sent to us without cause, to do for us that thing which we ourselves could have done, that is to say, fulfil the law. 'As for the third he spake not, for he did never know that any may be baptized without faith; which faith, inasmuch as it is the gift of God, why may it not be given to infants? To the last, he said that if he spake it, he meant it not of those that St. Bernard called heretics, (with more adulterers, thieves, murderers and other open sinners, who blaspheme God by their mouths, calling good evil, and evil good, making light darkness, and darkness light), but he meant it of such as men call heretics according to the testimony of St. Paul [Acts xxiv.], 'I live after the way' saith he, 'that men call heresy,' whom Christ doth foretell that ye shall burn and persecute to death.

After these answers thus made, the bishop, with his persecuting Foxford, dealt so hardly with this good man, partly by strait imprisonment, and partly by threats to proceed against him, that in the end he was fain, through human infirmity, to submit himself, and was abjured and condemned to perpetual prison; with loss, both of his benefice, as also of all his goods. Howbeit one of his brethren afterwards made such suit unto the king (by means of the queen), that after three years' imprisonment, he was both released out of prison, and also obtained of the king a commission unto the lord Audley, being then lord chancellor, and to Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, and to Cromwell, then secretary, with others, to inquire of the injurious and unjust dealings of the bishop and his chancellor against the said Patmore, notwithstanding his appeal unto the king; and to determine thereof according to true equity and justice, and to restore the said Patmore again unto his said benefice. But what was the end and issue of this commission, we find not as yet.

John Row, Book-binder, a Frenchman, A.D. 1531.

This man, for binding, buying, and dispersing of books inhibited, was enjoined, besides other penance, to go to Smithfield with his books tied about him, and to cast them into the fire, and there to abide till they were all burned to ashes.

Christopher, a Dutchman of Antwerp, A.D. 1531.

This man, for selling certain New Testaments in English, to John Row aforesaid, was put in prison at Westminster, and there died.

W. Nelson, Priest, A.D. 1531.

His crime was, for having and buying of Periman certain books of Luther, Tyndale, Thorp, &c., and for reading and perusing the same, contrary to the king's proclamation, for which he was abjured. He was priest at Leith.

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Thomas Eve, Weaver, A.D. 1531.

His articles: That the sacrament of the altar is but a memory of Christ's passion. That men were fools to go on pilgrimage, or to set any candle before images. Item, It is as good to set up staves before the sepulchre, as to set up tapers of wax. That priests might have wives.

Robert Hudson of St. Sepulchre's, A.D. 1531.

A dog offered to St. Nicholas, bishop.

His article: On Childermas-day[1] (saith the register) he offered in Paul's church at offering time, to the child bishop (called St. Nicholas) a dog for devotion (as he said), and meant no hurt; for he thought to have offered a halfpenny, or else the dog, and thought the dog to be better than a halfpenny, and the dog should raise some profit to the child; and said moreover, that it was the tenth dog, &c.[2]

Edward Hewet, Serving-man, A.D. 1531.

His crime: That after the king's proclamation, he had and read the New Testament in English; also the book of John Frith against purgatory, &c.

Walter Kiry, Servant, A.D. 1531.

His article: That he, after the king's proclamation, had and used these books; The Testament in English, The Sum of Scripture, a Primer and Psalter in English, hidden in his bed-straw at Worcester.

Michael Lobley, A.D. 1531.

His articles: That he, being at Antwerp, bought certain books inhibited, as The Revelation of Antichrist, The Obedience of a Christian man, The wicked Mammon, Frith against Purgatory. Item, For speaking against images and purgatory. Item, For saying, that Bilney was a good man, and died a good man,[3] because of a bill that one did send from Norwich, that specified that he took his death so patiently, and did not forsake to die with a good will.

A Boy of Colchester, A.D. 1531.

A lad in Colchester dieth in prison for bringing to Bayfield his books.

A boy of Colchester or Norfolk, brought to Richard Bayfield a budget of books, about four days before the said Bayfield was taken; for which the lad was taken, and laid in the Compter by Master More, chancellor, and there died.

William Smith, Tailor, A.D. 1531.

His articles: That he lodged oftentimes in his house Richard Bayfield, and other good men: that he received his books into his house, and used much reading in the New Testament: he had also the Testament of William Tracy: he believed that there was no purgatory.

William Lincoln, Prentice, A.D. 1532.

His articles: For having and receiving books from beyond the sea, of Tyndale, Frith, Thorp, and others. Item, He doubted, whether there were any purgatory: whether it were well done to set up candles to saints, to go on pilgrimage, &c.

John Mel, of Boxted, A.D. 1532.

His heresy was this: For having and reading the New Testament in English, the Psalter in English, and the book called 'A B C.'

(1) "Childermas-day;" the feast of the Innocents, being the 28th of December.—Ed.
(2) Ex Regist.
(3) Why then doth Master More say, that Bilney recanted and died a good man, if these be punished for commending him to die a good man?

John Medwel, Servant to Master Carket, Scrivener.

This Medwel lay in prison twenty-four weeks, till he was almost lame. His heresies were these:—That he doubted whether there was any purgatory. He would not trust in pardons, but rather in the promises of Christ.[1] He doubted, whether the merits of any but only of Christ did help him. He doubted whether pilgrimages and setting up of candles to images, were meritorious or not. He thought he should not put his trust in any saint. Item, he had in his custody, the New Testament in English, the Examination of Thorp, The Wicked Mammon, a book of Matrimony.[2]

Christopher Fulman, Servant to a Goldsmith, A.D. 1532.

This young man was attached, for receiving certain books at Antwerp of George Constantine, and transporting them over into England, and selling them to sundry persons, being books prohibited by the proclamation. Item, He thought then those books to have been good, and that he had been in error in times past.

Margaret Bowgas, A.D. 1532.

Her heresies were these:—Being asked if she would go on pilgrimage, she said, 'I believe in God, and he can do me more good than our Lady, or any other saint; and as for them, they shall come to me, if they will,' &c. Then Richard Sharples, parson of Milend, by Colchester, asked her if she said her Ave Maria. 'I say,' said she, 'Hail Mary, but I will say no further.' Then, said he, if she left not those opinions, she would bear a faggot. 'If I do, better, then, I shall,' said she, adding moreover, 'that she would not go from that, to die there-for:' to whom the priest answered and said, She would be burned. Hereunto Margaret, again replying, asked the priest, 'Who made martyrs?' 'Tyrants,' quoth the priest, 'make martyrs, for they put martyrs to death.' 'So they shall, or may, me,' quoth Margaret. At length, with much ado, and great persuasions, she gave over to Foxford, the chancellor, and submitted herself.

Tyrants make martyrs.

John Tyrel, an Irishman, of Billerica, Tailor.

His articles were these:—That the sacrament of the altar was not the body of Christ, but only a cake of bread. Furthermore, the occasion being asked, how he fell into that heresy, he answered and said, that about three weeks before Midsummer last past, he heard Master Hugh Latimer preach at St. Mary, Abchurch, that men should leave going on pilgrimage abroad, and do their pilgrimage to their poor neighbours. Also the said Master Latimer in his sermon did set at little the sacrament of the altar.

Latimer preached against pilgrimage.

William Lancaster, Tailor, A.D. 1532.

The cause laid to this man was, that he had in his keeping the book of Wickliff's Wicket. Item, That he believed the sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration, not to be the body of Christ really, &c. Item, Upon the day of Assumption, he said, that if it were not for the speech of the people, he would not receive the sacrament of the altar.

Robert Topley, Friar, A.D. 1532.

His articles:—He being a Friar Augustine of Clare, forsook his habit, and going in a secular man's weed ten years, married a wife, called Margaret Nixon, having by her a child; and afterwards, being brought before the bishop, he was by him abjured, and condemned to be imprisoned in his former monastery; but at last he escaped out, and returned to his wife again:

A friar married.

(1) It is heresy with the pope, to trust only to the merits of Christ.
(2) Ex ipsius schedula ad Episc. Scripta.

Henry VIII.

Thomas Topley, Augustine Friar, at Stoke-clare.

A.D. 1532 to 1533.

By the occasion of this Robert Topley aforesaid, place is offered to speak something likewise of Thomas Topley, his brother belike, and also a friar of the same order and house of Stoke-clare. This Thomas Topley had been converted before by one Richard Foxe, priest of Bumstead, and Miles Coverdale, insomuch that he, being induced, partly by them, partly by reading certain books, cast off both his order and habit, and went like a secular priest. Whereupon he was espied, and brought to Cuthbert, bishop of London, A.D. 1528, before whom he made this confession as followeth.

Miles Coverdale.

The Recantation of Thomas Topley.[1]

All christian men beware of consenting to Erasmus's Fables, for by consenting to them, they have caused me to shrink in my faith, that I promised to God at my christening by my witnesses. First, as touching these fables, I read in Colloquium, by the instruction of sir Richard Foxe, of certain pilgrims, who, as the book doth say, made a vow to go to St. James, and as they went, one of them died, and he desired his fellows to salute St. James in his name; and another died homeward, and he desired that they would salute his wife and his children; and the third died at Florence, and his fellow said, he supposed that he was in heaven, and yet he said that he was a great liar. Thus I mused of these opinions so greatly, that my mind was almost withdrawn from devotion to saints. Notwithstanding, I consented that the divine service of them was very good, and is; though I have not had such sweetness in it as I should have had, because of such fables, and also because of other foolish pastimes; as dancing, tennis, and such other, which I think have been great occasions that the goodness of God hath been void in me, and vice in strength.

Moreover, it fortuned thus, about half a year ago, that the said sir Richard went forth, and desired me to serve his cure for him; and as I was in his chamber, I found a certain book called Wickliff's Wicket, whereby I felt in my conscience a great wavering for the time that I did read upon it, and afterwards, also, when I remembered it, it wounded my conscience very sore. Nevertheless, I consented not to it, until I had heard him preach, and that was upon St. Anthony's day. Yet my mind was still much troubled with the said book (which did make the sacrament of Christ's body, in form of bread, but a remembrance of Christ's passion), till I heard sir Miles Coverdale preach, and then my mind was sore withdrawn from that blessed sacrament, insomuch that I took it then but for the remembrance of Christ's body. Thus I have wretchedly wrapped my soul with sin, because I have not been steadfast in that holy order that God hath called me unto by baptism, neither in the holy order that God and St. Augustine have called me to by my religion, &c.

Wickliff's Wicket.

Miles Coverdale.

Furthermore, he said and confessed, that in the Lent last past, as he was walking in the field at Bumstead, with sir Miles Coverdale, late friar of the same order, going in the habit of a secular priest, who had preached the fourth Sunday in Lent at Bumstead, they did commune together of Erasmus's works, and also upon confession. This sir Miles said, and did hold, that it was sufficient for a man to be contrite for his sins betwixt God and his conscience, without confession made to a priest; which opinion this respondent thought to be true, and did affirm and hold the same at that time. Also he saith, that at the said sermon, made by the said sir Miles Coverdale at Bumstead, he heard him preach against worshipping of images in the church, saying and preaching, that men in no wise should honour or worship them; which likewise he thought to be true, because he had no learning to defend it.

William Gardiner, Augustine Friar, of Clare.

With this Topley I may also join William Gardiner, one of the same order and house of Clare, who likewise, by the motion of the said Richard Foxe, curate of Bumstead, and by showing him certain books to read, was brought likewise to the like learning and judgment, and was for the same abjured by Cuthbert, bishop, the same year, 1528.

(1) Ex. Regist. Lond.

Richard Johnson, of Boxted, and Alice his Wife.

A.D. 1532 to 1533.

This Richard and his wife were favourers of God's word, and had been troubled for the same of long time. They came from Salisbury to Boxted by reason of persecution, where they continued a good space. At length, by resort of good men, they began to be suspected, and especially for a book of Wickliff's Wicket, which was in their house, they were convented before Stokesley, bishop of London, and there abjured.

So great was the trouble of those times, that it would overcharge any story to recite the names of all them that during those bitter days, before the coming of queen Anne, either were driven out of the realm, or were cast out from their goods and houses, or brought to open shame by abjuration. Such decrees and injunctions then were set forth by the bishops, such laws and proclamations were provided, such watch and narrow search was used, such ways were taken by force of oath to make one detect another so subtilly, that scarcely any good man could or did escape their hands, but either his name was known, or else his person was taken. Yet, nevertheless, so mightily the power of God's gospel did work in the hearts of good men, that the number of them did nothing lessen for all this violence or policy of the adversaries, but rather increased in such sort, as our story almost suffereth not to recite the particular names of all and singular such as then groaned under the same cross of affliction and persecution of those days; of which number were these:

Perilous days.

The names of certain persons of the town of Bumstead, who abjured.

Arthur and Gefferey Lome.
John Tibauld, his mother, his wife, his two sons, and his two daughters.
Edmund Tibauld, and his wife.
Henry Butcher, and his wife.
William Butcher, and his wife.
George Preston, and his wife.
Joan Smith, widow; also her sons Robert and Richard, and her daughters Margaret and Elizabeth.
Robert Hempsteed, and his wife.
Thomas Hempsteed, and his wife.
John Hempsteed, their son.
Robert Faire.
William Chatwals.
Joan Smith, widow, otherwise called Agnes, widow; also her sons John, Thomas, and Christopher, and her daughters Joan and Alice.
John Wiggen.
Nicholas Holden's wife.
Alice Shipwright.
Henry Brown.
John Craneford.

All these were of the town of Bumstead, who being detected by sir Richard Foxe, their curate, and partly by Tibauld, were brought up to the bishop of London, and all put together in one house, to the number of thirty-five, to be examined and abjured by the said bishop.

Men and women of Essex and Suffolk troubled for the gospel.

Moreover, in other towns about Suffolk and Essex, others also were detected, as in the town of Byrbrook, these following:

Isabel Choote, widow; also her sons John, William, Christopher, and Robert; her daughter Margaret, and Katherine her maid.
Thomas Choote, and his wife.
Harvie, and his wife.
Thomas, his son.
Agnes, his daughter.
Bateman, and his wife.
John Smith, and his wife.
Thomas Butcher, and his wife.
Robert Catlin, a spoon-maker.
Christmas, and his wife.
William Bechwith, his wife and his two sons.
John Pickas, and his wife.

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William Pickas, his brother.
Girling, his wife and his daughter.
Matthew's wife.
Johnson, his wife and his son.
Thomas Hills.
Roger Tanner.
Christopher Raven, and his wife.
John Chapman, his servant.
Richard Chapman, his servant, and brother to John Chapman.

Christopher remaineth yet alive, and hath been of a long time a great harbourer of many good men and women that were in trouble and distress, and received them to his house, as Thomas Bate, Simon Smith, the priest's wife, Roger Tanner, with a number more, which ye may see and read in our first edition.[1]

R. Chapman. Cruelty showed for mercy.

Touching this Richard Chapman, this, by the way, is to be noted, that as he was in his coat and shirt enjoined, bare-head, bare-foot, and bare-leg, to go before the procession, and to kneel upon the cold steps in the church all the sermon time, a little lad, seeing him kneel upon the cold stone with his bare knees, and having pity on him, came to him, and having nothing else to give him, brought him his cap to kneel upon; for which the boy was immediately taken into the vestry, and there unmercifully beaten, for his mercy showed to the poor penitent.

Beside these, divers others were about London, Colchester, and other places also, partakers of the same cross and affliction for the like cause of the gospel, in which number come in these who hereafter follow.

Peter Fenne, priest.
Robert Best.
John Turke.
William Raylond of Colchester.
Henry Raylond, his son.
Marion Matthew, or Westden.
Dorothy Long.
Thomas Parker.[2]
M. Forman, bachelor of divinity, parson of Honey-lane.
Robert Necton.
Katharine Swane.
Mark Cowbridge of Colchester.
Widow Denby.
Robert Hedil of Colchester.
Robert Wigge, William Bull, and George Cooper, of London.
John Toy of St. Faith's, London.
Richard Foster of London.
Sebastian Harris, curate of Kensington.
Alice Gardener, John Tomson, and John Bradley and his wife, of Colchester.
John Hubert, of Esdonland, and his wife.
William Butcher, whose father's grandfather was burned for the same religion.
Abraham Water of Colchester.[3]

All these in this table contained, were troubled and abjured, A.D. 1527, and A.D. 1528.

John Wily the elder.
Katharine Wily, his wife.
John Wily, son of John Wily the elder.
Christian Wily, his wife.
William Wily, another son.
Margaret Wily, his wife.
Lucy Wily, and Agnes Wily, two young girls.

These eight persons were accused A.D. 1532, for eating pottage and flesh-meat, five years before, upon St. James's even.

Also another time, upon St. Peter's even, as Katharine Wily did lie in childbed, the other wives, with the two girls, were found eating all together of a broth made with the fore-part of a rack of mutton.

Item, The aforesaid John Wily the elder had a primer in English in his house, and other books.

(1) The first Edition of the Acts and Monuments, p. 419. See also vol. iv. pp. 585, 586 of this Edition. This catalogue of names is omitted in all other Editions.—Ed.
(2) This Parker was abjured twenty-four years before this.
(3) Ex Regist. Lond.

Also he had a young daughter of ten years old, who could render by heart the most part of the twenty-fourth chapter of St. Matthew. Also she could rehearse without book, 'The Disputation between the Clerk and the Friar.'

Item, The said John Wily had in his house a treatise of William Thorp, and sir John Oldcastle.

A NOTE OF RICHARD BAYFIELD ABOVE MENTIONED.

Mention was made before[1] of Richard Bayfield, monk of Bury, who, in these perilous days, amongst other good saints of God, suffered death, as ye have heard; but how, and by whom he was detected, hath not been showed; which now, as in searching out of registers we have found, so we thought good here to adjoin the same, with the words and confession of the same Edmund Peerson, who detected him in manner as followeth.

The Accusation of Edmund Peerson against Richard Bayfield.

The thirteenth day of September, at four o'clock in the afternoon, A.D. 1527, sir Richard Bayfield said, that my lord of London's commissary was a plain pharisee; wherefore he would speak with him, and by his wholesome doctrine, he trusted in God, he should make him a perfect Christian man, and me also, for I was a pharisee as yet, he said.

Also he said that he cared not even if the commissary and the chancellor both heard him; for the chancellor, he said, was also a pharisee, and he trusted to make him a christian man.

Also he said he was entreated by his friends, and, in a manner, constrained to abide in the city against his will, to make the chancellor, and many more, perfect christian men; for as yet many were pharisees, and knew not the perfect declaration of the Scripture.

Also he said that Master Arthur and Bilney were, and be, more pure and more perfect in their living to God, than was, or is, the commissary, the chancellor, my lord of London, or my lord cardinal.

Also he said that if Arthur and Bilney suffer death in the quarrels and opinions that they be in or hold, they shall be martyrs before God in heaven.

Also he said, After Arthur and Bilney were put cruelly to death, yet should there be hundreds of men that should preach the same that they have preached.

Commendation of Bilney and Arthur.

Also he said that he would favour Arthur and Bilney, he knew their living to be so good; for they did wear no shirts of linen cloth, but shirts of hair, and ever were fasting, praying, or doing some other good deeds. And as for one of them, whatsoever he have of money in his purse he will distribute it, for the love of God, to poor people.

Also he said that no man should give laud or praise, in any manner of wise, to any creature, or to any saint in heaven, but only to God; Soli Deo honor et gloria; that is, To God alone be all honour and glory.[2]

The godly courage of Bayfield

Also he said, 'Ah, good sir Edmund!' ye be far from the knowledge and understanding of the Scripture, for as yet ye be a pharisee, with many others of your company: but I trust in God, I shall make you, and many other more, good and perfect christian men, ere I depart from the city; for I purpose to read a common lecture every day at St. Foster's Church, which lecture shall be to the edifying of your souls that be false pharisees.'

Also he said that Bilney preached nothing at Wilsdon, but what was true.

The people's offerings bestowed upon harlots.

Also he said that Bilney preached true at Wilsdon, if he said that our Lady's crown of Wilsdon, her rings and beads that were offered to her, were bestowed amongst harlots, by the ministers of Christ's church; 'for that I have seen myself,' he said, 'here in London, and that will I abide by.'

Also he said, He did not fear to commune and argue in Arthur's and Bilney's opinions and articles, even if it were with my lord cardinal.

Also he said that he would hold Arthur's and Bilney's opinions and articles, and abide by them, that they were true opinions, to suffer death there-for; 'I know them,' said he, 'for such noble and excellent men in learning.'

(1) See vol iv. p. 680.—Ed.

(2) 1 Tim. i.

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Also he said, If he were before my lord cardinal, he would not let to speak to him, and to tell him, that he hath done naughtily in imprisoning Arthur and Bilney, who were better disposed in their livings to God, than my lord cardinal, or my lord of London, as holy as they make themselves.

Also he said, My lord cardinal is no perfect nor good man to God, for he keepeth not the commandments of God; for Christ (he said) never taught him to follow riches, nor to seek for promotions or dignities of this world, nor did Christ ever teach him to wear shoes of silver and gilt, set with pearl and precious stones; nor had Christ ever two crosses of silver, two axes, or a pillar of silver and gilt.

The cardinal's shoes.

Also he said that every priest might preach the gospel without license of the pope, my lord cardinal, my lord of London, or any other man; and that he would abide by: and thus he verified it, as it is written, Mark xvi., 'Euntes in mundum universum, prædicate Evangelium omni creaturæ.' Christ commanded every priest to go forth throughout all the world, and preach the word of God by the authority of this gospel; and not to run to the pope, nor to any other man for license: and that he would abide by, he said.

Also he said, 'Well, Sir Edmund!' say you what you will, and every man, and my lord cardinal also, and yet will I say, and abide by it, my lord cardinal doth punish Arthur and Bilney unjustly, for there be no truer christian men in all the world living, than they two be; and that punishment that my lord cardinal doth to them, he doth it by might and power, as one who would say, This may I do, and this will I do: who shall say nay? but he doth it of no justice.'

Also about the 14th day of October last past, at three o'clock at afternoon, sir Richard Bayfield came to St. Edmund's in Lombard-street, where he found me, sir Edmund Peerson, sir James Smith, and sir Miles Garnet, standing at the uttermost gate of the parsonage; and sir Edmund said to sir Richard Bayfield, 'How many christian men have ye made, since ye came to the city?' Quoth sir Richard Bayfield, 'I came even now to make thee a christian man, and these two other gentlemen with thee; for well I know ye be all three pharisees as yet.'

Also he said to sir Edmund, that Arthur and Bilney were better christian men than he was, or any of them that did punish Arthur and Bilney.

By me, Edmund Peerson.

And thus we have, as in a gross sum, compiled together the names and causes, though not of all, yet of a great, and too great a number of good men and good women, who, in those sorrowful days (from the year of our Lord 1527, to this present year 1533, that is, till the coming in of queen Anne) were manifold ways vexed and persecuted under the tyranny of the bishop of Rome. Where again we have to note, that from this present year of our Lord 1533, during the time of the said queen Anne, we read of no great persecution, nor any abjuration to have been in the church of England, save only that the registers of London make mention of certain Dutchmen counted for Anabaptists,[1] of whom ten were put to death in sundry places of the realm, A.D. 1535; other ten repented and were saved. Where note again, that two also of the said company, albeit the definitive sentence was read, yet notwithstanding were pardoned by the king; which was contrary to the pope's law.

Complaint of the commons against the clergy.

Now to proceed forth in our matter: After that the bishops and heads of the clergy had thus a long time taken their pleasure, exercising their cruel authority against the poor wasted flock of the Lord, and began, furthermore, to stretch forth their rigour and austerity, to attach and molest also other great persons of the temporalty; so

(1) The names of the ten Dutchmen Anabaptists, who were put to death, were Segor, Derick, Simon, Runa, Derick, Dominick, David, Cornelius, Elken, Milo.

it fell, that in the beginning of the next or second year following, which was A.D. 1534, a parliament was called by the king about the 15th day of January:[1] in which parliament the commons, renewing their old griefs, complained of the cruelty of the prelates and ordinaries, for calling men before them 'Ex officio.' For such was then the usage of the ordinaries and their officials, that they would send for men, and lay accusations to them of heresy, only declaring to them that they were accused; and would minister articles to them, but no accuser should be brought forth: whereby the commons were grievously annoyed and oppressed; for the party so cited must either abjure or do worse: for purgation he might none make. *Henry VIII.* A.D. 1534. Cruelty of the clergy against the temporalty.

As these were long debating in the common house, at last it was agreed that the temporal men should put their griefs in writing, and deliver them to the king. Whereupon, on the 18th day of March, the common speaker, accompanied with certain knights and burgesses of the common house, came to the king's presence, and there declared how the temporal men of his realm were sore aggrieved with the cruel demeanour of the prelates and ordinaries, who touched their bodies and goods so nearly, that they of necessity were enforced to make their humble suit, by their speaker, unto his grace, to take such order and redress in the case, as to his high wisdom might seem most convenient, &c.

Unto this request of the commons, although the king at that time gave no present grant, but suspended them with a delay, yet notwithstanding, this sufficiently declared the grudging minds of the temporal men against the spiritualty, lacking nothing but God's helping hand to work in the king's heart for reformation of such things, which they all did see to be out of frame. Neither did the Lord's divine providence fail in time of need, but eftsoons ministered a ready remedy in time expedient. He saw the pride and cruelty of the spiritual clergy grown to such a height as was intolerable. He saw again, and heard the groaning hearts, the bitter afflictions, of his oppressed flock; his truth decayed, his religion profaned, the glory of his Son defaced, his church lamentably wasted. Wherefore it was high time for his high majesty to look upon the matter (as he did indeed) by a strange and wondrous means, which was through the king's divorcement from lady Katharine, dowager, and marrying with lady Anne Bullen, in this present year; which was the first occasion and beginning of all this public reformation which hath followed since, in this church of England, and to this present day, according as ye shall hear. God's helping hand in time of need. Queen Anne married, and lady Katharine divorced.

A Compendious Discourse,

COMPREHENDING THE WHOLE SUM AND MATTER CONCERNING THE MARRIAGE BETWEEN KING HENRY AND QUEEN ANNE BULLEN; AND QUEEN KATHARINE DIVORCED.

In the first entry of the king's reign ye heard before, how, after the death of prince Arthur, the lady Katharine, princess dowager, and wife to prince Arthur, by the consent both of her father and his, and also by the advice of the nobles of this realm, to the end her A.D. 1527 to 1533.

(1) Ex Ed. Hall. [The twenty-third year of Henry VIII., page 784. Lond. 1609.—Ed.].

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dowry might remain still within the realm, was espoused, after the decease of her husband, to his next brother, which was this king Henry.

*Thus[1] then, after the declaration of these things gone before, next cometh to our hands (by the order and process of the time we are now about), to treat of the marvellous and most gracious work of the holy providence of God, beginning now to work, at this present time, here in England, that which neither durst be attempted before by any prince within this realm, nor yet could ever be hoped for by any subject; concerning the abolishing and overthrow of the pope's supremacy here in the English church: who, through the false pretensed title of his usurped authority, and through the vain fear of his keys, and cursed cursings and excommunications, did so deeply sit in the consciences of men; did keep all princes and kings so under him; briefly, did so plant himself in all churches, taking such deep root in the hearts of all christian people so long time, that it seemed not only hard, but also impossible, for man's power to abolish the same. But that which passeth man's strength, God here beginneth to take in hand, to supplant the old tyranny and subtle supremacy of the Romish bishop. The occasion hereof began thus (through the secret providence of God), by a certain unlawful marriage between king Henry VIII. and the lady Katharine, his brother's wife; which marriage, being found unlawful, and so concluded by all universities, not to be dispensed withal by any man, at length brought forth a verity long hid before; that is, that the pope was not what he was accounted to be; and, again, that he presumptuously took more upon him than he was able to dispense withal.

These little beginnings being once called into question, gave great light to men, and ministered withal great occasion to seek further: insomuch that at length the pope was espied, both to usurp that which he could not claim, and to claim that which he ought not to usurp. As touching the first doubt of this unlawful marriage, whether it came of the king himself, or of the cardinal, or of the Spaniards, as the chronicles themselves do not fully express, so I cannot assuredly affirm. This is certain, that it was not without the singular providence of God (whereby to bring greater things to pass), that the king's conscience herein seemed to be so troubled, according as the words of his own oration, had unto his commons, do declare; whose oration hereafter followeth, to give testimony of the same.*

The pope dispenseth for the brother to marry his brother's wife.

This marriage seemed very strange and hard, for one brother to marry the wife of another. But what can be in this earth so hard or difficult, wherewith the pope, the omnipotent vicar of Christ, cannot by favour dispense, if it please him? The pope that then ruled at Rome, was pope Julius II., by whose dispensation this marriage, which neither sense of nature would admit, nor God's law would bear, was concluded, approved, and ratified; and so continued as lawful, without any doubt or scruple, the space of nearly twenty years, till about the time that a certain doubt began first to be moved by the Spaniards themselves, of the emperor's council, A.D. 1523; at what time Charles the emperor, being here in England, promised to marry the lady Mary, daughter to the king of England; with which promise, the Spaniards themselves were not well con-

The Spaniards first doubted of the king's marriage.

(1) See Ed. 1563, p. 455.—Ed.

tented, objecting this, among many other causes, that the said lady Mary was begotten of the king of England by his brother's wife. *Henry VIII.*

Whereupon the emperor, forsaking that marriage, did couple himself with lady Isabel, daughter to king Emanuel of Portugal. This marriage was done A. D. 1526. After this marriage of the emperor, the next year following, king Henry, being disappointed thus of the emperor, entered talk, or rather was laboured to by the French ambassadors, for the said lady Mary to be married to the French king's son, duke of Orleans; upon the talk whereof, after long debating, at length the matter was put off by a certain doubt of the president of Paris, casting the like objection as the Spaniards had done before; which was, Whether the marriage between the king, and the mother of this lady Mary, who had been his brother's wife before, were good or no? And so the marriage, twice unluckily attempted, in like sort brake off again, and was rejected, which happened A. D. 1527. A. D. 1527 to 1533.

The second doubt, whether the lady Mary was rightly born.

The king, upon the occasion hereof casting many things in his mind, began to consider the cause more deeply, first, with himself, after, with certain of his nearest council; wherein two things there were which chiefly pricked his mind, whereof the one touched his conscience, the other concerned the state of his realm. For if that marriage with his brother's wife stood unlawful by the law of God, then neither was his conscience clear in retaining the mother, nor yet the state of the realm firm by succession of the daughter. It happened the same time that the cardinal, who was then nearest about the king, had fallen out with the emperor, for not helping him to the papacy, as ye before heard; for which cause he helped to set the matter forward by all the practice he might. Thus the king, perplexed in his conscience, and careful for the commonwealth, and partly also incited by the cardinal, could not so rest; but inquired further to feel what the word of God, and learning, would say unto it. Neither was the case so hard, after it began once to come in public question, but that by the word of God, and the judgments of the best learned clerks, and also by the censure of the chief universities of all Christendom, to the number of ten and more, it was soon discussed to be unlawful.

Two perplexities in the king's mind.

Cardinal Wolsey, a helper of the divorce.

All these censures, books, and writings, of so many doctors, clerks, and universities, sent from all quarters[1] of Christendom to the king, albeit they might suffice to have fully resolved, and did indeed resolve the king's conscience touching this scruple of his marriage; yet would he not straightway use that advantage which learning did give him, unless he had withal the assent as well of the pope, as also the emperor; wherein he perceived no little difficulty. For the pope, he thought, seeing the marriage was authorized before by the dispensation of his predecessor, would hardly turn his keys about to undo that which the pope before him had locked; and much less would he suffer those keys to be foiled, or to come in any doubt; which was like to come, if that marriage were proved undispensable by God's word, which his predecessor, through his plenary power, had licensed before. Again, the emperor, he thought, would be no less hard for

(1) 'All quarters,' that is, the judgments of ten or twelve universities against the king's marriage, Orleans, Paris, Toulouse, Anjou, Bologna, Padua, the faculty of Paris, Bourges, Oxford, and Cambridge.

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his part, on the other side, forasmuch as the said Lady Katharine was the emperor's near aunt, and a Spaniard born. Yet, nevertheless, his purpose was to prove and feel what they both would say unto it; and therefore he sent Stephen Gardiner to Rome, to weigh with pope Clement. To the emperor was sent sir Nicholas Harvey, knight, embassador in the court of Gaunt. First, pope Clement, not weighing belike the full importance and sequel of the matter, sent cardinal Campeius (as is said) into England, joined with the cardinal of York.

Campeius the pope's legate.

The king's persuasion to the legates.

At the coming of these legates, the king, first opening unto them the grief of his conscience, seemed with great reasons and persuasions sufficiently to have drawn the good will of those two legates to his side; who also, of their own accord, pretended no less but to show a willing inclination to further the king's cause. But yet the mouths of the common people, and in especial of women, and such others as favoured the queen, and talked their pleasure, were not stopped. Wherefore, to satisfy the blind surmises and foolish communication of these also, who, seeing the coming of the cardinals, cast out such lewd words, as that the king would, 'for his own pleasure,' have another wife, with like unbeseeming talk; he therefore, willing that all men should know the truth of his proceedings, caused all his nobility, judges, and counsellors, with divers other persons, to resort to his palace of Bridewell, the 8th day of November, A. D. 1529, where, openly speaking in his great chamber, he had these words in effect, as followeth.

The King's Oration to his Subjects.

Our trusty and well-beloved subjects, both you of the nobility, and you of the meaner sort: it is not unknown unto you, how that we, both by God's provision, and true and lawful inheritance, have reigned over this realm of England almost the term of twenty years; during which time, we have so ordered us (thanked be God!) that no outward enemy hath oppressed you, nor taken any thing from us, nor have we invaded any realm, but we have had victory and honour, so that we think that neither you nor any of your predecessors, ever lived more quietly, more wealthily, or in more estimation, under any of our noble progenitors. But when we remember our mortality, and that we must die, then we think that all our doings in our lifetime are clearly defaced, and worthy of no memory, if we leave you in trouble at the time of our death; for if our true heir be not known at the time of our death, see what mischief and trouble shall succeed to you, and to your children. The experience thereof some of you have seen after the death of our noble grandfather, king Edward the Fourth; and some have heard what mischief and manslaughter continued in this realm between the houses of York and Lancaster, by which dissension this realm was like to have been clearly destroyed.

And although it hath pleased Almighty God to send us a fair daughter of a noble woman, and of me begotten, to our great comfort and joy, yet it hath been told us, by divers great clerks, that neither she is our lawful daughter, nor her mother our lawful wife, but that we live together abominably and detestably in open adultery; insomuch that when our ambassador was last in France, and motion was made that the duke of Orleans should marry our said daughter, one of the chief counsellors to the French king said, It were well done, to know whether she be the king of England's lawful daughter or not; for well known it is, that he begot her on his brother's wife, which is directly against God's law and his precept. Think you, my lords, that these words touch not my body and soul? Think you that these doings do not daily and hourly trouble my conscience, and vex my spirits? Yes, we doubt not but if it were your cause, every man would seek remedy, when the peril of your soul, and the loss of your inheritance is openly laid unto you. For this only cause I protest before God, and

on the word of a prince, I have asked counsel of the greatest clerks in Christendom; and for this cause I have sent for this legate, as a man indifferent, only to know the truth, and so to settle my conscience, and for none other cause, as God can judge. And as touching the queen, if it be adjudged by the law of God that she is my lawful wife, there was never thing more pleasant, or more acceptable to me in my life, both for the discharge and clearing of my conscience, and also for the good qualities and conditions which I know to be in her. For I assure you all, that beside her noble parentage of which she is descended (as you well know), she is a woman of most gentleness, of most humility and buxomness, yea, and in all good qualities appertaining to nobility, she is without comparison, as I, these twenty years almost, have had the true experiment; so that if I were to marry again, if the marriage might be good, I would surely choose her above all other women. But if it be determined by judgment, that our marriage was against God's law, and clearly void, then shall I not only sorrow the departing from so good a lady and loving companion, but much more lament and bewail my unfortunate chance, that I have so long lived in adultery, to God's great displeasure, and have no true heir of my body to inherit this realm. These be the sores that vex my mind, these be the pangs that trouble my conscience, and for these griefs I seek a remedy. Therefore I require you all, as our trust and confidence is in you, to declare to our subjects our mind and intent, according to our true meaning; and desire them to pray with us that the very truth may be known, for the discharge of our conscience, and saving of our soul: and for the declaration hereof I have assembled you together, and now you may depart.

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Shortly after this oration of the king, wherewith he stirred the hearts of a number, then the two legates, being requested of the king, for discharge of his conscience, to judge and determine upon the cause, went to the queen lying then in the palace of Bridewell, and declared to her, how they were deputed judges indifferent, between the king and her, to hear and determine, whether the marriage between them stood with God's law or not.

The legates talk with the queen.

When she understood the cause of their coming, being thereat something astonied at the first, after a little pausing with herself, thus she began, answering for herself.[1]

Queen Katharine's Answer to the Cardinals.

Alas, my lords (said she), is it now a question whether I be the king's lawful wife or no, when I have been married to him almost twenty years, and in the mean season never question was made before? Divers prelates yet being alive, and lords also, and privy councillors with the king at that time, then adjudged our marriage lawful and honest; and now to say it is detestable and abominable, I think it great marvel: and, in especial, when I consider what a wise prince the king's father was, and also the love and natural affection that king Ferdinand, my father, bare unto me, I think in myself, that neither of our fathers were so uncircumspect, so unwise, and of so small imagination, but they foresaw what might follow of our marriage; and in especial, the king my father sent to the court of Rome, and there, after long suit, with great cost and charge, obtained a license and dispensation, that I, being the one brother's wife, and peradventure carnally known, might, without scruple of conscience, marry with the other brother lawfully, which license, under lead, I have yet to show: which things make me to say, and surely believe, that our marriage was both lawful, good, and godly.

But of this trouble I may only thank you, my lord cardinal of York. For because I have wondered at your high pride and vain glory, and abhorord your voluptuous life and abominable lechery, and little regarded your presumptuous power and tyranny, therefore, of malice you have kindled this fire, and set this matter abroach; and, in especial, for the great malice that you

The cardinal cause of this divorce, and why.

(1) Ex E. Hallo. [pp. 754, 755. Edit. 1809.—Ed.]

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bear to my nephew the emperor, whom I perfectly know you hate worse than a scorpion, because he would not satisfy your ambition, and make you pope by force: and therefore you have said more than once, that you would trouble him and his friends; and you have kept him true promise; for all his wars and vexations he may only thank you. And as for me, his poor aunt and kinswoman, what trouble you have put me to, by this new found doubt, God knoweth; to whom I commit my cause, according to the truth.

The cardinal of York excused himself, saying, that he was not the beginner nor the mover of the doubt, and that it was sore against his will that ever the marriage should come in question; but he said that by his superior, the bishop of Rome, he was deputed as a judge to hear the cause; which he sware on his profession to hear indifferently. But whatsoever was said, she believed him not; and so the legates took their leave of her, and departed.

These words were spoken in French, and written by cardinal Campeius's secretary, who was present; and afterwards, by Edward Hall, translated into English.

*By[1] these premises it is sufficient to judge and understand what the whole occasion was, that brought this marriage first into doubt, so that there needeth not any further declaration in words upon this matter. But this one thing will I say, if I might be bold to speak what I think: other men may think what they list. This I suppose, that the stay of this marriage was taken in good time, and not without the singular favour of God's providence. For if that one child, coming of this aforesaid marriage, did so greatly endanger this whole realm of England to be entangled with the Spanish nation, that if God's mighty hand had not been betwixt, God only knoweth what misery might have ensued: what peril then should thereby have followed, if, in the continuance of this marriage, more issue had sprung thereof!

But to return again to our matter concerning the whole process and discourse of this divorcement, briefly to comprehend in few words, that which might be collected out of many: after this answer was given of the queen, and her appeal made to the pope, the king, to try out the matter by Scriptures and by learning, sent first to the pope, then to most part of all universities, to have it decided to the uttermost.*

The vain pomp of the legates. The king and queen cited before them.

In the next year ensuing, A.D. 1530, at the Black Friars' of London was prepared a solemn place for the two legates: who, coming with their crosses, pillars, axes, and all other Romish ceremonies accordingly, were set in two chairs covered with cloth of gold, and cushions of the same. When all things were ready, then the king and the queen were ascited by Dr. Sampson to appear before the said legates the 28th day of May; where (the commission of the cardinals first being read, wherein it was appointed by the court of Rome, that they should be the hearers and judges in the cause between them both) the king was called by name, who appeared by two proctors. Then the queen was called, who being accompanied with four bishops,[2] and others of her council, and a great company of ladies, came personally herself before the legates; who there, after her

(1) For this passage between asterisks see Ed. 1563, p. 457.—Ed.

(2) These four bishops were Warham of Canterbury, West of Ely, Fisher of Rochester, Standish of St. Asaph.

obeisance, with a sad gravity of countenance, having not many words with them, appealed from the legates, as judges not competent, to the court of Rome, and so departed. Notwithstanding this appeal, the cardinals sat weekly, and every day arguments on both sides were brought, but nothing definitively was determined. *Henry VIII.* A. D. 1530 to 1533.

As the time passed on, in the month of June, the king being desirous to see an end of the controversy, and hear the determination of the matter, came to the court, and the queen came also, where he, standing under his cloth of estate, uttered these or like words, *which[1] can best declare his own mind, and which here I thought to notify, that they who have not the chronicles present, may here read his mind, and the better understand the matter.* The queen appealeth from the cardinals to the pope.

The King's Oration to the Legates.

My lords, legates of the see apostolic, who be deputed judges in this great and weighty matter, I most heartily beseech you to ponder my mind and intent, which only is to have a final end for the discharge of my conscience. For every good christian man knoweth what pain and what unquietness he suffereth, who hath his conscience grieved. For I assure you, on my honour, that this matter hath so vexed my mind, and troubled my spirits, that I can scantly study anything which should be profitable for my realm and people: and to have a quietness in body and soul is my desire and request, and not for any grudge that I bear to her that I have married; for I dare say, that for her womanhood, wisdom, nobility, and gentleness, never prince had such another: and therefore, if I would willingly change, I were not wise. Wherefore my suit is to you my lords at this time, to have a speedy end, according to right, for the quietness of my mind and conscience only, and for no other cause, as God knoweth.

When the king had thus said, the queen departed without saying any thing. *The[2] queen again, on the other part (who had before appealed to the pope), assisted with her councillors and doctors, who were four bishops, that is Warham of Canterbury, West of Ely, Fisher of Rochester, Standish of St. Asaph, with other learned men whom the king had licensed her to choose,* was called to know whether she would abide by her appeal, or answer there before the legates. Her proctor answered, that she would abide by her appeal. That notwithstanding, the councillors on both sides every day almost met, and debated this matter substantially, so that at last the divines were all of opinion that the marriage was against the law of God, if she were carnally known by the first brother, which thing she clearly denied. But to that was answered, that prince Arthur her husband confessed the act done, by certain words spoken; which, being recorded in other chronicles, I had rather should there be read, than by me here uttered. Furthermore, at the time of the death of prince Arthur, she thought and judged that she was with child, and for that cause the king was deferred from the title and creation of the prince of Wales almost half a year: which thing could not have been judged, if she had not been carnally known. The queen abideth by her appeal.

Also she herself caused a bull to be purchased, in the which were these words: 'vel forsan cognitam,' which is as much to say as, 'peradventure carnally known;' which words were not in the first bull granted by July, at her second marriage to the king. Which second bull, with that clause, was only purchased to dispense with

(2) See Edition 1563, p. 458.—Ed.

(2) See Edition 1563, p. 458.—Ed.

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the second matrimony, although there were carnal copulation before: which bull needed not to have been purchased, if there had been no carnal copulation, for then the first bull had been sufficient.

Moreover, for the more clear evidence of this matter, that prince Arthur had carnal knowledge of the said lady Katharine his wife, it appeareth in a certain book of records which we have to show touching this marriage, that the same time when prince Arthur was first married with this lady Katharine, daughter to king Ferdinand, certain ambassadors of Ferdinand's council were then sent hither into England for the said purpose, to see and to testify concerning the full consummation of the said matrimonial conjunction; which councillors here resident, being solemnly sworn, not only did affirm to both their parents, that the matrimony was consummated by that act, but also did send over into Spain, to her father, such demonstrations of their mutual conjunction as here I will not name, sparing the reverence of chaste ears. Which demonstrations otherwise, in those records being named and testified, do sufficiently put the matter out of all doubt and question.

Besides that, in the same records appeareth that both he and she not only were of such years as were meet and able to explete the consummation hereof, but also they were and did lie together both here and in Wales, by the space of three quarters of a year.[1]

Three reasons for queen Katharine.

Thus, when the divines on her side were beaten from the ground, then they fell to persuasions of natural reasons, how this should not be undone for three causes. One was, because, if it should be broken, the only child of the king should be a bastard, which were a great mischief to the realm. Secondly, the separation should be cause of great unkindness between her kindred and this realm. And the third cause was, that the continuance of so long space had made the marriage honest. These persuasions, with many others, were set forth by the queen's council, and in especial by the bishop of Rochester, who stood stiff in her cause. But yet God's precept was not answered; wherefore they left that ground, and fell to pleading, that the court of Rome had dispensed with that marriage. To this some lawyers said, that no earthly person is able to dispense with the positive law of God, *whereunto[2] all things must give place: that it had not been hard for the legates speedily to have defined this matter, if they had had the word of God before their eyes, more than respect of man. But the subtle legates, understanding another thing lying in this matter, what derogation might ensue hereby to the court of Rome, and to the blemish of their dignity, if the pope's dispensation should not be maintained as forcibly in that, as in any other case: therefore, with crafty delays, dissimuled the matter, and tracted the time, and drew off the king with many fair words, but performing nothing, notwithstanding the king's earnest suit and request made to them to make a speedy end, and to give some judgment for the quieting of his conscience. Whatsoever it were, he would accept it. Yet they, neither following the cause, nor tendering the king, but only respecting their own gain and glory,

Fisher bishop of Rochester, a great doer for queen Katharine.

(1) Out of a written book of records, containing certain conferences between the cardinal and queen Katharine's almoner about this matter, remaining in our custody to be seen.

(2) See Edition 1563, pp. 458, 459.—Ed.

from month to month protracted the matter to the beginning of August. Whereupon the king, taking it not well, so to be used at their hand, especially in such a matter, being so full of disquietness in itself, sent the duke of Norfolk and the duke of Suffolk to the court where the legates were, requiring them to hasten to the final end of the matter (what end soever it were), and to defer it no longer. *Henry VIII.* A. D. 1530 to 1533.

Now here appeared the false crafty packing of these carnal merchants. It is the manner and custom of Rome about the beginning of August, during the space of the dog-days, to have a solemn vocation, as they call it, in which time neither schools be used, nor any term kept. Campeius the cardinal therefore, pretending the order of the court of Rome, whereof he was a member, answered, that he neither would nor could go against the ordinance of the court, whereunto he was bound; so that before October he would proceed no further in the cause. The dukes, hearing the cardinal's words, and perceiving their pretensed excuses, seeing that by no ways they would be entreated, burst out in manner of open defiance, as no great marvel was, insomuch that Charles, duke of Suffolk, clapping his hand upon the table, and swearing by the mass, said these words, That as yet there never came legate or cardinal from Rome that ever did good in England. And so with him all the temporal lords departed in anger from the cardinals, leaving them to look one upon another. The king yet notwithstanding, for quietness of his troubled mind, abiding the cardinal's leisure, was content to wait their assigned month of October. But before October came, Campeius the cardinal was called home by letters from the pope, whereby the matter was left undiscussed, or rather deluded, to verify the duke of Suffolk's saying, That no cardinal came yet from Rome, that ever did good in England. The king, seeing himself so deluded, or rather abused, although justly provoked, yet patiently forbearing, ceased not his suit, but sent again to Clement the pope, then lying in Bologna, desiring to have an answer of his case according to right and justice.

The pope, content to hear the message, but unwilling to satisfy the request, said he would take a pause till he came to Rome; where, after consultation had, he would send an answer agreeing to right and equity. This done, the king sendeth incontinent to all the most famous universities abroad, to hear a resolute answer touching the state and condition of his marriage, whether it could stand by God's word or no.

To this the universities, to the number of twelve, agreeing in uniform consent, make answer again in due form of writing to the king, affirming plainly his marriage, in case as it standeth, both to be unlawful, and repugnant to the express word of God; and that no man is able to dispense with the same. In the mean time nothing yet is heard from Rome. Wherefore the king, assembling his parliament the next year following, which was 1531, in the month of March, sent into the commons' house the lord chancellor, and divers lords of the spiritualty and temporalty to the number of twelve, where the lord chancellor, speaking unto the whole house, had these words in effect as followeth:—

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'You of this worshipful house, I am sure, be not so ignorant, but you know well that the king, our sovereign lord, hath married his brother's wife: for she was both wedded and bedded with his brother prince Arthur; and therefore you may surely say that he hath married his brother's wife, if this marriage be good, as so many clerks do doubt. Wherefore the king, like a virtuous prince, willing to be satisfied in his conscience, and also for the surety of his realm, hath with great deliberation consulted with great clerks, and hath sent my lord of London, here present, to the chief universities of all christendom, to know their opinion and judgment in that behalf; and although the universities of Cambridge and Oxford had been sufficient to discuss the cause, yet because they be in his realm, and to avoid all suspicion of partiality, he hath sent into the realm of France, Italy, the pope's dominions, and Venetians, to know their judgment in that behalf, which have concluded, written and sealed their determinations, according as you shall hear read.'

Then sir Bryan Tuke took out of a box twelve writings, sealed with the determinations of these universities; that is, The determination of the university of Orleans; of the faculties of decrees of Paris; of the civilians and canonists of Anjou; of the faculty of divines of Paris; of the university of Bourges; of the university of Bologna; of the faculty of divines of Padua; of the university of Toulouse: besides other universities as well of Germany, as of Oxford and Cambridge. What the tenor and effect of these determinations was, because they are already sufficiently expressed in the chronicles, and we have many things else in this book to be comprehended, it shall be sufficient in this behalf to send the reader to the chronicle of Hall, where they are fully to be seen, whoso list to read them.*

When the legates heard the opinions of the divines, and saw whereunto the end of this question would tend, forasmuch as men began so to dispute of the authority of the court of Rome,[1] and especially because the cardinal of York perceived the king to cast favour to the lady Anne, whom he knew to be a Lutheran, they thought best to wind themselves out of that brake betimes; and so cardinal Campeius, dissembling the matter, conveyed himself home to Rome again, as is partly above touched. The king, seeing himself thus to be deferred and deluded by the cardinals, took it to no little grief; whereupon the fall of the cardinal of York followed not long after.

Cardinal Campeius slippeth from the king.

This was A. D. 1530. Shortly after it happened, the same year, that the king by his embassadors was advertised, that the emperor and the pope were both together at Bologna. Wherefore he directed sir Thomas Bullen, lately created earl of Wiltshire, and Dr. Stokesley, afterwards bishop of London, and Dr. Lee, afterwards bishop of York, with his message to the pope's court, where also the emperor was. Pope Clement, understanding the king's case and request, and fearing what might follow after, if learning and Scripture here should take place against the authority of their dispensations; and moreover doubting the emperor's displeasure, bare himself strange off from the matter, answering the embassadors with this delay, that he presently would not define in the case, but would hear the full matter disputed when he came to Rome, and according to right he would do justice.

The king sendeth to the emperor and the pope.

The pope's answer.

(1) The searching of the king's marriage brought more things to light.

Although the king owed no such service to the pope, to stand to his arbitrement either in this case, or in any other, having both the Scripture to lead him, and his law in his own hands to warrant him, yet, for quietness' sake, and for that he would not rashly break order (which rather was a disorder indeed), he bare so long as conveniently he might. At length, after long delays and much dissembling, when he saw no hope of redress, he began somewhat to quicken and to look about him, what was best both for his own conscience, and the establishment of his realm to do. *Henry VIII.* A.D. 1530 to 1533.

No man here doubteth, but that all this was wrought not by man's device, but by the secret purpose of the Lord himself, to bring to pass further things, as afterwards followed, which his divine providence was disposed to work. For else, as touching the king's intent and purpose, he never meant nor minded any such thing as to seek the ruin of the pope, but rather sought all means contrary, how both to establish the see of Rome, and also to obtain the good will of the same see and court of Rome, if it might have been gotten. And therefore, intending to sue his divorce from Rome, at the first beginning, his device was, by Stephen Gardiner his embassador at Rome, to exalt the cardinal of York, as is before showed, to be made pope and universal bishop, to the end that he, ruling that apostolic see, the matter of his unlawful marriage, which so troubled his conscience, might come to a quiet conclusion, without any further rumour of the world: which purpose of his, if it had taken effect as he had devised it, and the English cardinal had once been made pope, no doubt but the authority of that see had never been exterminated out of England. But God, being more merciful unto us, took a better way than so; for both without and contrary to the king's expectation, he so brought to pass, that neither the cardinal of York was pope (which should have been an infinite cost to the king), and yet nevertheless the king sped of his purpose too, and that much better than he looked for. For he was rid, by lawful divorcement, not only from that unlawful marriage which clogged his conscience, but also from the miserable yoke of the pope's usurped dominion, which clogged the whole realm; and all at one time. God's providence working marvellously in this matter. Man purposeth, but God disposeth.

Thus God's holy providence ruling the matter, as I said, when the king could get no favourable grant of the pope touching his cause, being so good and honest, he was forced to take the redress of his right into his own hands, and seeing this Gordian knot[1] would not be loosed at Rome, he was driven against his will, as God would, to play the noble Alexander himself, and with the sword of his princely authority knapped the knot at one stroke clean asunder, loosing, as it were, with one solution infinite questions. For where the doctors and canonists had long disputed, and yet could never thoroughly discuss the largeness and fulness of the pope's two swords, both temporal and spiritual, the king, with one sword, did so cut off both his swords that he dispatched them both clean out of England, as ye shall see more anon. But first the king, like a prudent prince, before he

(1) Gordium was a city in Asia, where there was a knot so fast tied, and folded so many ways, that (as the saying was) whosoever could loose it, should have all Asia. So Alexander coming to it, when he could not loose it with his hands, he cut it asunder with his sword.

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would come to the head of the sore, thought best to pare away such rank flesh and putrefied places as were about it; and therefore, following his own proverb,[1] like as one going about to cast down an old rotten wall will not begin with the foundation first, but with the stones that lie at the top, so he, to prepare his way better unto the pope, first began with the cardinal, casting him by the law of 'Præmunire,' out of his goods and possessions: and so at length, by poisoning himself, he procured his own death; which was A.D. 1530.

This done, shortly after, about the year 1532, the king, to provide betimes against mischiefs that might come from Rome, gave forth eftsoons this proclamation, touching the abolishing of the pope, and the establishing of the king's supremacy: the tenor whereof here followeth.

A Proclamation of the King, that nothing should be purchased from Rome.

The king's highness straitly chargeth and commandeth, that no manner of person, what estate, degree, or condition soever he or they be of, do purchase, or attempt to purchase, from the court of Rome, or elsewhere, or use and put in execution, divulge or publish any thing heretofore, within this year past purchased, or to be purchased hereafter, containing matter prejudicial to the high authority, jurisdiction, and prerogative royal of this his said realm, or to the let, hinderance, or impeachment of his grace's noble and virtuous intended purposes in the premises, upon pain of incurring his highness's indignation, and imprisonment and further punishment of their bodies for their so doing, at his grace's pleasure, to the dreadful example of all others.

The pope's authority excluded from England.

It[2] chanced about the same time, or a little before, that the king, taking more heart unto him, partly encouraged by the treatise afore mentioned, called "The Supplication of Beggars," which he had diligently read and perused, and partly provoked by the pride and stoutness of the clergy, brake off with the cardinal, causing him to be attainted in the Præmunire, and afterwards also, to be apprehended.

The whole clergy of England in the præmunire.

After this was done, the king then, proceeding further, caused the rest of the spiritual lords to be called by process into the king's bench to make their appearance, forasmuch as the whole clergy of England, in supporting and maintaining the power legantine of the cardinal, by the reason thereof were all entangled likewise in the Præmunire, and therefore were called into the king's bench to answer. But before the day of their appearance, the prelates together in their convocation concluded among themselves an humble submission in writing, and offered the king for a subsidy or contribution, that he would be their good lord, and release them of the præmunire by act of parliament, first to be gathered in the province of Canterbury a hundred thousand pounds; and in the province of York, eighteen thousand eight hundred and forty pounds and ten pence:[3] which offer with much labour was accepted, and their pardon promised. In this submission the clergy called the king supreme head of the church of England, which thing they never confessed before; whereupon many things followed, as after (God willing) ye shall hear.

The clergy give money to the king to be released.

(1) The king's proverb. Look before, Vol. iv. p. 658.
(2) See edition 1563, p. 479.—Ed.
(3) Ex Ed. Hall.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1533.

But first, forasmuch as we are in hand now with the matter, we will borrow by the way a few words of the reader, to speak of this clergy-money, of one hundred and eighteen thousand eight hundred and forty pounds and ten pence, to be levied to the king, as is above touched. For the levying of this sum an order was taken among the prelates, that every bishop in his diocese should call before him all the priests, parsons, and vicars, among whom Dr. Stokesley, bishop of London, a man then counted to be of some wit and learning, but of little discretion and humanity (which caused him to be out of the favour of the common people), called before him all the priests within the city of London, whether they were curates or stipendaries, the first day of September, being Friday, in the chapter-house of St. Paul; at which day the priests appeared, and the bishop's policy was to have only six or eight priests together, and by persuasions to have caused them to grant some portion towards the payment of the aforesaid hundred thousand pound. But the number of the priests was so great (for they were six hundred at least, and with them came many temporal men to hear the matter), that the bishop was disappointed of his purpose; for when the bishop's officers called in certain priests by name into the chapter-house, with that a great number entered, for they put aside the bishop's officers that kept the door.

The bishop's policy for paying the king's money.

After this the officers got the door shut again. Then the priests without said, "We will not be kept without, and our fellows be within: we know not what the bishop will do with them." The temporal men, being present, comforted and encouraged the priests to enter, so that by force they opened the door, and one struck the bishop's officer over the face, and entered the chapter-house, and many temporal men with them; and long it was ere any silence could be made. At last, when they were appeased, the bishop stood up and said,—

'Brethren! I marvel not a little why you be so heady, and know not what shall be said to you; therefore I pray you to keep silence, and to hear me patiently. My friends all, you know well that we be men frail of condition, and no angels; and by frailty and lack of wisdom we have misdemeaned ourselves towards the king our sovereign lord and his laws, so that all we of the clergy were in the Præmunire; by reason whereof, all our promotions, lands, goods, and chattels, were to him forfeit, and our bodies ready to be imprisoned: yet his grace, moved with pity and compassion, demanded of us what we could say, why he should not extend his laws upon us. Then the fathers of the clergy humbly besought his grace of mercy: to whom he answered, that he was ever inclined to mercy. Then, for all our great offences we had little penance; for where he might, by the rigour of his law, have taken all our livelihood, goods, and chattels, he was contented with one hundred thousand pounds, to be paid in five years. And although this sum be more than we may easily bear, yet by the rigour of his laws we should have borne the whole burden. Wherefore, my brethren! I charitably exhort you to bear your parts of your livelihood and salary, toward the payment of this sum granted.

The bishop's persuasion to the priests to pay forfeit.

Then it was shortly said to the bishop,

'My Lord! twenty nobles a year is but bare living for a priest; for now victuals and every thing are so dear, that poverty in a manner enforceth us to say nay. Besides that, my lord, we never offended in the Præmunire: for we never meddled with the cardinal's faculties: let the bishops and abbots who have offended pay.'

The priests answer to the bishop.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1532 to 1533.

Then the bishop's officers gave to the priests high words, which caused them to be the more obstinate. Also divers temporal men who were present comforted the priests, and bade them agree to no payment. In this rumour divers of the bishop's servants were buffeted and stricken, so that the bishop began to be afraid, and with fair words appeased the noise; and for all things which were done or said there he pardoned them, and gave to them his blessing, and prayed them to depart in charity. Then they departed, thinking to hear no more of the matter, but they were deceived; for the bishop went to sir Thomas More, then being lord chancellor (who greatly favoured the bishop and the clergy) and to him made a grievous complaint, and declared the fact very grievously. Whereupon commandment was sent to sir Thomas Pargitor, mayor of the city, to attach certain priests and temporal men: and so fifteen priests, and five temporal men were arrested; of whom some were sent to the tower, some to the Fleet and other prisons, where they remained long after.

Certain priests and others committed to prison.

Preaching against the king's first marriage.

This being done A.D. 1532, it followeth moreover the same year, that divers preachings were in the realm, one contrary to another, concerning the king's marriage; and in especial one Thomas Abel, clerk, who was the queen's chaplain, to please her withal, both preached, and also wrote a book, in defence of the said marriage; whereby divers simple men were persuaded. Wherefore the king caused to be compiled and reduced into a book the determination of the universities, with the judgments of great clerks; which book, being printed and set abroad, did again satisfy all indifferent and reasonable persons, who were not too much wedded to their wills.

Mention was made a little before, of a parliament begun the 15th day of January, A.D. 1533, in which parliament the commons had put up a supplication, complaining of the strait dealing of the clergy in their proceeding "ex officio."[1] This complaint, although at first it seemed not to be greatly tendered of the king, yet in prorogation of the parliament the time so wrought withal, that the king, having more clear understanding of the abuses and enormities of the clergy, and, in especial, of the corrupt authority of the see of Rome, provided certain acts against the same.

Certain Acts provided concerning the Pope's Laws.

First, as concerning the laws, decrees, ordinances and constitutions made and established by the pretensed authority of the bishops of Rome, to the advancement of their worldly glory, that whoso did or spake any thing either against their usurped power, or against the said laws, decrees, or constitutions of theirs, not approved nor grounded upon holy Scripture, or else being repugnant to the king's prerogative royal, should therefore stand in no danger, nor be impeachable of heresy. And likewise touching such constitutions, ordinances, and canons provincial or synodal, which were made in this realm in the convocation of bishops, being either prejudicial to the king's prerogative, or not ratified before by the king's assent, or being otherwise onerous to the king and his subjects, or in any wise repugnant to the laws and statutes of this realm, they were committed to the examination and judgment of thirty-two persons chosen by the king out of the higher and lower house, to be determined either to stand in strength, or to be abrogated at their discretions: and further, that all the clergy of this realm, submitting themselves to the king, should and did promise 'in

(1) Thus was the wicked act Ex Officio broken by the king. Stat. Ann. 25 reg. Hen. VIII.

verbo sacerdotii,' never hereafter to presume to assemble in their convocations without the king's writ, or to enact or execute such constitutions without his royal assent, &c.[1] *Henry VIII.* A.D. 1533.

Further, in the same parliament was enacted and decreed, that in causes and matters happening in contention, no person should appeal, provoke, or sue out of the king's dominions to the court of Rome,[2] under pain of provisors, provision, or præmunire.

Item, In the same parliament was defined and concluded, that all exportation of annates and first-fruits of archbishoprics and bishoprics out of this realm to the see of Rome, for any bulls, breves or palls, or expedition of any such thing, should utterly cease.

Also, for the investing of archbishops, bishops, or others of any ecclesiastical dignity, such order in the said parliament was taken that the king should send a license under the great seal, with a letter missive to the prior and convent, or to the dean and chapter of those cathedral churches where the see was vacant, by virtue of which license or letters missive, they, within twelve days, should choose the said person nominated by the king, and no other; and that election to stand effectual to all intents: which election being done, then the party elect to make first his oath and fealty to the king, if it were a bishop that was elected; then the king, by his letters patent, to signify the said election to the archbishop of that province, and two other bishops, or else to four bishops within this realm to be assigned to that office, without any other suing, procuring, or obtaining any bulls, breves, or other things from the see of Rome. Manner of investing by the king.

Moreover, against all other whatsoever intolerable exactions and great sums of money used to be paid out of this realm to the bishop of Rome, in pensions, censures, Peter-pence, procurations, fruits, suits for provisions, and expeditions of bulls for archbishops and bishops, for delegacies and rescripts in causes of contentions and appeals, jurisdictions legative; also for dispensations, licenses, faculties, grants, relaxations, writs called 'périnde valere,' rehabilitations, abolitions, canonizations, and other infinite sorts of bulls, breves, and instruments of sundry natures, the number whereof were tedious particularly to be recited: in the said parliament it was ordained, that all such uncharitable usurpations, exactions, pensions, censures, portions, and Peter-pence, wont to be paid to the see of Rome, should utterly surcease, and never more be levied: so that the king, with his honourable council, should have power and authority from time to time, for the ordering, redress, and reformation of all manner of indulgences, privileges, &c., within this realm. Peter-pence stopped from Rome.

Here is to be noted by the way, as touching these Peter-pence aforesaid, that the same were first brought in and imposed by king Ina, about A.D. 720, which Ina, king of the West-Saxons, caused through all his dominion, in every house having a chimney, a penny to be collected and paid to the bishop of Rome in the name of St. Peter; and thereof were they called Peter-pence.[3] The same likewise did Offa king of Mercians after him, about A.D. 794. And these Peter-pence ever since, or for the most part, have used of a long custom to be gathered and summoned by the pope's collectors here in England, from the time of Ina aforesaid, to this present parliament, A.D. 1533. Origin of Peter-pence.

Finally, by the authority of the parliament it was consulted and considered concerning the legality of the lawful succession unto the crown, in ratifying and enabling the heirs of the king's body, and queen Anne. In the which parliament, moreover, the degrees of marriage plainly and clearly were explained and set forth, such as be expressly prohibited by God's laws, as in this table may appear.

(1) Ex Stat. Hen. VIII.

(2) 'No man to appeal to Rome.' Bonner, in his Prologue before 'De vera obedientia,' saith, that this ravenous prey of the pope cometh to as much almost as the king's revenues.

(3) Vide supra.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1533.

A Table of Degrees prohibited, by God's Law, to marry.[1]

The son not to marry the mother, nor step-mother.
The brother not to marry the sister.
The father not to marry his son's daughter, nor his daughter's daughter.
The son not to marry his father's daughter, gotten by his step-mother.
The son not to marry his aunt, being either his father's or his mother's sister.
The son not to marry his uncle's wife.
The father not to marry his son's wife.
The brother not to marry his brother's wife.
No man to marry his wife's daughter.
No man to marry his wife's son's daughter.
No man to marry his wife's daughter's daughter.
No man to marry his wife's sister.
All these degrees be prohibited by the Scripture.

Separation between the king and the lady Katharine, by act of parliament.

All these things thus being defined and determined in this aforesaid parliament, and it also being in the same parliament concluded, that no man, of what estate, degree, or condition soever, hath any power to dispense with God's laws, it was therefore, by the authority aforesaid, agreeing with the authority of God's word, assented that the marriage aforetime solemnized between the king and the lady Katharine, being before wife to prince Arthur the king's brother, and carnally known by him (as is above proved), should be absolutely deemed and adjudged to be unlawful and against the law of God, and also reputed and taken to be of no value or effect; and that the separation thereof by Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, should stand good and effectual to all intents; and also that the lawful matrimony between the king and the lady Anne his wife, should be established, approved, and ratified for good and consonant to the laws of Almighty God. And further, also, for the establishing of this king's lawful succession, it was fully by the said parliament adjudged, that the inheritance of the crown should remain to the heirs of their two bodies, that is, of the king, and queen Anne his wife.

The marriage with the king and queen Anne, approved by parliament.

Their heirs.

During the time of this parliament, before the marriage of queen Anne, there was one Temse in the common-house, who moved the commons to sue to the king to take the queen again into his company; declaring certain great mischiefs like to ensue thereof, as in bastardizing the lady Mary, the king's only child, and divers other inconveniences. This being reported to the king's ears, he sent immediately to sir Thomas Audley, speaker then of the parliament, expressing unto him, amongst other matters, that he marvelled much why one of the parliament did so openly speak of the absence of the queen from him; which matter was not to be determined there, for it touched (said he) his soul; and he wished the matrimony were good, for then had he never been so vexed in conscience. But the doctors of universities (said he) have determined the marriage to be void, and detestable before God; which grudge of conscience (he said) caused him to abstain from her company, and no foolish or wanton appetite. "For I am," said he, "forty-one years old, at which age the lust of man is not so quick as it is in youth. And, saving in Spain and Portugal, it hath not been seen, that one man

The king's words to Audley the speaker.

(1) Stat. an. 25. Reg. Hen.

hath married two sisters, the one being carnally known before: but the brother to marry the brother's wife, was so abhorred amongst all nations, that I never heard that any Christian so did, but myself. Wherefore you see my conscience troubled, and so I pray you report." And so the speaker, departing, declared to the commons the king's saying. *Henry VIII.* A. D. 1533.

It[1] was touched, a little before, how that the pope had lost great part of his authority and jurisdiction in this realm of England; now it followeth to infer, how, and by what occasion, his whole power and authority began utterly to be abolished, by the reason and occasion of the most virtuous and noble lady, Anne Bullen, who was not as yet married to the king, howbeit in great favour: by whose godly means and most virtuous counsel the king's mind was daily inclined better and better. Insomuch that, not long after, the king, belike perceiving the minds of the clergy not much favouring his cause, sent for the speaker again, and twelve of the common-house, having with him eight lords, and said to them, "Well-beloved subjects! we had thought the clergy of our realm had been our subjects wholly, but now we have well perceived that they be but half our subjects, yea and scarce our subjects. For all the prelates at their consecration make an oath to the pope, clean contrary to the oath that they make unto us, so that they seem to be his subjects, and not ours." And so the king, delivering to them the copy of both the oaths, required them to invent some order that he might not thus be deluded of his spiritual subjects. The speaker thus departed, and caused the oaths to be read in the common-house, the very tenor whereof here ensueth.

The king's words to certain of the commons.

Spiritual men more the pope's subjects than the king's.

The Oath of the Clergy to the Pope.

I, John, bishop or abbot of A., from this hour forward shall be faithful and obedient to St. Peter, and to the holy church of Rome, and to my lord the pope and his successors canonically entering. I shall not be of counsel or consent, that they shall lose either life or member, or shall be taken or suffer any violence, or any wrong by any means. Their counsel to me credited by them, their messengers or letters, I shall not willingly discover to any person. The papacy of Rome, the rules of the holy fathers, and regalities of St. Peter, I shall help and retain, and defend against all men. The legate of the see apostolic, going and coming, I shall honourably entreat. The rights, honours, privileges, and authorities of the church of Rome, and of the pope and his successors, I shall cause to be conserved, defended, augmented, and promoted; I shall not be in counsel, treaty, or any act, in which any thing shall be imagined against him or the church of Rome, their rights, estates, honours, or powers: and if I know any such to be moved or compassed, I shall resist it to my power; and as soon as I can, I shall advertise him, or such as may give him knowledge. The rules of the holy fathers, the decrees, ordinances, sentences, dispositions, reservations, provisions, and commandments apostolic, to my power I shall keep and cause to be kept of others. Heretics, schismatics, and rebels to our holy father and his successors, I shall resist and persecute to my power, I shall come to the synod when I am called, except I be letted by a canonical impediment. The lights[2] of the apostles I shall visit personally, or by my deputy. I shall not alienate or sell my possessions without the pope's council. So God me help, and the holy evangelists.

This oath of the clergymen, which they were wont to make to the bishop of Rome (now pope Quondam), was abolished and made void

Pope Quondam.

(1) See edition 1563, p. 508.—Ed.
(2) More probably, 'Limina Apostolorum,' the thresholds of the apostles.—Ed.

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by statute, and a new oath ministered and confirmed for the same, wherein they acknowledged the king to be the supreme head, under Christ, in this church of England, as by tenor thereof may appear hereunder ensuing.

The Oath of the Clergy to the King.

I, John B., of A., utterly renounce, and clearly forsake, all such clauses, words, sentences, and grants, which I have or shall have hereafter of the pope's holiness, of and for the bishopric of A., that in anywise have been, are, or hereafter may be, hurtful or prejudicial to your highness, your heirs, successors, dignity, privilege or estate royal: and also I do swear that I shall be faithful and true, and faith and truth I shall bear, to you my sovereign lord, and to your heirs kings of the same, of life and limb, and earthly worship above all creatures, to live and die with you and yours against all people: and diligently I shall be attendant to all your needs and business, after my wit and power; and your counsel I shall keep and hold, acknowledging myself to hold my bishopric of you only, beseeching you of restitution of the temporalties of the same; promising (as before) that I shall be a faithful, true, and obedient subject unto your said highness, heirs, and successors during my life: and the services and other things due to your highness, for the restitution of the temporalties of the same bishopric, I shall truly do, and obediently perform. So God me help and all saints.

These oaths thus being recited and opened to the people, were the occasion that the pope lost all his interest and jurisdiction here in England within a short while after. Upon the occasion and reason whereof, the matter falling out more and more against the pope, sir Thomas More, of whom mention is made before, being a great maintainer of the pope, and a heavy troubler of Christ's people, and now not liking well of this oath, by God's good work was enforced to resign up his chancellorship, and to deliver up the great seal of England into the king's hands. After whom succeeded sir Thomas Audley, keeper of the great seal, a man in eloquence and gifts of tongue no less incomparable, than also for his godly-disposed mind; and for his favourable inclination to Christ's religion, worthy of much commendation.

Audley made lord chancellor.

The marriage of queen Anne.

These things being done in the parliament, the king, within short time after, proceeded to the marriage of the aforesaid lady Anne Bullen, mother to our most noble queen now, who, without all controversy, was a special comforter and aider of all the professors of Christ's gospel, as well of the learned as the unlearned; her life being also directed according to the same, as her weekly alms did manifestly declare; who, besides the ordinary of a hundred crowns, and other apparel that she gave weekly, a year before she was crowned, both to men and women, gave also wonderfully much privy alms to widows and other poor householders, continually, till she was apprehended; and she ever gave three or four pounds at a time to the poor people, to buy them kine withal, and sent her subalmoner to the towns about where she lay, that the parishioners should make a bill of all the poor householders in their parish; and some towns received seven, eight, or ten pounds to buy kine withal, according as the number of the poor in the towns were. She also maintained many learned men at Cambridge. Likewise did the earl of Wiltshire her father, and the lord Rochford her brother, and by them these men were brought in favour with the king; of whom some are yet alive, and can testify

Her great alms.

the same; would to God that they were now as great professors of the gospel of Christ, as then they appeared to be; who were Dr. Heath and Dr. Thirlby; with whom was joined the lord Paget, who, at that present, was an earnest protestant, and gave unto one Raynold West, Luther's books, and other books of the Germans, as Francis. Lambert. 'De Sectis;' and at that time he read Melancthon's Rhetoric openly in Trinity-hall, in Cambridge, and was with his Master Gardiner, a maintainer of Dr. Barnes, and all the protestants that were then in Cambridge, and helped many religious persons out of their cowls.

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Heath, Thirlby, Paget.

Paget, a maintainer of Barnes.

It hath been reported unto us by divers credible persons who were about this queen, and daily acquainted with her doings, concerning her liberal and bountiful distribution to the poor, how her grace carried ever about her a certain little purse, out of which she was wont daily to scatter abroad some alms to the needy, thinking no day well spent wherein some man had not fared the better by some benefit at her hands. And this I write by the relation of certain noble personages who were the chief and principal of her waiting maids about her, specially the duchess of Richmond by name.

Also concerning the order of her ladies and gentlewomen about her, one that was her silkwoman, a gentlewoman[1] not now alive, but of great credit, and also of fame for her worthy doings, did credibly report, that in all her time she never saw better order among the ladies and gentlewomen of the court, than was in this good queen's days, who kept her maids and such as were about her so occupied in sowing and working of shirts and smocks for the poor, that neither was there seen any idleness then among them, nor any leisure to follow such pastimes as daily are seen now-a-days to reign in princes' courts.

The good order of the court in her time.

Thus the king, being divorced from the lady dowager his brother's wife, married this gracious lady, making a prosperous and happy change for us, being divorced from the aforesaid princess, and also from the pope, both at one time. Notwithstanding, as good and godly purposes are never without some incommodity or trouble following, so it happened in this divorcement, that the said princess, procuring from Rome the pope's curse, caused both the king and the realm to be interdicted, whereof more is hereafter to be spoken.

The king divorced from lady Katharine, and from the pope, both at one time.

In the mean time queen Anne, shortly after her marriage, being great with child, the next year following, which was 1533, after the first divorcement publicly proclaimed, was crowned with high solemnity at Westminster; and not long after her coronation, the seventh day of September, she was brought to bed, and delivered of a fair lady; for whose good deliverance 'Te Deum' was sung in all places, and great preparation made for the christening.

Queen Anne crowned; Elizabeth born.

The mayor and his brethren, with forty of the chief citizens, were commanded to be present, with all the nobles and gentlemen. The king's palace, and all the walls between that and the Friars, were hanged with arras, as was the Friars' church. Also the font was of silver, and stood in the midst of the church, three steps high, which was covered with a fine cloth, and divers gentlemen, with aprons and towels about their necks, gave attendance about it. Over the font hung a fair canopy of crimson satin, fringed with gold. About it

(1) The name of this gentlewoman was M. Wilkinson.

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was a rail covered with say.[1] Between the quire and the body of the church was a close place with a pan of fire to make the child ready in. These things thus ordered, the child was brought into the hall, and then every man set forward. First the citizens, two and two: then the gentlemen, esquires, and chaplains: next after followed the aldermen, and the mayor alone. Next the mayor followed the king's council: then the king's chappel:[2] then barons, bishops, and earls. Then came the earl of Essex, bearing the covered basons, gilt. After him the marquis of Exeter, with the taper of virgin-wax. Next him the marquis of Dorset, bearing the salt. Behind him the lady Mary of Norfolk, bearing the chrism, which was very rich of pearl and stone. The old duchess of Norfolk bare the child in a mantle of purple velvet, with a long train furred with ermine. The duke of Norfolk, with his marshal-rod, went on the right hand of the said duchess, and the duke of Suffolk on the left hand. Before them went the officers of arms. The countess of Kent bare the long train of the child's mantle. Between the countess and the child went the earl of Wiltshire on the right hand, and the earl of Derby on the left hand, supporting the said train. In the midst, over the child, was borne a canopy by the lord Rochford, the lord Hussey, the lord William Howard, and the lord Thomas Howard the elder. In this order they came unto the church door, where the bishop of London met it, with divers abbots and bishops, and began the observances of the sacrament. The archbishop of Canterbury was godfather, and the old duchess of Norfolk, and the old marchioness of Dorset, widows, were godmothers, and the child was named Elizabeth.

Cranmer, godfather to the lady Elizabeth.

After all things were done at the church door, the child was brought to the font, and christened. This done, Garter, the chief king-at-arms, cried aloud, "God, of his infinite goodness, send prosperous life and long, to the high and mighty princess of England, ELIZABETH." Then the trumpets blew, and the child was brought up to the altar, and immediately confirmed by the archbishop, the marchioness of Exeter being godmother. Then the archbishop of Canterbury gave the princess a standing cup of gold. The duchess of Norfolk gave her a standing cup of gold, fretted with pearl. The marchioness of Dorset gave three gilt bowls, pounced, with a cover. The marchioness of Exeter, three standing bowls, gilt and graven, with a cover. And so, after a solemn banquet, ended with hypocras, wafers, and such like, in great plenty, they returned in like order again unto the court with the princess; and so departed.

At the marriage of this noble lady, as there was no small joy unto all good and godly men, and no less hope of prosperous success to God's true religion, so in like manner, on the contrary part, the papists wanted not their malicious and secret attempts, as by the false hypocrisy and feigned holiness of a false feigned hypocrite, this year being espied and found out, may sufficiently appear what their devilish devices and purposes were. For certain monks, friars, and other evil-disposed persons, of a devilish intent, had put into the heads of many of the king's subjects, that they had a revelation of God and his saints, that he was highly displeased with king Henry

(1) 'Say,' a thin sort of stuff.—ED.
(2) The king's chappel 'in coapes;' i.e. his chaplains. See Stowe's Annals, 4to. p. 958.—ED.

for the divorcement of the lady Katharine; and surmised, among other things, that God had revealed to a nun, named Elizabeth Barton, whom they called the holy maid of Kent, that in case the king proceeded in the said divorce, he should not be king of this realm one month after, and in the reputation of God, not one day nor hour. This Elizabeth Barton, by false dissimulation, practised and showed to the people marvellous alteration of her visage and other parts of her body, as if she had been rapt, or in a trance; and in those feigned trances, by false hypocrisy (as though she had been inspired of God), she spake many words in rebuking of sin, and reproving the gospel, which she called heresy; and among them uttered divers things to the great reproach of the king and queen, and to the establishing of idolatry, pilgrimage, and the derogation of God's glory: which her naughtiness being espied out by the great labour and diligence of the archbishop of Canterbury, the lord Cromwel, and Master Hugh Latimer, she was condemned and put to death, with certain of her affinity and counsel, in the month of April, A.D. 1533. The names of which conspirators with her were these: Edward Bocking, monk, of Canterbury; Richard Master, parson, of Aldington; John Dering, monk, of Canterbury; Hugh Rich, friar, warden of the grey friars, of Canterbury; Richard Risby; Henry Gold, bachelor of divinity, and parson of Aldermary; Fisher, bishop of Rochester; John Adeson, priest, his chaplain; Thomas Laurence, the bishop's registrar, of Canterbury; Edward Thwaits; Thomas Abel: of which persons, the said Elizabeth Barton, Henry Gold, Richard Master, Edward Bocking, John Dering, Hugh Rich, Richard Risby, were attainted of treason by act of parliament, and put to execution.

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The maid of Kent, with her false feigned hypocrisy, apprehended.

The residue, as Fisher bishop of Rochester, Thomas Gold, Thomas Laurence, Edward Thwaits, John Adeson, Thomas Abel, being convicted and attainted of misprision, were condemned to prison, and forfeited their goods and possessions to the king.[1]

Edward Hall, a writer of our English stories, making mention of this Elizabeth Barton aforesaid, adjoineth next in his book the narration of one Pavier, or Pavy, a notorious enemy, no doubt, to God's truth. This Pavier, being the town-clerk of the city of London, was a man (saith he) that in no case could abide to hear that the gospel should be in English: insomuch that the said Hall himself heard him once say unto him, and to others by swearing a great oath, that if he thought the king's highness would set forth the Scripture in English, and let it be read of the people by his authority, rather than he would so long live, he would cut his own throat. But he broke promise, saith Hall; for he did not cut his throat with a knife, but with a halter did hang himself. Of what mind and intent he so did, God judge. My information further addeth this, touching the said Pavier or Pavy, that he was a bitter enemy, very busy at the burning of Richard Bainham above mentioned; who, hearing the said Bainham at the stake speaking against purgatory and transubstantiation, "Set fire," said he, "to this heretic, and burn him." And as the train of gunpowder came toward the martyr, he lifted up his eyes and hands to

Marvellous judgment of God against Pavier, an open enemy to his word.

(1) Ex Statut. an. 25. Reg. Hen. VIII.

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heaven, saying to Pavier, "God forgive thee, and show thee more mercy than thou dost to me. The Lord forgive sir Thomas More, and pray for me, all good people;" and so continued he praying, till the fire took his bowels and his head, &c.

Pavier, a bitter enemy against Richard Bainham.

After Bainham's martyrdom, the next year following, this Pavier, the town-clerk of the city, went and bought ropes. This done, he went up to a high garret in his house to pray, as he was wont to do, to a rood which he had there, before which he bitterly wept: and as his own maid, coming up, found him so doing, he bade her take the rusty sword, and go make it clean, and trouble him no more; and immediately he tied up the rope, and hung himself. The maid's heart still throbbed, and so came up, and found him but newly hanged. Then, having no power to help him, she ran crying to the church to her mistress to fetch her home. His servants and clerks he had sent out before to Finsbury, and to Master Edney, serjeant to the lord mayor, dwelling over Bishop's-gate, to tarry for him at Finsbury-court till he came: but he had dispatched himself before, so that they might long look for him before he could come. This was A.D. 1533.

A persecutor hangeth himself.

To this story of Pavier may also be added the like terrible example of doctor Foxford, chancellor to the bishop of London, a cruel persecutor, and a common butcher of the good saints of God; who was the condemner of all those afore named, who were put to death, troubled, or abjured under bishop Stokesley, through all the diocese of London. This Foxford died about this present year and time; of whose terrible end it was then certainly reported and affirmed, by such as were of right good credit, unto certain persons, of whom some be yet alive, that he died suddenly sitting in his chair, his belly being burst, and his entrails falling out before him.

The terrible hand of God upon Foxford.

About the same time died William Warham, archbishop of Canterbury; in whose room succeeded Thomas Cranmer, who was the king's chaplain, and a great disputer against the unlawful marriage of lady Katharine, princess dowager; being then so called by act of parliament.

Death of Archbishop Warham; Cranmer chosen.

Ye heard before, how the parliament had enacted that no person, after a certain day, should appeal to Rome for any cause: notwithstanding which act, the queen, now called princess dowager, had appealed to the court of Rome before that act made; so that it was doubted whether that appeal was good or not. This question was well handled in the parliament house, but much better in the convocation house; and yet in both houses it was alleged, yea, and by books showed, that in the councils of Chalcedon, Africa, Toledo, and divers other famous councils in the primitive church, yea, in the time of St. Augustine, it was affirmed, declared, and determined, that a cause arising in one province, should be determined in the same, and that neither the patriarch of Constantinople should meddle in causes moved into the jurisdiction of the patriarch of Antioch, nor any bishop should intermeddle within another's province or country. These things were so clerkly opened, and so cunningly set forth to all intents, that every man that had wit, and was determined to follow the truth, and not wilfully wedded to his own mind, might plainly see, that all appeals made to Rome were clearly void, and of none effect: which doctrines and counsels were showed to the lady

Queen Katharine's appeal to Rome.

Concluded that none should appeal out of their province.

Katharine, princess dowager; but she (as women love to lose no dignity) ever continued in her old song, trusting more to the pope's partiality, than to the determination of Christ's verity.

Whereupon the archbishop of Canterbury, Cranmer above named, accompanied with the bishops of London, Winchester, Bath, Lincoln, and divers other great clerks in a great number, rode to Dunstable, which is six miles from Ampthill, where the princess dowager lay; and there, by a doctor, called Dr. Lee, she was ascited to appear before the said archbishop, in cause of matrimony, in the said town of Dunstable. And at the day of appearance she would not appear, but made default, and so was called peremptorily, every day, fifteen days together; and at last, for lack of appearance, and for contumacy, by the assent of all the learned men there being present, she was divorced from the king, and their marriage declared to be void and of none effect; which sentence given, the archbishop, and all the others returned back again.

Lady Katharine solemnly divorced from the king.

Here note, that although this divorce following after the new marriage needed not at all to be made, the first marriage being no marriage at all before God, yet, to satisfy the voice of the people, more than for any necessity, the king was contented, through the persuasions of some, so to do. For else, as touching God and conscience, what great need was there of any divorce, where before God no marriage was to be accounted, but rather an incestuous and detestable adultery, as the act of parliament doth term it? But to our matter again.

After the dissolution of this first marriage made between the king and the lady princess dowager, she nevertheless, bearing a stout mind, would not yet relent, neither to the determination of the universities, nor to the censure of the clergy, nor of the whole realm; but, following the counsel rather of a few Spaniards, to molest the king and the realm by suit and means made to the pope, procured certain writings, first of monition and aggravation, then of excommunication and interdiction, to be sent down from Rome, wherein the pope had interdicted both the king and the whole realm. But the pope's curser being not the hardiest man, belike, that ever showed his head, thought it much more sure for him to discharge his popish carriage without the king's reach; and so, keeping himself aloof off (like a pretty man), set up his writings in the town of Dunkirk in Flanders: in which town first, upon the north door of the church was set up a monition, that the king of England should surcease the suit of divorce; which John Butler, clerk, then commissary of Calais, by commandment, took down in the night.

Writings set up at Dunkirk against the king.

After that, before Whitsun-week, there was set up in the same place an excommunication, aggravation, re-aggravation, and interdiction; for which also the said Butler, by commandment, was sent to Dunkirk, to take it down. And because the council of Calais would be certified of his diligence therein, they sent a servant of the lord Lisle, then deputy of Calais, whose name was Cranvel; and upon Wednesday in Whitsun-week, at seven o'clock in the morning, he took it down whole, and brought it with him, and delivered the same to the lord deputy aforesaid: which was about the year 1533.

The king and the realm interdicted by the pope.

This being known and certified unto the king, he was motioned by

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his council, that such as were about her, and moved her thereunto, should be put from her. And therefore the duke of Suffolk was sent to Bugden, beside Huntingdon, where the said lady Katharine lay; who, perceiving her stomach to continue froward still, in answering him with high words, and suddenly so in a fury to part from him into her privy chamber, and shut the door, brake up the order of her court, and discharged a great sort of her household servants; and yet left her a convenient number to serve her like a princess. They that remained still, were sworn to serve her as princess only, and not as queen; of whom some said, they were once sworn to serve her as queen, and otherwise would not serve; and so were dismissed. The others who were sworn to serve her as princess, she utterly refused for her servants, and so she remained with the fewer, living after this about the space of two years.

The lady Katharine's court discharged.

* And[1] thus much hast thou, good reader, touching the king's divorcement; by occasion whereof it pleased God so to work, through his secret and unsearchable wisdom, that the pope, who so long had played 'rex' in England, lost his whole jurisdiction and supremacy.*

THE ABOLISHING OF THE POPE OUT OF ENGLAND.

These things thus finished and dispatched concerning the marriage of queen Anne, and divorce of lady Katharine, dowager, next followeth the year 1534; in which was assembled the high court of parliament again, after many prorogations, upon the third day of February; wherein was made an act of succession, for the more surety of the crown, to which every person being of lawful age should be sworn. During this parliament time, every Sunday preached at Paul's cross a bishop, who declared the pope not to be head of the church.

Preaching against the pope.

After this, commissions were sent over all England, to take the oath of all men and women to the act of succession;[2] at which few repined, except Dr. John Fisher, bishop of Rochester; sir Thomas More, late lord chancellor; and Dr. Nicholas Wilson, parson of St. Thomas the Apostle's in London. Wherefore these three persons, after long exhortation to them made by the bishop of Canterbury at Lambeth, refusing to be sworn, were sent to the tower,[3] where they remained, and were oftentimes motioned to be sworn. But the bishop and sir Thomas More excused them by their writings, in which they said that they had written before that the said lady Katharine was queen, and therefore could not well go from that which they had written. Likewise the doctor excused, that he in preaching had called her queen, and therefore now could not well unsay it again. Howbeit, at length, he was well contented to dissemble the matter, and so escaped: but the other two stood against all the realm in their opinion.

The bishop of Rochester, and sir Thomas More sent to the tower.

From the month of March this parliament furthermore was prorogued to the third day of November abovesaid; at what time, amongst divers other statutes, most graciously, and by the blessed will of God it was enacted, that the pope, and all his college of

(1) See Edition 1563, p. 459. (2) Ex Ed. Hallo.
(3) See Hall's Chronicle, pp. 814, 815. Edit. London, 1809.—Ed.

cardinals, with his pardons and indulgences, which so long had clogged this realm of England, to the miserable slaughter of so many good men, and which never could be removed away before, were now abolished, eradicated and exploded out of this land, and sent home again to their own country of Rome, from whence they came. God be everlastingly praised therefore. Amen! *Henry VIII.* A.D. 1534.

*An old Prophecy of the Fall of the Pope.

Papa cito moritur, Cæsar regnabit ubique,
Et subito vani cessabunt gaudia[1] cleri.*

An Act concerning the King's Highness to be the supreme head of the Church of England, and to have authority to reform and redress all Errors, Heresies, and Abuses, in the same. Cap. 1.

Albeit the king's majesty justly and rightly is and ought to be the supreme head of the church of England, and so is recognised by the clergy of this realm in their convocations; yet nevertheless, for corroboration and confirmation thereof, and for increase of virtue in Christ's religion within this realm of England, and to repress and extirp all errors, heresies, and other enormities and abuses heretofore used in the same: be it enacted by authority of this present parliament, that the king our sovereign lord, his heirs and successors, kings of this realm, shall be taken, accepted, and reputed the only supreme head in earth of the church of England, called 'Anglicana Ecclesia,' and shall have and enjoy, annexed and united to the imperial crown of this realm, as well the title and style thereof, as all honours, dignities, pre-eminences, jurisdictions, privileges, authorities, immunities, profits and commodities to the said dignity of supreme head of the same church belonging and appertaining. And that our said sovereign lord, his heirs and successors, kings of this realm, shall have full power and authority from time to time, to visit, repress, redress, reform, order, correct, restrain, and amend all such errors, abuses, offences, contempts, and enormities, whatsoever they be, which by any manner of spiritual authority or jurisdiction ought or may lawfully be reformed, repressed, ordered, redressed, corrected, restrained, or amended, most to the pleasure of Almighty God, the increase of virtue in Christ's religion, and for the conservation of the peace, unity, and tranquillity of this realm: any usage, custom, foreign laws, foreign authority, prescription, or any thing or things to the contrary hereof, notwithstanding.

The King's Proclamation for the abolishing of the usurped power of the Pope.

Trusty and well-beloved! we greet you well. And whereas not only upon good, and just, and virtuous grounds and respects, edified upon the laws of holy Scripture, by due consultation, deliberation, advisement, and consent, as well of all other our nobles and commons temporal, as also spiritual, assembled in our high court of parliament, and by authority of the same, we have, by good and wholesome laws and statutes made for this purpose, extirped, abolished, separated, and secluded out of this our realm, the abuses of the bishop of Rome, his authority and jurisdiction of long time usurped as well upon us and our realm, as upon all other kings and princes and their realms (like as they themselves have confessed and affirmed), but also, forasmuch as our said nobles and commons, both spiritual and temporal, assembled in our high court of parliament, have, upon good, lawful, and virtuous grounds, and for the public weal of this our realm, by one whole assent, granted, annexed, knit, and united to the crown imperial of the same, the title, dignity, and style of supreme head or governor in earth, immediately under God, of the church of England, as we be, and undoubtedly have hitherto been: which title and style, both the bishops and clergy of this our realm have not only, in convocation assembled, consented, recognised, and approved lawfully and justly to appertain unto us, but also, by

The style of 'Supreme' annexed to the crown of England.

(1) See Edition 1576, p. 1028.—Ed.

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word, oath, profession, and writing under their signs and seals, have confessed, ratified, corroborated and confirmed the same, utterly renouncing all other oaths and obedience to any other foreign potentates, and all foreign jurisdictions and powers, as well of the said bishop of Rome, as of all others whatsoever they be, as by their said professions and writings corroborated with the subscription of their names, and appension of their seals more plainly appeareth: we let you to wit, that calling to our remembrance the power, charge, and commission given unto us of Almighty God, and upon a vehement love and affection toward our loving and faithful subjects, perceiving right well what great rest, quietness, and tranquillity of conscience, and manifold other commodities might insurge and arise unto them, if the said bishops and others of the clergy of this our realm should set forth, declare, and preach to them, the true and sincere word of God; and without all manner of colour, dissimulation, and hypocrisy, manifest and publish the great and innumerable enormities and abuses which the said bishop of Rome, as well in the title and style, as also in authority and jurisdiction, of long time unlawfully and unjustly hath usurped upon us and our progenitors, and also other christian princes; have therefore addressed our letters unto the bishop of the diocese, straightly charging and commanding him in the same, that not only he, in his own proper person, shall declare, teach, and preach unto the people, forthwith upon the receipt of our said letters unto him directed, every Sunday and other high feasts through the year, the true, mere, and sincere word of God; and that the same title, style, and jurisdiction of supreme head appertaineth only to our crown and dignity royal; likewise, as the said bishop and all other the bishops of our realm have by oath affirmed, and confirmed by subscription of their names, and setting-to their seals, but also have given warning, monition, and charge, to all manner of abbots, priors, deans, archdeacons, provosts, parsons, vicars, curates, and all other ecclesiastical persons, within his said diocese, as well to teach, preach, publish, and declare, in all manner of churches, our aforesaid just title, style, and jurisdiction, every Sunday and high feast through the year: and further to admonish and command all other schoolmasters within his said diocese, to instruct and teach the same unto the children committed unto them; as also to cause all manner of prayers, orisons, rubrics, canons of mass-books, and all other books in the churches, wherein the said bishop of Rome is named, or his presumptuous and proud pomp and authority preferred, utterly to be abolished, eradicated and rased out, and his name and memory to be never more (except to his contumely and reproach) remembered, but perpetually suppressed and obscured: and finally, to desist and leave out all such articles as be in the general sentence which is usually accustomed to be read four times in the year, and do tend to the glory and advancement of the bishop of Rome, his name, title, and jurisdiction.

The pope's name and memory abolished.

Whereupon we, seeing, esteeming, and reputing you to be of such singular and vehement zeal and affection towards the glory of Almighty God, and of so faithful, loving, and obedient heart towards us, as you will not only do and accomplish, with all power, wisdom, diligence, and labour, whatsoever should or might be to the preferment and setting forward of God's word, but also practise, study, and endeavour yourself, with all your policy, wit, power, and good-will, to amplify, defend, and maintain all such interest, right, title, style, jurisdiction, and authority, as is in any wise appertaining unto us, our dignity and prerogative, and the crown imperial of this our realm, have thought good and expedient, not only to signify unto you, by these our letters, the particulars of the charge, monition, and commandment given by us unto the said bishop, as before is specified; but also to require, and straightly charge and command you, upon pain of your allegiance, and as ye shall avoid our high indignation and displeasure, at your uttermost peril, laying apart all vain affections, respects, or other carnal considerations, and setting only before your eyes the mirror of truth, the glory of God, the dignity of your sovereign lord and king, and the great concord and unity, and inestimable profit and utility, that shall, by the due execution of the premises, ensue to yourself and all other faithful and loving subjects, ye make or cause to be made diligent search and wait,[1] and especially in every place of your shirewick, whether the said bishop do truly, and sincerely, and without all manner of cloak, colour, or dissimulation, execute

(1) 'Wait,' or watch.—Ed.

and accomplish our will and commandment, as is afore said. And in case ye shall hear, perceive, and approvably understand and know, that the said bishop, or any other ecclesiastical person within his diocese, doth omit and leave undone any part or parcel of the premises; or else, in the execution and setting forth of the same, do coldly and feignedly use any manner of sinister addition, wrong interpretation, or painted colour: then we straightly charge and command you, that forthwith upon any such default, negligence, or dissimulation of the said bishop, or any other ecclesiastical person of his diocese, contrary to the true tenor, meaning, and effect of the said charge by us to him appointed aforesaid, ye do make indelayedly, and with all speed and diligence, declaration and advertisement to us and our council, of the said default, and of the behaviour, manner, and fashion of the same. *Henry VIII.* A. D. 1534.

And forasmuch as we, upon singular trust and assured confidence which we have in you, and for the special love and zeal we suppose and think ye bear toward us, and the public and common wealth, unity and tranquillity of this our realm, have specially elected and chosen you among so many, for this purpose; and have reputed you such men as unto whose wisdom, discretion, truth, and fidelity, we might commit a matter of such great weight, moment, and importance, as whereupon the unity and tranquillity of our realm do consist: if ye should, contrary to our expectation and trust which we have in you, and against your duty and allegiance towards us, neglect or omit to do, with all your diligence and wisdom, whatsoever shall be in your power for the due performance of our mind and pleasure to you before declared in this behalf, or halt or stumble at any part or specialty of the same, be ye assured that we, like a prince of justice, will so extremely punish you for the same, that all the world besides shall take by you example, and beware, contrary to their allegiance, to disobey the lawful commandment of their sovereign lord and prince in such things, as, by the faithful execution thereof, ye shall not only advance the honour of Almighty God, and set forth the majesty and imperial dignity of your sovereign lord, but also bring an inestimable weal, profit, and commodity, unity and tranquillity to all the common state of this our realm, whereunto, both by the laws of God, nature, and man, ye be utterly bound.

Given under our signet, at our palace at Westminster, the 9th day of June, A.D. 1534.

Furthermore, that no man shall cavil or surmise this fatal fall and ruin of the pope to have come rashly upon the king's own partial affection, or by any sensual temerity of a few, and not by the grave and advised judgment, approbation, and consent, generally and publicly, as well of the nobles and commons temporal, as also upon substantial grounds, and the very strength of truth, by the discussion and consultation of the spiritual and most learned persons in this realm: it shall be requisite, moreover, to these premises to adjoin the words and testimonies also of the bishops' own oaths and profession made to the king, yielding and rendering unto him only, the style of supreme head, next unto Christ, of the church of England; all other service, subjection, and obedience to be given to any other foreign potentate, which should be prejudicial to the king's highness in this behalf, being excluded; and that both frankly and freely, of their own voluntary motion, and also upon the faith and fidelity of their priesthood, as by their own words and hand-writing may appear, in form as hereunder followeth.

The Oath of Stephen Gardiner to the King.[1]

I Stephen, bishop of Winchester, do purely, of mine own voluntary accord, and absolutely, on the word of a bishop, profess and promise to your princely

(1) 'Ego Stephanus Wintonien. Episcopus, pure, sponte, et absolute, in verbo pontificio, profiteor ac spondeo illustrissimæ vestræ regiæ majestati, singulari ac summo domino meo, et

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majesty, my singular and chief lord and patron, Henry the eighth, by the grace of God king of England and of France, defender of the faith, lord of Ireland, and in earth of the church of England supreme head immediately under Christ, that from this day forward I shall swear, promise, give, or cause to be given to no foreign potentate, emperor, king, prince, or prelate, nor yet to the bishop of Rome, whom they call pope, any oath or fealty, directly or indirectly, either by word or writing; but at all times, and in every case and condition I shall observe, hold, and maintain, to all effects and intents, the quarrel and cause of your royal majesty and your successors; and to the uttermost of my power shall defend the same against all manner of persons, whomsoever I shall know or suspect to be adversaries to your majesty, or to your successors; and shall give my faith, truth, and obedience, sincerely, and with my very heart, only to your royal majesty, as to my supreme prince. I profess the papacy of Rome not to be ordained of God by holy Scripture, but constantly do affirm, and openly declare, and shall declare it, to be set up only by man, and shall cause diligently other men likewise to publish the same. Neither shall I enter any treaty with any person or persons either privily or apertly, or shall consent thereto, that the bishop of Rome shall have or exercise here any authority or jurisdiction, or is to be restored to any jurisdiction hereafter.

Stephen Gardiner renounceth the pope.

Furthermore, that the said bishop of Rome now being, or any that shall succeed him hereafter in the said see, is not to be called pope, nor supreme bishop or universal bishop, nor most holy lord; but only ought to be called bishop of Rome, and fellow brother (as the old manner of the most ancient bishops hath been): this I shall to my power openly maintain and defend.

And I shall firmly observe and cause to be observed by others, to the uttermost of my cunning, wit, and power, all such laws and acts of this realm, how and whatsoever, as have been enacted and established for the extirpation and suppression of the papacy, and of the authority and jurisdiction of the said bishop of Rome. Neither shall I appeal hereafter to the said bishop of Rome, nor ever consent to any person that shall appeal to him; neither shall I attempt, prosecute, nor follow any suit in the court of Rome, for any cause of right or justice to be had, or shall make answer to any plea or action, nor shall take upon me the person and office either of the plaintiff or defendant in the said court. And if the said bishop, by his messenger or by his letters, shall make any means or signification unto me of any matter, whatsoever it be, I shall, with all speed and diligence, make declaration and advertisement thereof, or cause the same to be signified either to your princely majesty, or to some of your secret council, or to your successors, or any of their privy council. Neither shall I send, or cause to be sent, at any time any writing or messenger to the said bishop or to his court, without the knowledge and consent of your majesty or your successors willing me to send writing or messenger unto him. Neither shall I procure, or give counsel to any person to procure, bulls, briefs, or rescripts whatsoever, either for me or any other, from the said bishop of Rome or his court. And if any such shall be procured against my will and knowledge, either in general or in special, or else howsoever they shall be granted unto them, I shall utter and disclose the same, and not consent thereunto, nor use them in any case, and shall cause them to be brought to your majesty, or your successors.

Furthermore, for the confirmation hereof I give my faith and truth by firm promise, and in the faith of a bishop, that against this my aforesaid profession and promise made, I shall defend myself by no dispensation, exception, nor by any remedy or cautel of law or example, during this my natural life. And if heretofore I have done or made any protestation in prejudice of this my profession and promise here made, the same I do revoke at this present, and for ever hereafter, and here utterly do renounce, by these presents. Whereunto I have subscribed and underwritten the name both of myself and of my bishopric, with my proper hand; and thereto also have put my seal, in perpetual and undoubted testimony of the premises.

Given the tenth day of February, A.D. 1534, and in the twenty-sixth year of our sovereign lord king Henry the Eighth. Stephen Winton.

patrono, Henrico Dei gratia Angliæ et Franciæ regi, fidei defensori, domino Hiberniæ, atque in terris Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ Supremo immediatè sub Christo capiti, quod posthac nulli externo imperatori, regi, principi aut prælato, nec Romano pontifici (quem Papam vocant) fidelitatem et obedientiam,' &c

The like Oath of John Stokesly, Bishop of London.

I John, bishop of London, do purely, and of mine own voluntary accord, and absolutely on the word of a bishop, profess and promise to your princely majesty, my singular and chief lord and patron, Henry the Eighth, by the grace of God, king of England and of France, defender of the faith, lord of Ireland, and in earth of the same church of England supreme head immediately under Christ, &c. [Like to the oath before.]

Johan. London.

The like Oath and hand-writing of Edward Lee, Archbishop of York.

I Edward, by the permission of God, archbishop of York, do purely, of my own voluntary accord, and absolutely, on the word of a bishop, profess and promise to your royal majesty, my singular and chief lord and patron, &c. [In like form to the oath before.]

Edwardus Eborac.

The like Oath and hand-writing of Cuthbert Tonstal, Bishop of Durham.

I Cuthbert, by the permission of God, bishop of Durham, do purely, of mine own voluntary accord, and absolutely, on the word of a bishop, profess and promise to your royal majesty, my singular and chief lord and patron, &c. [As before.] Per me Cuthbertum Dunelm.

And so likewise all the other bishops, after the same order and form of oath, were obliged and bound to the king, as to the supreme head of the church of England immediately under Christ; renouncing and abjuring utterly and voluntarily the pope's too long usurped jurisdiction in this realm; testifying, moreover, the same both with their own hand, and also with their seal.

Besides these confirmations and testimonials of the bishops aforesaid, ye shall hear yet moreover the decree and public sentence of the university of Cambridge, written likewise and subscribed, and signed with the public seal of their university; the tenor of which their letter here followeth.

A Letter of the University of Cambridge against the usurped Power of the Bishop of Rome.[1]

To all and singular children of the holy mother church, to whose hands these presents shall come, the whole society of regents and non-regents of the university of Cambridge, sendeth greeting in our Saviour Jesus Christ.

Whereas now of late it hath risen up in question among us, concerning the power of the bishop of Rome, which he doth both claim to himself by the holy Scripture over all provinces and nations in Christendom, and hath now of long time exercised in this realm of England; and forasmuch as our censure concerning the cause is required, to wit, Whether the bishop of Rome hath any power or authority in this kingdom of England, allotted to him by God in the Scripture, more than any other foreign bishop, or no: we thought it therefore good reason, and our duty for the searching out of the verity of the said question, that we should employ therein our whole endeavour and study, whereby we might render and publish to the world, what our reason and censure is, touching the premises. For therefore we suppose, that universities were first

(1) 'Universis sanctæ matris ecclesiæ filiis, ad quos præsentes literæ perventuræ sunt, cœtus omnis regentium et non regentium academiæ Cantabrigiensis, salutem in omnium salvatore Jesu Christo Cum de Romani pontificis potestate,' &c.

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provided and instituted of princes, to the end that both the people of Christ might, in the law of God, be instructed; and also that false errors, if any did rise, might, through the vigilant care and industry of learned divines, be discussed, extinguished, and utterly rooted out. For which cause we, in our assemblies and convocations (after our accustomed manner), resorting and conferring together upon the question aforesaid, and studiously debating and deliberating with ourselves how and by what order we might best proceed for the finding out of the truth of the matter; and at length choosing out certain of the best learned doctors and bachelors of divinity, and other masters, have committed to them in charge, studiously to insearch and peruse the places of holy Scripture, by the viewing and conferring of which places together, they might certify us what is to be said to the question propounded.

The censure of the university of Cambridge against the pope's supremacy.

Forasmuch therefore as we, having heard, and well advised, and thoroughly discussed in open disputations, what may be said on both parts of the aforesaid question, those reasons and arguments do appear to us more probable, stronger, truer, and more certain, and sounding much more near to the pure and native sense of Scriptures, which do deny the bishop of Rome to have any such power given him of God in the Scripture. By reason and force of which arguments, we, being persuaded, and conjoining together in one opinion, have with ourselves thus decreed to answer unto the question aforesaid; and in these writings thus resolutely do answer in the name of the whole university, and for a conclusion undoubted do affirm, approve, and pronounce, that the bishop of Rome hath no more state, authority, and jurisdiction given him of God in the Scriptures, over this realm of England, than any other extern bishop hath. And in testimony and credence of this our answer and affirmation, we have caused our common seal to be put to these our aforesaid letters accordingly.

The bishop of Rome hath no more state in England than hath any other bishop.

At Cambridge, in our Regent House, A.D. 1534.

THE BOOK OF GARDINER,[1] BISHOP OF WINCHESTER, "DE VERA OBEDIENTIA."

You have heard before of Stephen Gardiner, of Lee, of Tonstal, and of Stokesley, how of their voluntary mind they made their profession unto the king, every one severally taking and accepting a corporal oath, utterly and for ever to renounce and reject the usurped superiority of the bishop of Rome. Now, for a further testimony and declaration of their judgments and opinions which then they were of, following the force both of truth and of time then present, ye shall hear, over and besides their oaths, what the aforesaid bishops, in their own books, prologues, and sermons, do write, and publish abroad in print, touching the said cause of the pope's supremacy.

Gardiner against the marriage of the king with his brother's wife.

And first, God willing, to begin with Stephen Gardiner's book 'De vera obedientia,' we will briefly note out a few of his own words, wherein, with great scriptures and good deliberation, he not only confuteth the pope's usurped authority, but also proveth the marriage beween the king and queen Katharine his brother's wife not to be good nor lawful, in these words.

'Of which moral precepts in the old law, to speak of some (for to rehearse all it needs not), the Levitical precepts touching forbidden and incestuous marriages, as far as they concern chaste and pure wedlock, wherein the original of man's increase consisteth, are always to be reputed of such sort, that although they were first given to the Jews, yet because they appertain to the law of nature, and expound the same more plainly to us, therefore they belong as well

(1) The book of Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, 'De vera obedientia.' The original of this treatise appears in Browne's Fasciculus Rerum expetend. et fugiendarum, vol. 2, pp. 800—820; and an old translation is given in Mr. Stevens's Memoirs of Bradford. London, 1832. Appendix, pp. 62—138. In the Harl. MSS. Brit. Mus. No. 418, is Cranmer's answer to Gardiner's book, translated into Latin (according to Strype) by John Foxe, employed therein by the direction of Peter Martyr at Basle, and begun about 1554.—Ed.

to all manner of people of the whole world for evermore. In which doubtless both the voice of nature and God's commandment agreeing in one, have forbidden that which is contrary and diverse from the one and from the other. And amongst these, since there is commandment that a man shall not marry his brother's wife, what could the king's excellent majesty do, otherwise than he did, by the whole consent of the people, and judgment of his church; that is, to be divorced from unlawful marriage, and use lawful and permitted copulation? and obeying (as meet it was) conformably unto the commandment, cast off her, whom neither law nor right permitted him to retain, and take him to chaste and lawful marriage? Wherein although the sentence of God's word (whereunto all things ought to stoop) might have sufficed, yet his majesty was content to have the assisting consents of the most notable grave men, and the censures of the most famous universities of the whole world; and all to the intent that men should see he did both what he might do, and ought to do uprightly; seeing the best learned and most worthy men have subscribed unto it; showing therein such obedience as God's word requireth of every good and godly man; so as it may be said, that both he obeyed God, and obeyed him truly: of which obedience, forasmuch as I am purposed to speak, I could not pass this thing over with silence, whereof occasion so commodiously was offered me to speak.

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Moreover, the said Gardiner, in the beforenamed book "De vera Obedientia," what constancy he pretendeth, what arguments he inferreth, how earnestly and pithily he disputeth on the king's side, against the usurped state of the bishop of Rome's authority, by the words of his book it may appear: whereof a brief collection here followeth.

Gardiner, a Lutheran, in his book 'De vera Obedientia.'

Reasons of Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, against the Pope's Supremacy.

In the process of his aforesaid book, he, alleging the old distinction of the papists, wherein they give to the prince the regiment of things temporal, and to the church that of things spiritual, comparing the one to the greater light, the other to the lesser light, he confuteth and derideth the same distinction, declaring the sword of the church to extend no further than to teaching and excommunication, and referreth all pre-eminence to the sword of the prince; alleging for this the second Psalm: 'And now you kings be wise, and be learned ye that judge the earth,'[1] &c.

The sword of the church, how far it extendeth.

Also the example of Solomon, who, being a king according to his father's appointment, ordained the offices of the priests in their ministries, and Levites in their order, that they might give thanks, and minister before the priests, after the order of every day, and porters in their divisions, gate by gate.[2]

And speaking more of the said Solomon, he saith: 'For so commanded the man of God; neither did the priests nor Levites omit any thing of all that he had commanded,' &c.[3]

Beside this, he allegeth also the example of king Hezekiah.[4] He allegeth moreover the example and fact of Justinian, who made laws touching the faith, bishops, clerks, heretics, and such others.

Aaron (saith he) obeyed Moses: Solomon gave sentence upon Abiathar the high priest.

Alexander the king, in the Maccabees, writeth thus to Jonathan: 'Now we have made thee this day the high-priest of thy people,'[5] &c. So did Demetrius to Simon.[6]

Then, coming to the words of Christ spoken to Peter, 'Thou art Peter,'[7] &c. upon which words the pope pretendeth to build all his authority: To this he answereth, that if Christ, by those words, had limited to Peter any such special state or pre-eminency above all princes, then were it not true that is written, 'Cœpit Jesus docere et facere; forasmuch as the words of Christ should then

(1) Ps. ii. (2) 2 Kings xxviii. (3) Exod. xxxii. (4) 1 Kings xxii. (5) 1 Mac. x. (6) 1 Mac. xiv. (7) Matt. xvi.

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be contrary to his own facts and example, who, in all his life, never either usurped to himself any such domination above princes (showing himself rather subject unto princes), nor yet did ever permit in his apostles any such example of ambition to be seen; but rather rebuked them for seeking any manner of majority amongst them.

The king's style and title approved by Gardiner.

And where he reasoneth of the king's style and title, being called king of England and of France, defender of the faith, lord of Ireland, and supreme head in earth of the church of England immediately under Christ, &c., thus he addeth his mind and censure, saying, that he seeth no cause in this title, why any man should be offended, that the king is called head of the church of England, rather than of the realm of England; and addeth his reason thereunto saying, 'If the prince and king of England be the head of his kingdom, that is, of all Englishmen that be his subjects, is there any cause why the same English subjects should not be subject to the same head likewise in this respect, because they are christians; that is to say, for the title of godliness? as though that God, who is the cause of all obedience, should now be the cause of rebellion?'

At length thus he concludeth with an exclamation saying, 'To say,' saith he, 'that a king is the head of the kingdom, and not of the church, what an absurd and a foolish saying is this!'

The king is as well the head of the church as of his kingdom.

And further, adding further for example the subjection of the servant and wife: 'If the servant,' saith he, 'be subject to his master, or wife to her husband, being infidels, doth their conversion afterwards, or the name of Christians, make them less subjects than they were before? As religion therefore doth not alter the authority of the master over the servant, nor of the husband over the wife; 'no more,' saith he, 'doth it between the prince and subject.'

'Paul, making no exception or distinction of subjection, save only of that which belongeth to God, willeth all men to obey their princes; and what princes? Those princes who bear the sword. And although we are bound by the Scripture to obey our bishops and spiritual pastors of the church, yet that obedience diminisheth nothing the chief and head authority that ought to be given to the prince, no more than the obedience of the servant to his master, or of the wife to her husband, exempteth them from subjection due to their superior powers.'

A rule of the law.

And herewithal he inferreth a principle of the law: 'divers jurisdictions,' saith he, 'proceeding from one person, do not mar nor hinder themselves, but rather do confirm and fortify one another.'

Again, whereas the bishop of Rome, under the name of Peter, doth appropriate to himself the highest place in the church, for that he is the successor of Peter; thereunto he answereth in one word, but in that one word he answereth enough, and to the full: 'I would,' saith he, 'he were; for so in very deed he might well exceed and pass all kings and princes, if not in pre-eminency of dignity, yet in admiration and excellency of virtue: in which kind of superiority the Lord Christ would his apostles and ministers to go before all kings and emperors in the whole world.'

Winchester's wish that the pope were Peter's successor.

After this, in prosecuting the argument[1] of Peter's confession, he argueth thus and saith, that as flesh and blood did not reveal to Peter that confession, so neither was that prerogative given to the flesh and blood of Peter, but to the better part, that is, to the spirit of Peter; which is to mean in respect of the spiritual confession of Peter, and not in respect of any carnal place or person, &c.

Item, If the scholar ought not to be above the master, how then could either Peter take that upon him, which Christ his master so constantly did refuse; or how can the bishop of Rome now claim that by succession, whereof no example is to be found either in the head, or his predecessor before him? for so we read in Eusebius, both of Peter, James, and John, that they did arrogate no such primacy unto them, but were content that James, surnamed Justus, should be the bishop of the apostles.

Primatus or primacy, what it signifieth.

And as for the name and signification of the word 'primatus,' i.e. primacy, if it be taken for the first nomination, or the first place given, so he granteth

(1) The argument: The prerogative was given to him who confessed. Flesh and blood in Peter did not confess Christ: ergo, the prerogative was not given to the flesh and blood of Peter.

that Peter had the preferment of the first name and place in the order of the apostles. But it followeth not, that with this primacy he had also a kingdom given. And though he were bid of the Lord to confirm his brethren, yet was he not bid to exercise an empery upon his brethren: for so were they not his brethren, but his subjects.

Primus primatus. First, primacy is the name of virtue, and not of power.

That Peter was 'primus,' that is, first or chief in the number of those who confessed Christ, it is not to be denied; for first he confessed, first he taught the Jews, first he stood in defence of the verity, and was the first and chief prolocutor among them. But yet that maketh not, that he should therefore vindicate a general primacy and rule over all other states, and potestates of the world, no more than Apelles, because he is noted the first and chief of all painters, therefore ought to bear rule over all painters; or because the university of Paris is nominated for the first and chief of other universities, shall therefore the French king, and all other princes in their public administration, wherein they are set of God, become subjects and underlings to that university?

Thus, after many other reasons and persuasions contained in said book De Obedientia (for I do but superficially skim over the top only of his probations and arguments), finally, in the end of his probation, he concludeth the whole sum of his mind in this effect; first, he denieth that the bishop of Rome had ever any such extern jurisdiction assigned to him absolutely from God, to reign over kings and princes: for the peroration whereof he hath alleged sufficiently, as he saith, the examples and doings of Christ himself, who ought to be to us all a sufficient document.

And as concerning the term of 'Primacy,' albeit it be used sometimes by the fathers, yet the matter, being well considered and rightly expounded, maketh nothing for the large dominion of the bishop of Rome, which now he doth usurp.

Also as for the prerogatives granted unto Peter, by the which prerogatives our Saviour would crown his own gifts given unto him, crowning not the flesh and blood of Peter, but the marvellous testimony of his confession, all this maketh nothing for the pope's purpose.

Succession of Peter.

Likewise as concerning the local succession of Peter, the pope hath nothing thereby to claim. If he will be successor of Peter, he must succeed him in faith, doctrine, and conditions; and in so doing, he neither will seek, nor yet shall need to seek, for honour, but shall be honoured of all good men, according as a good man should be; and that much more than he being a good man would require.

Gardiner taketh his 'vale' of the pope, but not his 'ultimum vale.'

And thus Stephen Winchester, taking his leave, and bidding the pope farewell, endeth with a friendly exhortation, willing him to be wise and circumspect, and not to strive stubbornly against the truth. 'The light of the gospel,' saith he, 'so spreadeth his beams in all men's eyes, that the works of the gospel be known, the mysteries of Christ's doctrine are opened; both learned and unlearned, men and women, being Englishmen born, do see and perceive, that they have nothing to do with Rome, or with the bishop of Rome, but that every prince, in his own dominion, is to be taken and accepted as a vicar of God, and vicegerent of Christ in his own bounds. And therefore, seeing this order is taken of God, and one in the church should bear the office of teaching, another should bear the office of ruling (which office is only limited to princes), he exhorteth him to consider the truth, and to follow the same, wherein consisteth our true and special obedience, &c.

The offices of teaching, and ruling.

To this book of Stephen Winchester, De Obedientia, we will adjoin, for good fellowship, the Preface also of Edmund Bonner, archdeacon then of Leicester, prefixed before the same; to the intent that the reader, seeing the judgments of these men as they were then, and again the sudden mutation afterwards of the said parties to the contrary opinion, may learn thereby what vain glory and pomp of this world can work in the frail nature of man, where God's grace lacketh to sustain. The preface of Bonner, before the said book of Winchester, De Obedientia, proceedeth thus in effect, as followeth:

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The Preface of Edmund Bonner, Archdeacon of Leicester, prefixed before Stephen Gardiner's book, De Vera Obedientia.

Forasmuch as some there be, no doubt (as the judgments of men be always variable), who think the controversy which is between the king's royal majesty and the bishop of Rome, consisteth in this point, for that his majesty hath taken the most excellent and most virtuous lady Anne to wife, which in very deed is far otherwise, and nothing so: to the intent, therefore, that all true hearty favourers of the gospel of Christ, who hate not, but love the truth, may the more fully understand the chief point of the controversy, and because they shall not be ignorant what is the whole voice and resolute determination of the best and greatest learned bishops, with all the nobles and commons of England, not only in that cause of matrimony, but also in defending the doctrine of the gospel: here shall be published the oration of the bishop of Winchester (a man excellently learned in all kind of learning), entitled 'De vera Obedientia'; that is, Concerning True Obedience. But as touching this bishop's worthy praises, there shall be nothing spoken of me at this time, not only because they are infinite,[1] but because they are far better known to all Christendom, than becometh me here to make rehearsal. And as for the oration itself (which as it is most learned, so is it most elegant), to what purpose should I make any words of it, seeing it praiseth itself enough, and seeing good wine needeth no tavern-bush to utter it? But yet in this oration, whosoever thou art, most gentle reader! thou shalt, besides other matters, see it notably and learnedly handled, of what importance, and how invincible the power and excellency of God's truth is, which as it may now and then be pressed of the enemies, so it cannot possibly be oppressed and darkened after such sort but it showeth itself again at length more glorious and more welcome. Thou shalt see also touching obedience, that it is subject to truth, and what is to be judged true obedience. Besides this, of men's traditions, which for the most part be most repugnant against the truth of God's law. And there, by the way, he speaketh of the king's said highness's marriage, which, by the ripe judgment, authority, and privilege of the most and principal universities of the world, and then with the consent of the whole church of England, he contracted with the most excellent and most noble lady, queen Anne. After that, touching the king's majesty's title, as pertaining to the supreme head of the church of England. Last of all, of the false pretensed supremacy of the bishop of Rome in the realm of England most justly abrogated: and how all other bishops, being fellow-like to him in their function, yea and in some points above him within their own provinces, were beforetime bound to the king by their oath.

Queen Anne.

The doctrine of the gospel.

The contents of Winchester's book.

The king's marriage with queen Anne.

Supreme head.

The pope's pretensed supremacy.

But be thou most surely persuaded of this, good reader! that the bishop of Rome, if there were no cause else but only this marriage, would easily content himself, especially having some good morsel or other given him to chew upon.[2] But when he seeth so mighty a king, being a right virtuous and a great learned prince, so sincerely and so heartily favour the gospel of Christ, and perceiveth the yearly and great prey (yea so large a prey, that it came to as much almost as all the king's revenues) snapped out of his hands, and that he can no longer exercise his tyranny in the king's majesty's realm (alas, heretofore too cruel and bitter[3]), nor make laws, as he hath done many, to the contumely and reproach of the majesty of God, which is evident that he hath done in time past, under the title of the Catholic church, and the authority of Peter and Paul (when notwithstanding he was a very ravening wolf, dressed in sheep's clothing, calling himself the servant of servants), to the great damage of the christian commonwealth—here, here began all the mischief; hereof rose these discords, these deadly malices, and so great and terrible bustling: for if it were not thus, could any man believe that this Jupiter of Olympus (who falsely hath arrogated unto himself an absolute power without controlment) would have wrought so diligently, by all means possible, to stir up all other kings and princes so traitorn oasainst this so good and godly, and so true a gospel-like prince, as he

(1) See how these clawbacks can cling together in truth and in falsehood; and all to fashion themselves to the world, and the time present.

(2) Bonner knew well what morsel would best please his father of Rome, and that money and bribes would soon stop his mouth.

(3) Seeing thou knowest the pope to be such a cruel tyrant, why then wouldst thou, against thy knowledge, become his slaughterman?

hath done? Neither let it move thee, gentle reader! that Winchester did not before now apply to this opinion: for he himself, in this oration, showeth the cause why he did it not. And if he had said never a word, yet thou knowest well what a witty part it is for a man to suspend his judgment, and not to be too rash in giving of sentence. It is an old-said saw; 'Mary Magdalen profited us less in her quick belief that Christ was risen, than Thomas that was longer in doubt.' A man may rightly call him Fabius, that with his advised taking of leisure restored the matter. Albeit I speak not this as though Winchester had not bolted out this matter secretly with himself beforehand (for he without doubt tried it out long ago); but that running fair and softly, he would first, with his painful study, pluck the matter out of the dark (although of itself it was clear enough, but by reason of sundry opinions it was lapped up in darkness), and then did he debate it wittily to and fro; and so, at last, after long and great deliberation had in the matter, because there is no better counsellor than leisure and time, he would resolutely, with his learned and consummate judgment, confirm it.

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Winchester writeth against the pope with advised judgment.

Thou shouldest, gentle reader, esteem his censure and authority to be of more weighty credence, inasmuch as the matter was not rashly, and at all adventures, but with judgment (as thou seest), and with wisdom examined and discussed. And this is no new example, to be against the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, seeing that not only this man, but many men oftentimes, yea and right great learned men afore now, have done the same even in writing; whereby they both painted him out in his right colours, and made his sleights, falsehood, frauds, and deceitful wiles, openly known to the world. Therefore, if thou at any time heretofore have doubted either of true obedience, or of the king's majesty's marriage or title, or else of the bishop of Rome's false pretended supremacy, as, if thou hadst a good smelling nose, and a sound judgment, I think thou didst not: yet, having read this oration (which, if thou favour the truth, and hate the tyranny of the bishop of Rome, and his satanical fraudulent falsehood, shall doubtless wonderfully content thee), forsake thine error, and acknowledge the truth now freely offered thee at length, considering with thyself that it is better late so to do, than never to repent.

No new matter to write against the bishop of Rome.

Fare thou heartily well, most gentle reader; and not only love this most valiant king of England and of France, who undoubtedly was by the providence of God born to defend the gospel, but also honour him and serve him most obediently. As for this Winchester, who was long ago, without doubt, reputed among the greatest learned men, give him thy good word, with highest commendation.

The end of bishop Bonner's prologue.

The inconstant mutability of Gardiner and Bonner.

What man reading and advising this book of Winchester, De Vera Obedientia, with Bonner's preface before the same, would ever have thought any alteration could so work in man's heart, to make these men thus to turn the cat in the pan, as they say, and to start so suddenly from the truth so manifestly known, so pithily proved, so vehemently defended, and (as it seemed) so faithfully subscribed? If they dissembled all this that they wrote, subscribed, and sware unto, what perjury most execrable was it before God and man! If they meant good faith, and spake then as they thought, what pestilent blindness is this so suddenly fallen upon them, to make that false now, which was true before; or that to be now true, which before was false! Thus to say and unsay, and then to say again, to do and undo, and, as a man would say, to play fast or loose with truth; truly a man may say is not the doing of a man who is in any case to be trusted, whatsoever he doth or saith. But here a man may see what man is of himself, when God's good humble Spirit lacketh to be his guide.

Furthermore, to add unto them the judgment also and arguments of Tonstal, bishop of Durham, let us see how he agreeth with them, or rather much exceedeth them, in his sermon made before king

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Henry upon Palm-Sunday, remaining yet in print; in which sermon, disputing against the wrongful supremacy of the bishop of Rome, he proveth by manifest grounds most effectuously, both out of the Scripture, ancient doctors, and of councils; not only that the bishop of Rome hath no such authority by the word of God committed to him, as he doth challenge; but also, in requiring and challenging the same, he reproveth and condemneth him with great zeal and ardent spirit, to be a proud Lucifer; disobedient to the ordinary powers of God set over him; contrary to Christ and Peter: and finally, in raising up war against us for the same, he therefore rebuketh and defieth him, as a most detestable sower of discord, and a murderer of Christian men.

The sermon of Tonstal before the king, made on Palm-Sunday.

Notes on Tonstal's Sermon against the Pope's Supremacy.

Popes and bishops ought to be subject to their sovereigns.

First, by the Scripture, he reasoneth thus, and proveth, that all good men ought to obey the potestates and governors of the world, as emperors, kings, and princes of all sorts, what name soever the said supreme powers do bear or use for their countries in which they be; for so St. Peter doth plainly teach us, saying, 'Be ye subject to every human creature for God's cause, whether it be king, as chief head, or dukes or governors,' &c.[1] So that St. Peter, in his epistle, commandeth all worldly princes in their office to be obeyed as the ministers of God, by all Christian men: and according unto the same, St. Paul saith, 'Let every living man be subject to the high powers; for the high powers be of God, and whosoever resisteth the high powers, resisteth the ordinance of God, and purchaseth thereby to himself damnation.'[2]

And in the same place of Tonstal it followeth: and lest men should forget their duty of obedience to their princes, it is thrice repeated, that they be 'the ministers of God,' whose place in their governance they represent: so that unto them all men must obey, apostles, patriarchs, primates, archbishops, bishops, priests, and all of the clergy, &c. 'And therefore,' saith he, 'the bishop of Rome oweth to his sovereign and superior like subjection by the word of God, taught unto us by Peter and Paul, as other bishops do to their princes, under whom they be,' &c.

Also, another express commandment we have of Christ, who, upon the occasion of his disciples striving for superiority, discusseth the matter, saying on this wise, 'The kings of the people and nations have dominion over them, and those that have power over them be called gracious lords; but so it shall not be amongst you: but whosoever amongst you is the greater, shall be as the younger; and whosoever amongst you shall be chief, shall be as a servant and a minister,'[3] &c.

And again, Christ speaking to Pilate of his kingdom, declareth that his kingdom is not of this world,[4] and 'therefore' saith Tonstal, 'those that go about to make of Christ's spiritual kingdom a worldly kingdom, do fall into the error of some heretics, that look that Christ, after the day of judgment, shall reign with all his saints here in the earth carnally in Jerusalem; as the Jews do believe that Messias is yet to come, and when he shall come, he shall reign worldly in Jerusalem.'

By these and such other places it may well appear, that Christ, neither before his incarnation (as Tonstal saith), nor after his incarnation, did ever alter the authority of worldly kings and princes, but by his own word commanded them still to be obeyed by their subjects, as they had been in the ancient time before, &c. And for example of the same he allegeth first the example of Christ himself, who, being asked of the Jews, whether they should give tribute to Cæsar, or no, he bade them give to Cæsar those things that be his, and to God those things that be his; signifying, that tribute was due to Cæsar, and that their souls were due to God,[5] &c.

Examples of Christ's humble subjection.

Also in the seventeenth of Matthew, it appeareth that Christ bade Peter pay tribute for him and his disciples, when it was demanded of him. And why?

(1) 1 Pet. ii. (2) Rom. xiii. (3) Luke xxii. (4) John xviii. (5) Matt. xxii.

Because he would not change the order of obeisance to worldly princes due by their subjects, &c. Henry VIII. A.D. 1534.

Another example of Christ he citeth out of John vi., where, after Christ had fed five thousand and more, with a few loaves, and fewer fishes, and that the Jews would have taken him, and made him their king, he fled from them; and would not consent unto them: 'For the kingdom,' saith he, 'that he came to set in earth, was not a worldly and temporal kingdom, but a heavenly and spiritual kingdom;' that is, to reign spiritually, by grace and faith, in the hearts of all christian and faithful people, of what degree, or of what nation soever they be, and to turn all people and nations, which at his coming were carnal and lived after the lusts of the flesh, to be spiritual, and to live after the lusts of the Spirit, that Christ, with his Father of heaven, might reign in the hearts of all men, &c.

And here, in these examples of Christ's humility further is to be noted, how Christ the Son of God did submit himself not only to the rulers and powers of this world, but also dejected himself, and in a manner became servant to his own apostles: so far off was he from all ambitious and pompous seeking of worldly honour. For so it appeared in him, not only by washing the feet of his apostles, but also the same time, a little before his passion, when the apostles fell at contention among themselves, who among them should be superior, he, setting before them the example of his own subjection, asketh this question: 'Who is superior; he that sitteth at the table, or he that serveth at the table? Is not he superior that sitteth? but I am amongst you, as he that ministereth and serveth,' &c.[1]

The like examples Tonstal also inforceth of Peter's humility. For where we read in the Acts, how the centurion, a nobleman of great age, did prostrate himself upon the ground at the feet of Peter; then Peter, not suffering that, eftsoons took him up, and bade him rise, saying, 'I am also a man as thou art.'[2] Examples of Peter's subjection.

So likewise did the angel, to whom when John would have fallen down to have adored him who showed him those visions, the angel said unto him, 'See thou do not so; for I am the servant of God, as thou art,' &c.[3]

Again, in the aforesaid Peter, what an example of reverent humility is to be seen in this, that notwithstanding he, with other apostles, had his commission to go over all the world, yet nevertheless he, being at Joppa, and sent for by Cornelius, durst not go unto him without the vision of a sheet let down from heaven; by which vision he was admonished not to refuse the Gentiles: or else he knew in himself no such primacy over all people and places given unto him, nor any such commission so large above the others, &c.

Furthermore, the said Peter, being rebuked of Paul his fellow brother, took no scorn thereof, but was content, submitting himself to due correction.

But here, saith Tonstal, steppeth in the bishop of Rome, and saith that Peter had authority given him above all the residue of the apostles, and allegeth the words of Christ spoken to him, 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church, and will give to thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt bind upon earth, shall be bound in heaven.'[4] 'This said Christ,' saith the pope, 'and St. Peter is buried at Rome, whose successor I am, and ought to rule the church, as Peter did, and to be porter of heaven gates, as Peter was,' &c. 'And Christ said also to Peter, after his resurrection, Feed my sheep;[5] which he spake to him only, so that thereby he had authority over all that be of Christ's flock; and I, as his successor, have the same. And therefore whoso will not obey me, king or prince, I will curse him, and deprive him of his kingdom or seigniory: for all power is given to me that Christ hath, and I am his vicar-general, as Peter was here in earth over all, and none but I, as Christ is in heaven.' The pope's objections. Ambitious pride of the pope.

This ambitious and pompous objection (saith Tonstal) of the pope and his adherents, hath of late years much troubled the world, and made dissension, debate, and open war in all parts of Christendom, and all by a wrong interpretation of the Scripture; who, if he would take those places after the right sense of them, as both the apostles themselves taught us, and all the ancient best learned interpreters do expound them, the matter were soon at a point. But otherwise, since they pervert the Scriptures, and preach another gospel in that point to us, than ever the apostles preached, we have therein a general rule to follow: That though an angel came from heaven, and would tell us such The Scriptures falsely perverted by him.

(1) Luke xxii. (2) Acts x. (3) Apoc. xix. and xxii. (4) Matt. xvi. (5) John xxi.

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new exposition of those places as are now made, to turn the words which were spoken for spiritual authority of preaching the word of God, and ministering of the sacraments, to a worldly authority, we ought to reject him: as St. Paul willeth us in Galatians i.

The place of Matt. xvi. expounded.

To open therefore the true sense of the Scripture in the places aforesaid, and first to begin with Matthew xvi., here is to be observed, that the question being put in general of Christ to all his apostles, what they thought or judged of him, Peter, answering for them all (as he was always ready to answer), said, 'Thou art Christ the Son of the living God.' To whom Jesus answered again, 'Blessed be thou, Simon the son of Jonah, for flesh and blood hath not revealed this unto thee, but my Father which is in heaven: and I say unto thee, thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church; and the gates of hell shall not prevail against it.' That is to say, Upon this rock of thy confession of me to be the Son of God, I will build my church; for this faith containeth the whole summary of our faith and salvation, as it is written in Rom. x. 'The word of faith that we do preach is at hand, in thy mouth and in thine heart. For if thou confess with thy mouth our Lord Jesus Christ, and with thy heart do believe that God raised him from death to life, thou shalt be saved,' &c.

Faith the mother of salvation.

The church builded upon the confession of Peter, not upon the person of Peter.

And this confession being first uttered by the mouth of Peter, upon the same confession of his, and not upon the person of Peter, Christ buildeth his church, as Chrysostome expoundeth that place in the twenty-sixth sermon, of the feast of Pentecost, saying, 'Not upon the person of Peter, but upon the faith, Christ hath builded his church. And what is the faith? This: Thou art Christ the Son of the living God. What is to say, Upon this rock? That is, Upon this confession of Peter,' &c. And with this saying of Chrysostome all ancient expositors (saith Tonstal) treating of that place, do agree; for if we should expound that place, that the church is builded upon the person of Peter, we should put another foundation of the church than Christ; which is directly against St. Paul, saying, 'No man may put any other foundation, but that which is put already, which is Christ Jesus,' &c.[1]

And because Peter was the first of all the apostles that confessed this, That Christ is the Son of God, by the which faith all men must be saved; thereof cometh the primacy; that is, the first place or standing of Peter in the number of all the apostles.

What is the primacy of Peter.

And as Peter was the first of them that confessed Christ to be the Son of God, so was he most ardent in his faith, most bold and hardy in Christ, as appeared by his coming out of the ship in the great tempest; and also most vehement in his master's cause, as appeared by drawing out his sword; and afterwards the Lord's resurrection is declared in the Acts,[2] where the Jews, withstanding the apostles preaching the faith of Christ, Peter, as most ardent in faith, was ever most ready to defend the faith against the impugners thereof, speaking for them all unto the people, &c.; and therefore hath these honourable names given him by the ancient interpreters, that sometimes he is called 'the mouth of the apostles;' 'the chief of the apostles;' sometimes 'the prince of the apostles, sometimes 'the president of the whole church,' and sometimes hath the name of primacy or priority attributed unto him. And yet that the said Peter, notwithstanding these honourable names given to him, should not have a rule, or a judicial power, above all the other apostles, it is plain by St. Paul and many others.

The honourable names of Peter in the old doctors, how and wherefore they be given.

The authority of the apostles all alike.

First, St. Paul[3] plainly declareth the same, saying, that as the apostleship of the circumcision, that is, of the Jews, was given by Christ to Peter; so was the apostleship of the Gentiles given to me among the Gentiles. Hereby it appeareth that Paul knew no primacy of Peter concerning people and places, but among the Jews. And thereof St. Ambrose, expounding that place, saith thus: 'The primacy of the Jews was given chiefly to Peter, albeit James and John were joined with him; as the primacy of the Gentiles was given to Paul, albeit Barnabas was joined with him: so that Peter had no rule over all.

Also in Acts x., when Peter was sent for to Cornelius, a Gentile, he durst not go to him without a special vision given him from heaven by the Lord.

Item, That all the apostles had like dignity and authority, it appeareth by St. Paul, where he saith, 'Now ye are not strangers, nor foreigners, but ye be citizens with the saints, and of the household of Almighty God, builded,' saith

(1) 1 Cor. iii. (2) Chaps. ii. iii. iv. (3) Gal. ii.

he, 'upon the foundations of the apostles and the prophets, Christ being the corner-stone; upon whom every edifice being builded, groweth up to an holy temple in our Lord,' &c.[1] Here he saith that they be builded not upon the foundation of Peter only, but upon the foundation of the apostles: so that all they be in the foundation set upon Christ the very rock, whereupon standeth the whole church.

In the Apocalypse also,[2] the new city, and the heavenly Jesusalem of Almighty God, is described by the Holy Ghost, not with one foundation only of Peter, but with twelve foundations, after the number of the apostles.

Every bishop hath his part wholly to himself.

St. Cyprian[3] giveth record likewise to the same, that the apostles had equal power and dignity given to them by Christ; and because all should preach one thing, therefore the beginning thereof first came by one, who was Peter, who confessed for them all, that Christ was the Son of the living God. Saying further, that in the church there is one office of all the bishops, whereof every man hath a part allowed wholly unto him. Now, if the bishop of Rome may meddle over all, where he will, then every man hath not wholly his part, for the bishop of Rome may also meddle in his part jointly with him; so that now he hath it not wholly: which is against Cyprian.

St. Augustine[4] likewise, expounding the gospel of John, in the fiftieth Treatise, speaketh there of the keys of Peter, which he saith were given of Christ to Peter, not for himself alone, but for the whole church.

'Pasce oves meas,' makes nothing for the pope's universal pastoralty.

Cyril, expounding the last chapter of John, and there speaking of the words of Christ spoken unto Peter, 'Feed my sheep,' &c. thus understandeth the same: That because Peter had thrice denied Christ, whereby he thought himself he had lost his apostleship, Christ, to comfort him again, and to restore him to his office that he had lost, asked him thrice whether he loved him; and so restored him again to his office, which else he durst not have presumed unto; saying unto him, 'Feed my sheep,' &c.; with which exposition the ancient holy expositors of that place do likewise agree. So that by these words of feeding Christ's sheep, the bishop of Rome can take no advantage to maintain his universal pastoralty over all christian dominions.

ποιμάνειν.

Again, whereas the bishop of Rome saith that Peter, by these words of Christ spoken to him, hath a pre-eminency above the others, St. Paul[5] proveth the contrary, where he, speaking to the bishops assembled at Miletus, saith to them, 'Take heed to yourselves, and to all your flock, in which the Holy Ghost hath put you to govern,' &c.

And Peter himself likewise[6] saith, 'Ye that be priests, feed the flock of God among you,' &c.

Scriptures wrongfully alleged for the pope's supremacy.

So that by these scriptures conferred together, it may appear, that neither Matthew xvi., nor John xxi., do prove that Peter had power, authority, or dignity given him of Christ over all the others, that they should be under him. And yet, notwithstanding his primacy, in that he, first of all the apostles, confessed Christ to be the Son of the living God (with which confession all the other apostles did consent, and also preached the same), standeth still; which confession first by Peter made, all others that will be saved must follow also, and be taught to confess the same. And thus the bishop of Rome's power over all, which he would prove by those places wrongfully alleged for his purpose, utterly quaileth, and is not proved. And thus much for the Scriptures and doctors.

Now, further proceeding in this matter, the said Tonstal cometh to councils, and examples of the primitive church, as followeth:

Examples of the primitive church, against the pope's supremacy.

Faustinus, legate to the bishop of Rome, in the sixth council of Carthage, alleged that the bishop of Rome ought to have the ordering of all great matters, in all places, by his supreme authority, bringing no scripture for him (for at that time no scripture was thought to make for it); but alleged for him, and that untruly, that the first council of Nice made for his purpose. After this, when the book was brought forth, and no such article found in it, but the contrary, yet the council at that time sent to Constantinople, Alexandria, and An-

(1) Ephes. ii. (2) Chap. xxi. (3) Lib. de Simplic. Prælat.
(4) Aug. in Johan. Tractat. 50. (5) Acts xx. (6) 1 Pet. 5.

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tioch, where the patriarchal sees were, to have the true copy of the council of Nice, which was sent unto them. And another copy also was sent from Rome, whither also they sent for the same purpose.

After that the copy was brought to them, and no such article found in it, but in the fifth chapter thereof the contrary, that all causes ecclesiastical should either be determined within the diocese, or else, if any were aggrieved, then to appeal to the council provincial, and there the matter to take full end, so that for no such causes men should go out of their provinces; the whole council of Carthage wrote to Celestine, at that time being bishop of Rome, that since the council of Nice had no such article in it, as was untruly alleged by Faustinus, but the contrary, they desired him to abstain hereafter to make any more such demand; denouncing unto him, that they would not suffer any cause, great or small, to be brought by appeal out of their country; and thereupon made a law, that no man should appeal out of the country of Africa, upon pain to be denounced accursed. Wherewith the bishop of Rome ever after held him content, and made no more business with them, seeing he had nought to say for himself to the contrary. And at this council St. Augustine was present, and subscribed his hand. Read more hereof before.

His supremacy reproved by the council of Nice.

The council falsified by Faustinus the pope's legate.

It was determined also, in the sixth article of the said council of Nice, that in the Orient the bishop of Antioch should be chief; in Egypt the bishop of Alexandria; about Rome the bishop of Rome; and likewise in other countries the metropolitans should have their pre-eminence: so that the bishop of Rome never had meddling in those countries. And in the next article following, the bishop of Jerusalem (which city before had been destroyed, and almost desolate) was restored to his old prerogative, to be the chief in Palestine and in the country of Jewry.

The sixth article of the council. The four chief patriarchs equal in power.

By this ye see how the patriarch of Rome, during all this time of the primitive church, had no such primacy pre-eminent above other patriarchs, much less over kings and emperors, as may appear by Agatho, bishop of Rome, long after that, in whose time was the sixth council general; which Agatho, after his election, sent to the emperor, then being at Constantinople, to have his election allowed, before he would be consecrated, after the old custom at the time used.

Pope Agatho subjected to the emperor.

In like sort, another bishop of Rome, called Vitalianus, did the same, as it is written in the decrees; distinct. 63. Cap. 'Agatho.' The like did St. Ambrose and St. Gregory before them, as it is written in the chapter 'Cum longe,' in the same Distinction. During all this time the bishops of Rome followed well the doctrine of St. Peter and St. Paul, left unto them, to be subjects, and to obey their princes.

Pope Vitalianus subject to the emperor.

Thus, after that bishop Tonstal, playing the earnest Lutheran, both by Scriptures and ancient doctors, also by examples sufficient of the primitive church, hath proved and declared, how the bishops of Rome ought to submit themselves to the higher powers whom God hath appointed every creature in this world to obey; now let us likewise see how the said bishop Tonstal describeth unto us the bishop of Rome's disobedience intolerable, his pride incomparable, and his malignant malice most execrable.

Bishop Tonstal a right Lutheran.

And first, speaking of the disobedience of Adam and Eve, then of the pride of Nebuchadnezzar, and of Lucifer, at length he compareth the bishops of Rome to them all; who first, for disobedience, refuse to obey God's commandment, and contrary to his word, will be above their governors, in refusing to obey them.

The disobedience, pride, and malice of the pope described.

Secondly, Besides this rebellious disobedience in these bishops of Rome, not sufferable, their pride moreover so far exceedeth all measure, that they will have their princes, to whom they owe subjection, prostrate upon the ground, to adore them by godly honour upon the earth; and to kiss their feet, as if they were God, whereas they be but wretched men; and yet they look that their princes should do it unto them, and also that all other christian men, owing them no subjection, should do the same.

And who be these, I pray you, that men may know them? Surely (saith he) the bishops of Rome be those whom I do mean, who, following the pride of Lucifer their father, make themselves fellows to God, and do exalt their seat above the stars of God, and do ascend above the clouds, and will be like to Almighty God. By stars of God be meant the angels of heaven; for as stars do show unto us in part the light of heaven, so do angels, sent unto men, show the heavenly light of the grace of God to those to whom they be sent. And the clouds signified in the Old Testament the prophets, and in the New do signify the apostles and preachers of the word of God; for as the clouds do conceive and gather in the sky moisture, which they after pour down upon the ground, to make it thereby more fruitful, so the prophets in the Old Testament, and the apostles and preachers in the New, do pour into our ears the moisture of their heavenly doctrine of the word of God, to make therewith, by grace, our souls, being sear and dry, to bring forth fruit of the Spirit. Thus do all ancient expositors, and amongst them St. Augustine, interpret to be meant in Scripture stars and clouds, in the exposition of Psalm cxlvii.

The pope exalted above the clouds and the stars of heaven.

But St. John the evangelist writeth in the 19th chapter of the Apocalypse, and in the 22d also, that when he would have fallen down at the angel's foot, that did show him those visions there written, to have adored him with godly worship, the angel said unto him: 'See thou do not so, for I am the servant of God, as thou art: give adoration and godly worship to God, and not to me.' Here it appeareth that the bishops of Rome, suffering all men prostrate before them to kiss their feet (yea the same princes, to whom they owe subjection), do climb up above the stars and angels too, offering their feet to be kissed, with shoes and all. For so I saw myself, being present four and thirty years ago, when Julius, then bishop of Rome, stood on his feet, and one of his chamberlains held up his skirt, because it stood not (as he thought) with his dignity that he should do it himself, that his shoe might appear, whilst a nobleman of great age did prostrate himself upon the ground, and kissed his shoe; which he stately suffered to be done, as of duty. Where methinks I saw Cornelius the centurion, captain of the Italian band, spoken of in Acts x., submitting himself to Peter, and much honouring him; but I saw not Peter there to take him up, and to bid him rise, saying, I am a man as thou art, as St. Peter did say to Cornelius: so that the bishops of Rome, admitting such adoration due unto God, do climb above the heavenly clouds; that is to say, above the apostles sent into the world by Christ, to water the earthly and carnal hearts of men, by their heavenly doctrine of the word of God.

Exalted above angels.

Climbeth above the apostles.

Thus Bishop Tonstal, having described the passing pride of the pope, surmounting like Lucifer above bishops, apostles, angels, and stars of heaven, proceeding then further to the latter end of his sermon, cometh to speak of his rage and malice most furious and pestilent, in that he, being justly put from his kingdom here to wreak his spiteful malice, stirreth up war against us, and bloweth the horn of mischief in giving our land for a spoil and prey to all, whosoever, at his setting on, will come and invade us. But let us hear his own words preaching to the king and all Englishmen, touching both the pope's malice, and the treason of cardinal Pole.

Stirreth up war against England.

The treason of cardinal Pole.

'Now,' saith he, 'because he can no longer in this realm wrongfully use his usurped power in all things, as he was wont to do, and suck out of this realm, by avarice insatiable, innumerable sums of money yearly, to the great exhausting of the same; he therefore, moved and replete with furious ire and pestilent malice, goeth about to stir all christian nations that will give ears to his devilish enchantments, to move war against this realm of England, giving it in prey to all those that by his instigation will invade it.'

And here, expounding these aforesaid words, "To give in prey," he declareth what great mischief they contain, and willeth every true Englishman well to mark the same.

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'First, to make this realm,' saith he, 'a prey to all adventurers, all spoilers, all snaphaunses,[1] all forlorn hopes, all cormorants, all raveners of the world, that will invade this realm, is to say, Thou possessioner of any lands of this realm, of what degree soever thou be, from the highest to the lowest, shalt be slain and destroyed, and thy lands taken from thee by those that will have all for themselves; and thou mayest be sure to be slain, for they will not suffer thee, nor any of thy progeny, to live to make any claim afterwards, or to be revenged; for that were their unsurety. Thy wife shall be abused before thy face; thy daughter likewise deflowered before thee; thy children slain before thine eyes; thy house spoiled; thy cattle driven away, and sold before thy visage; thy plate, thy money, by force taken from thee; all thy goods, wherein thou hast any delight, or hast gathered for thy children, ravened, broken, and distributed in thy presence, that every ravener may have his share. Thou merchant art sure to be slain, for thou hast either money or ware, or both, which they search for. Thou bishop or priest, whatsoever thou be, shalt never escape, because thou wouldst not take the bishop of Rome's part, and rebel against God and thy prince, as he doth.' If thou shalt flee and escape for a season, whatsoever thou be, thou shalt see and hear of so much misery and abomination, that thou shalt judge them happy that be dead before; for sure it is thou shalt not finally escape: for, to take the whole realm in prey, is to kill the whole people, and to take the place for themselves, as they will do if they can.

The pope giveth England away for a prey.

Cardinal Pole traitor to England.

'And the bishop of Rome now of late, to set forth his pestilent malice the more, hath allured to his purpose a subject of this realm, Reginald Pole, coming of a noble blood, and thereby the more errant traitor, to go about from prince to prince, and from country to country, to stir them to war against this realm, and to destroy the same, being his native country; whose pestilent purpose, the princes that he breaketh it unto have in much abomination, both for that the bishop of Rome (who, being a bishop, should procure peace) is a stirrer of war, and because this most errant and unkind traitor is his minister to so devilish a purpose, to destroy the country that he was born in; which any heathen man would abhor to do.'

And so continuing in his discourse against cardinal Pole and the bishop of Rome, for stirring the people to war and mischief, he further saith, and saith truly, thus:

The pope's name and memory abolished.

'For these many years past, little war hath been in these parts of Christendom, but the bishop of Rome either hath been a stirrer of it, or a nourisher of it, and seldom any compounder of it, unless it were for his ambition or profit. Wherefore since, as St. Paul saith, that God is not the God of dissension, but of peace,[2] who commandeth, by his word, peace alway to be kept, we are sure that all those that go about to break peace between realms, and to bring them to war, are the children of the devil, what holy names soever they may pretend to cloak their pestilent malice withal; which cloaking under hypocrisy is double devilishness, and of Christ most detested, because under his blessed name they do play the devil's part.'

And in the latter end of his sermon, concluding with Ezekiel xxxix., where the prophet speaketh against Gog and Magog going about to destroy the people of God, and prophesieth against them, that the people of God shall vanquish and overthrow them on the mountains of Israel, that none of them shall escape, but their carcases shall there be devoured of kites and crows, and birds of the air; so likewise saith he of these our enemies, wishing, that if they shall persist in their pestilent malice to make invasion into this realm, then their great captain Gog (the bishop of Rome he meaneth) may come with them, to drink with them of the same cup which he maliciously goeth about to prepare for us, that the people of God might after live quietly in peace.

The pope compared to Gog.

(1) 'Snaphaunse,' a fire-lock.—Ed. (2) 1 Cor. xiv.

We have heard hitherto the oaths, censures, and judgments of certain particular bishops, of York, of Winchester, of London, of Durham, and also of Edmund Bonner, archdeacon then of Leicester, against the pope's unlawful usurpation. Now, for the more fortification of the matter, and satisfying of the reader, it shall not be much out of purpose, besides the consent and approbation of these aforesaid, to infer also the public and general agreement of the whole clergy of England, as in a total sum together, confirmed and ratified in their own public book, made and set forth by them about the same time, called then 'The Bishops' Book;' in which book, although many things were very slender and imperfect, yet, as touching this cause of the bishop of Rome's regality, we will hear (God willing) what their whole opinion and provincial determination did conclude, according as by their own words in the same book is to be seen word for word, as followeth, subscribed also with their own names; the catalogue of whom, under their own confession, shall appear. *Henry VIII.* A. D. 1534.

Testimonies out of 'The Bishops' Book,' against the Pope's Supremacy.

We think it convenient, that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach the people committed unto their spiritual charge, that whereas certain men do imagine and affirm, that Christ should give unto the bishop of Rome power and authority, not only to be head and governor of all priests and bishops in Christ's church, but also to have and occupy the whole monarchy of the world in his hands, and that he may thereby lawfully depose kings and princes from their realms, dominions, and seigniories, and so transfer and give the same to such persons as him liketh, that is utterly false and untrue; for Christ never gave unto St. Peter, or unto any of the apostles or their successors, any such authority. And the apostles, St. Peter and St. Paul, do teach and command, that all christian people, as well priests and bishops, as others, should be obedient and subject unto the princes and potentates of the world, although they were infidels.

And as for the bishop of Rome, it was many hundred years after Christ, before he could acquire or get any primacy or governance above any other bishops, out of his province in Italy; since which time he hath ever usurped more and more. And though some part of his power was given to him by the consent of the emperors, kings, and princes, and by the consent also of the clergy in general councils assembled; yet surely he attained the most part thereof by marvellous subtlety and craft, and especially by colluding with great kings and princes, sometimes training them into his devotion by pretence and colour of holiness and sanctimony, and sometimes constraining them by force and tyranny. Whereby the said bishops of Rome aspired and rose at length unto such greatness in strength and authority, that they presumed and took upon them to be heads, and to put laws by their own authority, not only unto all other bishops within Christendom, but also unto the emperors, kings, and other the princes and lords of the world; and that, under the pretence of the authority committed unto them by the gospel.[1] Wherein the said bishops of Rome do not only abuse and pervert the true sense and meaning of Christ's word, but they do also clean contrary to the use and custom of the primitive church; and so do manifestly violate, as well the holy canons made in the church immediately after the time of the apostles, as also the decrees and constitutions made in that behalf by the holy fathers of the catholic church, assembled in the first general councils.[2] And finally, they do transgress their

How the bishop of Rome rose by ambition.

(1) Concilium tertium Carthaginense, cap. 26. First, the general council of Nice decreed, that the patriarchs of Alexandria and Antioch should have like power over the countries about those cities, as the bishops of Rome had over the countries about Rome. In the council of Milevitane, it was decreed, that if a clerk of Africa would appeal out of Africa unto any bishop beyond the sea, he should be taken as a person excommunicated.

(2) In the general council of Constantinople (the first), it was likewise decreed, that every cause between any persons should be determined within the provinces where the matters did lie; and

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own profession, made in their creation. For all the bishops of Rome always, when they be consecrated and made bishops of that see, do make a solemn profession and vow, that they shall inviolably observe and keep all the ordinances made in the eight first general councils; among which it is specially provided and enacted, that all causes shall be finished and determined within the province where the same began, and that by the bishops of the same province; and that no bishop shall exercise any jurisdiction out of his own diocese or province; and divers such other canons were then made and confirmed by the said councils, to repress and take away out of the church all such primacy and jurisdiction over kings and bishops, as the bishops of Rome pretend now to have over the same.[1] And we find that divers good fathers, bishops of Rome, did greatly reprove, yea and abhor (as a thing clean contrary to the gospel, and the decrees of the church) that any bishop at Rome or elsewhere, should presume, usurp, or take upon him, the title and name of the universal bishop, or of the head of all priests, or of the highest priest, or any such like title. For confirmation whereof, it is out of all doubt, that there is no mention made, either in Scripture, or in the writings of any authentical doctor or author of the church, being within the time of the apostles, that Christ did ever make or institute any distinction or difference to be in the pre-eminence of power, order, or jurisdiction, between the apostles themselves, or between the bishops themselves, but that they were all equal in power, order, authority, and jurisdiction. And in that there is now, and since the time of the apostles, any such diversity or difference among the bishops, it was devised by the ancient fathers of the primitive church for the conservation of good order and the unity of the catholic church; and that, either by the consent and authority, or else at least by the permission and sufferance, of the princes and civil powers for the time ruling, &c.

And shortly after followeth this:

And for the better confirmation of this part, we think it also convenient, that all bishops and preachers shall instruct and teach the people committed unto their spiritual charge, that Christ did by express words prohibit, that none of his apostles, nor any of their successors should, under the pretence of the authority given unto them by Christ, take upon them the authority of the sword; that is to say, the authority of kings, or of any civil power in this world, yea, or any authority to make laws or ordinances in causes appertaining unto civil powers. Truth it is, the priests and bishops may execute all such temporal power and jurisdiction as is committed unto them by the ordinance and authority of kings, or other civil powers, and by the consent of the people (as officers and ministers under the said kings and powers), so long as it shall please the said kings and people to permit and suffer them so to use and execute the same. Notwithstanding, if any bishop, of what estate or dignity soever he be (be he bishop of Rome, or of any other city, province, or diocese), do presume to take upon him authority or jurisdiction in causes or matters which appertain unto kings, and the civil powers and their courts, and will maintain or think that he may so do by the authority of Christ and his gospel, although the kings and princes would not permit and suffer him so to do; no doubt, that bishop is not worthy to be called a bishop, but rather a tyrant, and a usurper of other men's rights, contrary to the laws of God; and is worthy to be reputed none otherwise than he that goeth about to subvert the kingdom of Christ. For the kingdom of Christ in his church is a spiritual, and not a carnal kingdom of the world; that is to say, the very kingdom that Christ, by himself, or by his apostles and disciples, sought here in this world, was to bring all nations from the carnal kingdom of the prince of darkness unto the light of his spiritual kingdom; and so himself to reign in the hearts of the people, by grace, faith, hope, and charity. And therefore, since Christ did never seek nor exercise any worldly kingdom or dominion in this world, but rather, refusing and flying from the same, did leave the said worldly governance of kingdoms, realms, and nations, to be governed by princes and potentates (in like manner as he did find them),

The bishop of Rome judged to be a tyrant and usurper.

that no bishop should exercise any power out of his own diocese or province. And this was also the mind of holy St. Cyprian, and of other holy men of Africa. To conclude, therefore, the pope hath no such primacy given him, either by the words of Scripture, or by any general council, or by common consent of the holy catholic church.

(1) Georgius, lib. 4. Epistolarum Indictione xiii. Epist. 3.

and commanded also his apostles and disciples to do the semblable, as it was said before; whatsoever priest, or bishop will arrogate or presume to take upon him any such authority, and will pretend the authority of the gospel for his defence therein, he doth nothing else but (in a manner as you would say) crowneth Christ again with a crown of thorn, and traduceth and bringeth him forth again with his mantle of purple upon his back, to be mocked and scorned of the world, as the Jews did to their own damnation. *Henry VIII.* A. D. 1534.

This doctrine was subscribed and allowed by the witness and testimony of these bishops and other learned men, whose names hereunder follow, as appeareth in the bishops' book before named.

Testimonies of Bishops and Doctors of England against the Pope.

Thomas Cantuariensis.
Edovardus Eboracensis.
Johannes Londinensis.
Cuthbertus Dunelmensis.
Stephanus Wintoniensis.
Robertus Carliolensis.
Johannes Exoniensis.
Johannes Lincolniensis.
Johannes Barthoniensis.
Rolandus Coventr. et Lichfield.
Thomas Eliensis.
Nicolaus Sarum.
Johannes Bangor.
Edovardus Herefordiensis.
Hugo Wigorniensis.
Johannes Roffensis.
Richardus Cicestrensis.
Gulielmus Norwicensis.
Gulielmus Menevensis.
Robertus Assavensis.
Robertus Landavensis.
Richardus Wolman, Archidiacon. Sudbur.
Gulielmus Knight, Archidiacon. Richmond.
Johannes Bel, Archidiacon. Glocester.
Edmundus Bonner, Archidiacon. Leicester.
Gulielmus Skippe, Archidiacon. Dorset.
Nicolaus Heth, Archidiacon. Stafford.
Cuthbertus Marshal, Archidiac. Nottingham.
Richardus Curren, Archidiacon. Oxon.
Gulielmus Cliffe.
Galfridus Dounes.
Robertus Oking.
Radulphus Bradford.
Richardus Smith.
Simon Mathew.
Johannes Prin.
Gulielmus Buckmaster.
Gulielmus May.
Nicolaus Wotton.
Richardus Cox.
Johannes Edmunds.
Thomas Robertson.
Johannes Baker.
Thomas Barret.
Johannes Hase.
Johannes Tyson.

These were doctors of divinity, and of both laws.

Judge now thyself, loving reader, 'per confessata et allegata;' that is, by these things heretofore confessed, alleged, allowed, proved, and confirmed; by pen set forth, by words defended, and by oath subscribed by these bishops and doctors, if either Martin Luther himself, or any Lutheran else, could or did ever say more against the proud usurpation of the bishop of Rome, than these men have done. If they dissembled otherwise than they meant, who could ever dissemble so deeply, speaking so pithily? If they meant as they spake, who could ever turn head to tail so suddenly and so shortly as these men did? But because these things we write for edification of others, rather than for commendation of them, let us mark therefore their reasons, and let the persons go. The bishops of England were, then, good Lutherans.

And although the said proofs and arguments, heretofore alleged, might suffice to the full discussion of this matter against the pope's usurped primacy; yet because many do yet remain, who will not be satisfied, to refel therefore and confute this popish article of the pope's

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vain and proud primacy with as much matter and furniture of reasons and allegations as the writings and testimonies of these bishops and others do minister unto us; we mind (the Lord willing) to annex to these former confirmations of the bishops aforesaid, another supplement also of a certain epistle sent by bishop Tonstal, and by John Stokesley, bishop of London, to cardinal Pole, for a more ample confutation of the usurped power. Concerning the argument of that epistle, here is first to be understood, that about this time, or not much after, cardinal Pole, brother to the lord Montague, was attainted of high treason, and fled away unto Rome, where, within a short time after, he was made cardinal of St. Mary Cosmeden; of whom more is to be spoken hereafter, the Lord so permitting, when we come to the time of queen Mary. In the mean time, he remaining at Rome, there was directed unto him a certain epistle exhortatory by Stokesley, bishop of London, and Tonstal, bishop of Durham, persuading him to relinquish and abandon the supremacy of the pope, and to conform himself to the religion of his king. The copy of which his epistle, for the reasons and arguments therein contained about the same matter, we thought here not unworthy to be put in, or unprofitable to be read. The tenor thereof here followeth.

The epistle of Tonstal and Stokesley, to Pole.

The true Copy of a certain Letter written by Cuthbert Tonstal, Bishop of Durham, and John Stokesley, Bishop of London, to Cardinal Pole, proving the Bishop of Rome to have no special superiority above other Bishops.[1]

For the good will that we have borne unto you in times past, as long as you continued the king's true subject, we cannot a little lament and mourn, that you, neither regarding the inestimable kindness of the king's highness heretofore showed unto you in your bringing up, nor the honour of the house that you be come of, nor the wealth of the country that you were born in, should so decline from your duty to your prince, that you should be seduced by fair words and vain promises of the bishop of Rome, to wind with him, going about, by all means to him possible, to pull down and put under foot your natural prince and master,[2] to the destruction of the country that hath brought you up, and for a vain glory of a red hat, to make yourself an instrument to set forth his malice, who hath stirred, by all means that he could, all such christian princes as would give ears unto him, to depose the king's highness from his kingdom, and to offer it as a prey for them that should execute his malice; and to stir, if he could, his subjects against him, in stirring and nourishing rebellions in his realm, where the office and duty of all good christian men, and namely of us that be priests, should be to bring all commotion to tranquillity, all trouble to quietness, all discord to concord; and in doing contrary, we do show ourselves to be but the ministers of Satan, and not of Christ, who ordained all us that be priests to use, in all places, the legation of peace, and not of discord. But since that cannot be undone that is done, secondly it is to make amends, and to follow the doing of the prodigal son spoken of in the gospel,[3] who returned home to his father, and was well accepted; as no doubt you might be, if you would say as he said, in acknowledging your folly, and do as he did, in returning home again from your wandering abroad in service of him, who little careth what cometh of you, so that his purpose by you be served.

And if you be moved by your conscience, that you cannot take the king your master as supreme head of the church of England, because the bishop of Rome hath heretofore many years usurped that name universally over all the church,

(1) This letter was testified by Cuthbert Tonstal, to Matthew, archbishop of Canterbury, and others, to be his own, about fourteen days before his death.

(2) Read his traitorous oration to the emperor, in his book entitled, 'De Ecclesiæ Concordia,' moving him to seek the destruction of king Henry, and the whole realm of England.

(3) Luke xv.

under pretence of the gospel of St. Matthew, saying, 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock I will build my church:' surely that text many of the most holy and ancient expositors wholly do take to be meant of the faith, then first confessed by the mouth of Peter; upon which faith, confessing Christ to be the Son of God, the church is builded, Christ being the very lowest foundation stone, whereupon both the apostles themselves, and also the whole faith of the church of Christ, by them preached through the world, is founded and builded; and other foundation none can be, but that only, as St. Paul saith, 'No other foundation can any man lay besides that which is laid, which is Christ Jesus.'[1]

The place of Matt. xviii. 'Tu es Petrus' expounded.

And where you think that the gospel of Luke proveth the same authority of the bishop of Rome, saying, 'Peter, I have prayed for thee, that thy faith should not fail; and thou being once converted, confirm thy brethren:' surely that speaketh only of the fall of Peter, known to Christ by his godly prescience, whereof he gave an inkling, that after the time of his fall he should not despair, but return again, and confirm his brethren, as he, being ever most fervent of them, was wont to do. The place doth plainly open itself that it cannot be otherwise taken, but this to be the very meaning of it, and not to be spoken but to Peter: for else his successors must first fail in the faith, and then convert, and so confirm their brethren. And whereas you think that this place of the gospel of John, 'Feed my sheep,' was spoken only to Peter, and that those words make him shepherd over all, and above all, St. Peter[2] himself testifieth the contrary in his canonical epistle, where he saith to all priests, 'Feed the flock of Christ which is among you;' which he bade them do by the authority that Christ had put them in, as followeth: 'And when the chief shepherd shall appear, ye shall receive the incorruptible crown of eternal glory.'

The place of Luke xxii. expounded.

The place of John xxi. expounded.

The same likewise St. Paul, in the Acts,[3] testifieth, saying, 'Give heed to yourselves, and to the whole flock, wherein the Holy Ghost hath set you to govern the church of God; where, in the original text, the word signifying 'regere,' to govern, 'ποιμαίνειν,' is the same that was spoken to Peter, 'pasce,' feed, for it signifieth both in the Scripture. And that by these words he was not constituted a shepherd over all, it is very plain by the fact of St. Peter, who durst not enterprise much conversation among the Gentiles, but eschewed it as a thing unlawful, and much rather prohibited than commanded by God's law, until he was admonished by the revelation of the sheet full of divers viands, mentioned in the Acts of the Apostles: whereas, if Christ, by these words, 'Feed my sheep,' had given such a universal governance to Peter, then Peter, being more fervent than others of the apostles to execute Christ's commandment, would of his own courage have gone, without any such new admonition, to Cornelius:[4] except peradventure you would say, that Peter did not understand the said words of Christ, for lack of the light which the later men have obtained to perceive, and thereby understand the words of Christ to Peter, better than Peter himself did. And strange also it were to condemn Peter as a high traitor to his Master after his ascension; as he indeed were worthy, if his Master had signified unto him that the bishops of Rome, by his dying there, should be heads of all the church; and he, knowing the same by these words, 'Feed my sheep,' yet, notwithstanding his Master's high legacy and commandment, would flee as he did from Rome,[5] until his Master, encountering him by the way, with terrible words caused him to return.

As great primacy given to Paul, as to Peter.

And because this history, peradventure, cannot weigh against an obstinate mind to the contrary; what shall we say to the words of St. Ambrose, declaring and affirming that as great and as ample primacy was given to Paul, as to Peter? Upon these words of Paul, 'He that wrought by Peter,' &c., thus he writeth:[6] 'He nameth Peter only, and compareth him to himself, because he received a primacy to build a church; and that he, in like sort, was chosen himself to have a primacy in building the churches of the Gentiles.' And shortly after it followeth: 'Of those [that is to say of the apostles] that were the chiefest, his gift,' he saith, 'was allowed, which he had received of God; so that he was found worthy to have the primacy in preaching to the Gentiles, as

(1) 1 Cor. iii. (2) 1 Pet. v. (3) Chap. xx. (4) Acts xii.
(5) Of this flying-away of Peter from Rome read before.
(6) 'Petrum solum nominat et sibi comparat, quia primatum ipse acceperat ad fundandam Ecclesiam; se quoque pari modo electum ut primatum habeat in fundandis ecclesiis gentium,' &c.

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Peter had in preaching to the Jews. And as he assigned to Peter, for his companions, those who were of the chiefest men amongst the apostles, even so also did he take to himself Barnabas, who was joined unto him by God's judgment; and yet did he challenge to himself alone the prerogative or primacy which God had given him, as to Peter alone it was granted among the other apostles. So that the apostles of the circumcision gave their hands to the apostles of the Gentiles, to declare their concord in fellowship, that either of them should know that they had received the perfection of the Spirit in the preaching of the gospel, and so should not need either the other in any matter.' And shortly after, saith St. Ambrose, 'Who durst resist Peter the chief apostle?' But another such a one, who, by the confidence of his election, might know himself to be no less, and so might reprove boldly that thing which he inconsiderately had done.'

Equality of degree among the apostles.

This equality of dignity which St. Ambrose affirmeth by Scripture to be equally given to Peter and Paul, St. Cyprian and St. Jerome do extend to all the apostles; Cyprian saying thus:[1] 'All the rest of the apostles were the same that Peter was, being endued with like equality of honour and power.' And St. Jerome thus:[2] 'All the apostles received the keys of the kingdom of heaven, and upon them, as indifferently and equally, is the strength of the church grounded and established.' The same St. Jerome also, as well in his Commentaries upon the Epistle to Titus, as in his Epistle to Euagrius, showeth that these primacies, long after Christ's ascension, were made by the device of men; whereas before, by the common agreement and consent of the clergy, every of the churches were governed, yea, the patriarchal churches.

The words of St. Jerome[3] be these: 'Let the bishops understand, that they be greater than other priests, rather by custom, than by virtue and verity of the Lord's ordinance.' And in his said epistle to Euagrius he hath the like sentence, and addeth thereunto,[4] 'Wheresoever a bishop be, either at Rome, or at Eugubium, or at Constantinople, he is of all one worthiness, and of all one priesthood.' And that one was elected who should be preferred before others, it was devised for the redress of schisms, lest any one, challenging too much to himself, should rend the church of Christ. These words only of St. Jerome be sufficient to prove that Christ, by none of these three texts (which be all that you and others do allege for your opinion), gave to Peter any such superiority as the bishop of Rome by them usurpeth; and that neither Peter, nor any others of the chief apostles, did vindicate such primacy or superiority, but utterly refused it, and therefore gave pre-eminence above themselves to one, that though he be sometimes called an apostle, yet he was none of the twelve, as Eusebius, in the beginning of his second book, called 'Historia Ecclesiastica,' doth testify, alleging for him the great and ancient clerk Clemens Alexandrinus, saying thus,[5] 'Peter, James, and John, after Christ's ascension into heaven, although they were by him preferred almost before all others, yet they challenged not that glory to themselves, but decreed that James, who was called Justus, should be chief bishop of the apostles.' By these words, it is clear that James was the bishop of the apostles, not because, as some men do gloss, he was elected by the apostles, but because he had thereby the primacy and honour of a bishop in Jerusalem, above the rest of the apostles.

Difference betwixt bishops and priests, how it is come.

James the Just made the bishop of the apostles.

Seeing Paul was chief primate of the Gentiles, it is against reason that the Romans should challenge the primacy by Peter.

And one thing is especially to be noted, and also marvelled at, that the bishops of Rome do challenge this primacy only by Peter, and yet St. Paul, who was his equal, or rather superior by Scripture, in his apostleship amongst the Gentiles, whereof Rome was the principal, suffered at Rome where Peter did, and is commonly, in all the Roman church, joined with Peter in all appellations and titles of pre-eminence, and both be called 'principes Apostolorum,' 'the chief of the apostles.' Upon both is equally founded the church of Rome. The accounting of the bishops of Rome many years agreeth thereunto. For

(1) 'Hoc erant utique et cæteri Apostoli, quod fuit Petrus, pari consortio præditi, et honoris et potestatis.'—Cyprian. De Simplicitate Clericorum.

(2) 'Cuncti Apostoli claves regni cœlorum acceperunt et ex æquo super eos Ecclesiæ fortitudo fundatur.'—Contra Jovinianum.

(3) 'Sciant ergo Episcopi se magis ex consuetudine, quam dispensationis Dominicæ veritate, presbyteris esse majores' Cap. 1. super Titum.

(4) 'Ubicumque fuerit, Episcopus, sive Romæ, sive Eugubii, sive Constantinopoli,' &c.

(5) 'Petrus, Jacobus, ac Johannes, post assumptionem Salvatoris, quamvis ab ipso fuerant omnibus pene prælati, tamen non sibi vindicarunt gloriam, sed Jacobum, qui dicebatur Justus, Apostolorum Episcopum statuunt.'

Eusebius[1] saith, that Clement was the third bishop after St. Paul and Peter, reckoning them both as bishops of Rome, and yet therein preferring St. Paul; with like words, saying of Alexander bishop of Rome, that[2] Alexander 'obtained the governance of the people by succession, the fifth bishop after Peter and Paul.' Irenæus also saith, as Eusebius reciteth, that[3] after the church was once founded and builded, the holy apostles charged Linus with the bishopric; whereby appeareth, that they both jointly constituted him bishop of Rome, and received only their apostleship enjoined to them by Christ. And therefore, if the bishops of Rome challenge any pre-eminence of authority by Peter, they should as well, or rather challenge the same by Paul, because they both founded it, and both there preached, and both there suffered, resigning first that bishopric to Linus, and all at once.

The first foundation of a church maketh no primacy.

And if peradventure you will lean to the former preaching there by Peter, which by Scripture cannot be proved, yet then at least St. Paul and his successors in Ephesus should have like primacy, because he founded first that church, though St. John, after that, did build it, as witnesseth Eusebius, saying[4] 'The church which is at Ephesus, was founded by Paul, but it was built by St. John. And so Peter should have no other primacy in Rome, but as Paul had in Ephesus, that is to say, to be counted as the first preacher and converter of the people there to the faith of Christ. And as well might all the bishops of Ephesus challenge primacy of all nations, both Gentiles and Jews, by St. Paul, the apostle of the Gentiles, their founder, as the bishop of Rome, by St. Peter, the apostle only of the circumcision, in case he were the first founder, challenging primacy over all. But undoubtedly, this primacy over all, that the bishops of Rome of late do challenge, was not allowed, nor yet known or heard of amongst the ancient fathers, though they had their church of Rome in high estimation, as well for the notable virtuous deeds that the clergy did there show and exercise abundantly to their neighbours (as witnesseth the said Eusebius,[5] alleging there the epistle that Dionysius Alexandrinus wrote to Soter, bishop of Rome, testifying the same), as for that the city of Rome was the most ample and chief city of the world, witnessing St. Cyprian, saying,[6] 'Certainly, because that Rome ought, for the greatness thereof, to excel Carthage, there Novatus committed the greater and more grievous offences.'

This St. Cyprian also, when he had ordained and appointed certain decrees and statutes unto the bishop of Rome, did not submit them to his reformation or judgment, but only signified his own sentence to like him also; and yet adding thereunto, that if any bishops (meaning as well of Rome as others) who were of the contrary opinions to him, would otherwise think or do, he would not then that his sentence should be to them prejudicial, neither would he thereby compel them to any thing, but would that they should follow their own minds and customs; partly, for that every one of the bishops hath liberty of his own will, and partly, for that every governor shall make an account to God of his own deed, as it appeareth plainly in his epistle to Stephen and Julian. And in the third epistle to Cornelius, towards the end, speaking of the appeal that one Felicissimus, a Novatian, after his condemnation in Africa, made to Rome, he impugneth such appeals, saying,[7] 'Forasmuch as every pastor hath his own flock committed unto him, which every one ought to rule and govern, and must give account to the Lord of his administration, it is decreed by us all, and we think it both meet and just, that every man's cause and plea should there be heard, where the crime is committed.' This holy and excellent clerk and martyr, St. Cyprian, would never have either impugned their appeal to Rome from their own primacies, or so earnestly have maintained his determinations in the councils of Africa, contrary to the opinion of the bishops of Rome and to their customs, without any submission by word or writing, if the primacy over all, which the bishops of Rome do challenge and usurp, had

Appeal to Rome forbidden.

(1) 'Clemens tertius post Paulum et Petrum pontificatum tenebat.' Lib. iii. c. 21.
(2) 'Quinta successione post Petrum atque Paulum plebis gubernacula sortitus est.'
(3) 'Fundata et ædificata Ecclesia, beati apostoli Lino officium episcopatus injungunt.' Lib. v. c. 6.
(4) 'Ecclesia quæ est apud Ephesum a Paulo quidem fundata est, a Joanne vere ædificata.' Euseb. lib. iii. cap. 23. [Rather Irenæus, as quoted by Eusebius; this quotation is not quite accurate in the latter clause.—Ed.] (5) Lib. iv. c. 24.
(6) 'Plane, quoniam pro magnitudine sua debeat Carthaginem Roma præcedere, illic majora et graviora commisit.' Cypr. Lib. ii. ad. Cornelium.
(7) 'Quia singulis pastoribus portio gregis est ascripta, quam regat unusquisque et gubernet, rationem sui actus, Domino redditurus,' &c. Cypr. lib. iii. Epist. ad Cornelium.

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been grounded upon the plain Scriptures, as you with some others do think: and it is to be supposed also, that he would in all his epistles have called them 'Patres,' or 'Dominos,' fathers or lords, as superiors; and not always 'Fratres' and 'Collegas,' brothers and fellows in office, as but only his equals.

This thing yet more plainly doth appear by the acts of the councils of Africa in St. Augustine's time:[1] by which it is evident, that though the faith of Christ was by the Romans first brought into Africa (as St. Augustine doth confess), yet it was not read, nor known, that the bishops of Rome used or challenged any sovereignty in Africa unto this time. And yet then he did not challenge it by the right of God's word, but by the pretence of a certain canon supposed to be in the council of Nice; which article could never be found, though it were then very diligently sought for through all the principal churches of the east and south; but only was alleged by Julius, bishop of Rome, out of his own library.

And you may be well assured, that if the Scriptures had made for it, neither the bishop of Rome would have left that certain proof by Scriptures, and trusted only to the testimony of an article of that council, being in doubt and unlikely to be found; nor yet St. Augustine, with his holy and learned company, would have resisted this demand, if it had been either grounded upon Scriptures, or determined in that or other councils, or yet had stood with equity, good order, or reason.[2] Howbeit the largeness and magnificence of the buildings of that city, and the ancient excellency and superiority of the same in temporal dominions,[3] was the only cause that in the councils (where the patriarchal sees were set in order) the bishop of Rome was allotted to the first place, and not by any such constitution made by Christ; as appeareth well by this, that Constantinople, being, at the same time of this ordering of the patriarchal sees, most amply enlarged by the emperors, being before a small town, and of no renown, and by them most magnificently builded and advanced with all worldly titles, prerogatives, and privileges temporal, like unto Rome, and therefore called 'Nova Roma,' 'New Rome,' was therefore advanced also to the second see and place:—Antioch in the East (where St. Peter first took the chair before he came to Rome, and where christian men had first their name given them); yea, and Jerusalem (which was the first mother city of our faith, and where Christ himself first founded the faith), and also Alexandria, being rejected to the third, fourth, and fifth places; because at that time they were not in so high estimation in the world, though in the faith of Christ all they were ancients, and some of them mothers to Rome.

Truth it is, that the bishops of the Orient, for debates in matters of the faith amongst themselves, made suits to the bishop of Rome; but that was not for the superiority of jurisdiction over them, but because they were greatly divided, and those countries, as well bishops as others, much infected with the heresies of the Arians, whereof the west was in a manner clear: and among them of the orient, none were counted indifferent to decide those matters, but were all suspected of affection for one cause or other. Wherefore they desired the opinions of the bishops of the west, as indifferent, and not entangled with affections of any of those parts, neither corrupted with any of the Arians, as appeareth by the epistles of St. Basil, written in all their names for the said purpose; in which also it is especially to be noted, that their suit was not made to the bishop of Rome singularly, or by name, but (as the titles do show) to the whole congregation of the bishops of Italy and France, or of the whole west, and sometimes preferring the French and Italian bishops, saying, 'Gallis et Italis,' and never naming the Romans. And for a clear proof that the ancient fathers knew not this primacy of one above all, we need no other testimony but their determination in the council of Nice, that Alexandria, and Antioch, and universally all other primates, should have the whole governance of their confine countries, like as the bishop of Rome had of those that inhabited within his suburbs. And this determination proveth, also, that your three Scriptures meant nothing less than this primacy over all: for God forbid that we should suspect that council as ignorant of those plain Scriptures, to which, since that time, all Christendom hath leaned, as the anchor of our faith. And if you like to read the ancient ecclesiastical histories, there you may see, that Athanasius, and other patriarchs, did execute that primacy, as in making, consecrating, and

The old fathers never knew the primacy of the church of Rome.

(1) Aug. Ap. 16. (2) Vide duas Epistolas ad Bonifacium pap. tomo conciliorum, fol. 307, 308.
(3) Dist. 16. Vigini.

ordering of churches, bishops and clerks, in their countries east and south, as the bishops of Rome in that time did, in the west and north. *Henry VIII.*

And if you would yet any thing object against any of these witnesses, then, to eschew contention, and for a final conclusion, let the bishop of Rome stand to his own confession made many years past by his predecessor Agatho, to the emperors, Constantine, Heraclius, and Tiberius, in his epistle written to them in his name, and in the name of all the synod which he thought to be under the see apostolic; wherein, soon after the beginning of the epistle, he comprehendeth them all under the name of the bishops dwelling in the north and west parts of their empire: so that there, in his own epistle, he confesseth all his subjects and obediencianies to be only of the north and west. And so it appeareth evidently, by his own confession, that neither by God's law, nor by man's law, he had to do with any person of the east or south; and this his high sovereignty over all, challenged (as you and others say) by Scripture, is brought, as by his own confession doth appear, into a little and straight angle. And this Agatho was not a man unlearned, as appeareth by the acts of the sixth synod of Constantinople, in the fourth act, wherein is written at large and expressed the said epistle and confession. And the primacy of Peter, which ancient doctors speak of, which was only in preaching and teaching the faith of Christ, which he, first among all the apostles, and first of all mortal men, did express with his mouth, did afterwards so adhere to his own person, that it was never delivered either to any successor, or to any other apostle, but chiefly to himself; for all others, afterwards professing the same, spake it according unto him who had professed it before. Moreover, all the apostles (as St. John saith[1]) be foundations in the heavenly Jerusalem, and not Peter only. Also Cyprian affirmeth (as is afore said) that all the apostles were of equal dignity and power; which all ancient authors likewise do affirm. For Christ gave the apostles like power in the gospel, saying; Go, and teach all nations, baptizing them,[2] &c. And St. Paul (as is said before) knew no other primacy given to Peter to preach in any place but among the Jews, as he himself had amongst the Gentiles, as he writeth to the Galatians; whereupon St. Ambrose writing (as is afore said), affirmeth the same. And that the mother of all churches is Jerusalem (as is afore said), and not Rome, the Scripture is plain, in the prophet Isaiah;[3] 'Out of Sion shall the law proceed, and the word of the Lord out of Jerusalem:' upon which place St. Jerome saith,[4] 'Out of the church, being first founded in Jerusalem, sprang all other churches of the whole world;' and also in the gospel which Christ, before his ascension, commanded his apostles to 'preach throughout all the world, beginning first at Jerusalem;' so that the bishop of Rome's universal power, by him claimed over all, cannot by any scripture be justified; as, if you have read the ancient fathers' expositions of the said scriptures (as we suppose you have, since your letters sent hither concerning this matter), and would give more credence to their humble and plain speaking, than to the later contentious and ambitious writers of that high, and above-the-ideas-of-Plato's subtlety (which passeth, as you write, the lawyer's learning and capacity), we doubt not but that you perceive and think the same.

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In the time of Pope Agatho, the see of Rome had no rule over the east and south churches.

Peter's primacy hath no successors.

A prince may be head of his church, and yet not preach nor minister sacraments.

And where you think that the king cannot be taken as supreme head of the church, because he cannot exercise the chief office of the church in preaching and ministering of the sacraments; it is not requisite, in every body natural, that the head should exercise either all manner of offices of the body, or the chief office of the same. For albeit the head is the highest and chief member of the natural body, yet the distribution of life to all the members of the body, as well to the head as to other members, cometh from the heart, and it is the minister of life to the whole body, as the chief act of the body.

Neither yet hath this similitude its full place in a mystical body, that a king should have the chief office of administration in the same: and yet notwithstanding, the Scripture speaking of king Saul, saith, 'I made thee head amongst the tribes of Israel.'[5] And if a king amongst the Jews were the head of the tribes of Israel in the time of the law, much more is a christian king head of the tribes of spiritual Israel, that is, of such as by true faith see Christ, who is the end of the law. The office deputed to the bishops in the mystical body, is to be as eyes to the whole body, as Almighty God saith to the prophet Ezekiel; 'I have made thee an overseer over the house of Israel.'[6] And what bishop

(1) Apoc. xxi. (2) Matt. xxi. (3) Isaiah ii.
(4) 'In Hierusalem primum fundata ecclesia totius orbis ecclesias seminavit.'
(5) 1 Kings xv. (6) Ezek. iii.

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soever refuseth to use the office of an eye in the mystical body, to show unto the body the right way of believing and living, which appertaineth to the spiritual eye to do, shall show himself to be a blind eye; and if he shall take any other office in hand than appertaineth to the right eye, he shall make a confusion in the body, taking upon him another office than is given him of God. Wherefore, if the eye will not take upon him the office of the whole head, it may be answered, it cannot so do, for it lacketh brain. And examples show likewise that it is not necessary always that the head should have the faculty or chief office of administration, as you may see in a navy by sea; where the admiral, who is a captain over all, doth not meddle with steering or governing of every ship, but every particular master must direct the ship to pass the sea in breaking the waves by his steering and governance, which the admiral, the head of all, doth not himself, nor yet hath the faculty to do, but commandeth the masters of the ship to do it. And likewise many a captain of great armies, who is not able, nor ever could peradventure shoot, or break a spear by his own strength, yet, by his wisdom and commandment only, achieveth the wars, and attaineth the victory.

A bishop is an eye in the head, but not the head of the mystical body.

The office of a head.

What is unity.

And whereas you think that unity standeth not only in the agreeing in one faith and doctrine of the church, but also in agreeing in one head; if you mean the very and only head over all the church, our Saviour Christ, whom the Father hath set over all the church, which is his body, wherein all good christian men do agree, therein you say truth. But, if you mean for any one mortal man to be the head over all the church, and that head to be the bishop of Rome, we do not agree with you. For you do there err in the true understanding of the Scripture; or else you must say that the said council of Nice, and others most ancient did err, which divided the administration of churches, the orient from the occident, and the south from the north, as is before expressed. And that Christ, the universal head, is present in every church, the gospel showeth; 'Where two or three be gathered together in my name, there am I in the midst of them;'[1] and in another place, 'Behold, I am with you until the end of the world:'[2] by which it may appear that Christ, the universal head, is everywhere with his mystical body the church; who, by his Spirit, worketh in all places (how far soever they be distant) the unity and concord of the same. And as for any other universal head to be over all, than Christ himself, Scripture proveth not, as it is showed before.

Answer to Cyprian.

And yet for a further proof, to take away the scruples that peradventure do, to your appearance, rise of certain words in some ancient authors, and especially in St. Cyprian's epistles, as that the unity of the church stood in the unity with the bishop of Rome, though they never call him supreme head; if you will weigh and confer all their sayings together, you shall perceive that they neither spake nor meant otherwise; but when the bishop of Rome was once lawfully elected and enthroned, if then any other would, by faction, might, force, or otherwise (the other living and doing his office), enterprise to put him down, and usurp the same bishopric, or exercise the other's office himself (as Novatian did attempt in the time of Cornelius), then the said fathers reckoned them catholics that did communicate with him that was so lawfully elected: and the custom was, for one primacy to have to do with another by congratulatory letters, soon after the certainty of their election was known, to keep the unity of the church; and all they that did take part with, or maintain the usurper, to be schismatics, because that usurper was a schismatic;[3] 'Because it was not lawful for two bishops to be at once together in one church, neither the former bishop, being lawful, to be deposed without his fault were proved.' And this is not a prerogative of the church of Rome, more than of any other cathedral, special, patriarchal, or metropolitical church, as appeareth in the third epistle of the first book, and in the eighth of the second, and in the fourth book of St. Cyprian to Cornelius; whose words and reasons, although peradventure they might seem to include the unity of the church in the unity of the bishop of Rome, because they were all written to him in his own case, may as well be written unto any other bishop lawfully chosen, who percase should be likewise disturbed, as the bishops of Rome then were, by any factions of ambitious heretics.

The church of Rome hath no more prerogative than any other.

In what the unity of the church standeth.

(1) Matt. xviii. (2) Matt. xxviii.

(3) 'Quia non sit fas in eadem ecclesia, duos simul episcopos esse nec priorem legitimum episcopum sine sua culpa deponi.'

And whereas you think the name of supreme head under Christ, given and attributed to the king's majesty, maketh an innovation in the church, and perturbation of the order of the same; it cannot be any innovation or trouble to the church to use the room that God hath called him to, which good christian princes did use in the beginning, when faith was most pure, as St. Augustine,[1] Ad Gloriam et Elusium, saith; 'One there is, who saith, that a bishop ought not to have been put to his purgation before the judgment seat of the deputy, as though he himself procured it, and not rather the emperor himself caused this inquiry to be made; to whose jurisdiction (for which he must answer to God) that cause did specially pertain.' Chrysostome writeth of that imperial authority thus:[2] 'He is offended that hath no peer at all upon the earth, for he is the highest potentate, and the head of all men upon earth.' And Tertullian saith,[3] 'We honour and reverence the emperor in such wise as is lawful to us, and expedient to him; that is to say, as a man next and second to God, from whom he hath received all the power he hath, and also inferior to God alone, whose pleasure it is so to have it: for thus he is greater than all men, whilst he is inferior but to God alone.

The imperial authority is next under God.

And the said Tertullian, in his book apologetical, speaking of emperors, saith,[4] 'They know who hath given to them their government; they know that God is he alone, under whose only power they be; and take themselves as second to God, after whom they be chief above all others.' Theophylact also, on this place in Romans, 'Let every soul be subject to the higher powers,'[5] saith, 'The apostle there teacheth every man,[6] that whether he be a priest, or a monk, or an apostle, he should subject himself to princes:' that is, although thou be an apostle, an evangelist, a prophet, or whatsoever thou art, be subject. For, saith he, this subjection overthrows not godliness:[7] and the apostle saith not only, 'Let him obey,' but saith, 'Let him be subject.'

And if the apostles be subject to princes, much more all bishops and patriarchs, yea the bishops of Rome and all others.

It is written also in the Chronicles,[8] David said to Solomon, Behold the priests and Levites divided in companies, to do all manner of service that pertaineth to the house of God. Also David did appoint chiefly to thank the Lord, Asaph and his brethren,[9] &c. And Jehoshaphat the king did constitute Levites and priests, and the ancient families of Israel, for the judgment and cause of the Lord towards all the inhabitants of the earth; and he charged them saying, 'Thus shall ye do in the fear of the Lord, faithfully and in a perfect heart.'[10] Furthermore Hezekiah appointed the priests and the Levites in their order, to wait by course, every man according to his office. And it followeth, 'Hezekiah gave commandment to the people dwelling in Jerusalem, that they should give their portions unto their priests and the Levites, that they might attend on the law of the Lord.'[11] Where it followeth also, that by the precept of Hezekiah the king, and of Azarias the bishop of the house of the Lord, all things were done, to whom pertained all the dispensation of the house of the Lord. And in the end it is said, Hezekiah did these things in all Jewry; he wrought that which was good, right, and true, before his Lord God, in all the furniture of the ministry of the house of the Lord, according to the law and ceremonies, desirous to seek his Lord God with all his heart, as he did, and prospered therein. Josias also did ordain priests in their offices, and commanded many things.[12]

By all which it may appear, that christian kings be sovereigns over the priests, as over all other their subjects, and may command the priests to do their offices, as well as they do others; and ought by their supreme office to see that all men of all degrees do the duties, whereunto they be called either

(1) 'Ait enim quidam, non debuit episcopus pro consulari judicio purgari,' &c. August. Epist. 162.

(2) 'Læsus est qui non habet parem ullum super terram: summitas et caput est omnium hominum super terram.'

(3) 'Colimus ergo et, imperatorem sic, quomodo et nobis licet, et ipsi expedit, ut hominem a Deo secundum.' Tertul. ad Scapulum, &c.

(4) 'Sciant quis illis dederit imperium.' Tertul. in Apologet. [cap. 30.—Ed.]

(5) 'Omnis anima potestatibus sublimioribus subdita sit.'

(6) 'Sive sacerdos ille sit, sive monachus, sive apostolus, ut se principibus subdat.'

(7) 'Non enim subvertit pietatem hæc subjectio.'

(8) 1 Chron. xxviii. (9) 2 Chron. xvi. (10) Ib. xix. (11) Ib. xxxi. (12) Ib. xxxiv.

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by God or by the king; and those king's that so do, chiefly do execute well their office. So that the king's highness, taking upon him, as supreme head of the church of England, to see that as well spiritual men as temporal do their duties, doth neither make innovation in the church, nor yet trouble the order thereof; but doth, as the chief and best of the kings of Israel did, and as all good christian kings ought to do. Which office good christian emperors always took upon them, in calling the universal councils of all countries in one place and at one time to assemble together, to the intent that all heresies troubling the church might there be extirped; calling and commanding as well the bishop of Rome, as other patriarchs and all primates, as well of the east as of the west, of the south as of the north, to come to the said councils. As Martian the emperor did, in calling the great council of Chalcedon, one of the four chief and first general councils, commanding Leo, then bishop of Rome, to come unto the same. And albeit Leo neither liked the time, which he would for a season should have been deferred; nor yet the place, for he would have had it in Italy, whereas the emperor, by his own commandment, had called it to Chalcis in Asia, yet he answered the emperor, that he would gladly obey his commandment, and sent thither his agents to appear there for him, as doth appear in the epistles of Leo to Martian then emperor, forty-first, forty-seventh, forty-eighth, and in the forty-ninth epistle to Pulcheria the empress. And Leo likewise desireth Theodosius the emperor to command a council of bishops to be called in Italy, for taking away such contentions and troubles as at that time troubled the quietness of the churches. And in many more epistles of the same Leo it doth manifestly appear, that the emperors always assembled general councils by their commandments: and in the sixth general council it appeareth very plainly, that at that time the bishops of Rome made no claim, nor used any title, to call themselves heads universal over all the catholic church, as it doth appear in the superscription or salutation of the aforesaid synodical preamble, which is this, word for word: 'To the most godly lords and most noble victors and conquerors, the well-beloved children of God and our Lord Jesus Christ, Constantine the great emperor, and Heraclius and Tiberius, Cæsars: bishop Agatho, the servant of the servants of God, with all the convocations subject to the council of the see apostolic, sendeth greeting.' And he expresseth what countries he reckoned and comprehended in that superscription or salutation; for it followeth, that those were under his assembly which were in the north and east parts; so that at that time the bishop of Rome made no such pretence to be over and above all, as he now doth by usurpation, vindicating to himself the spiritual kingdom of Christ by which he reigneth in the hearts of all faithful people, and then changeth it to a temporal kingdom over and above all kings, to depose them for his pleasure, preaching thereby the flesh for the spirit, and an earthly kingdom for a heavenly, to his own damnation, if he repent not: whereas he ought to obey his prince by the doctrine of St. Peter in his first epistle,[1] saying, 'Be ye subject to every ordinance of man, for the Lord's sake; whether it be to the king as to the chief, or unto governors, as sent of him to the punishment of the evil doers, and to the praise of the good.' Again, St. Paul; 'Let every soul be subject to the higher powers:'[2] with other things before alleged. So that this his pretensed usurpation to be above all kings is directly against the Scriptures given to the church by the apostles, whose doctrine whosoever overturneth, can be neither the head, nor yet the least member, of the church.

General councils called by the emperors.

Wherefore, albeit ye have hitherto stuck to the said wrongfully usurped power, moved thereto, as ye write, by your conscience, yet, since now ye see further, if ye list to regard the mere truth and such ancient authors as have been written to you of in times past, we would exhort you, for the weal of your soul, to surrender into the bishop of Rome's hands your red hat, by which he seduced you, trusting so to make you, being come of a noble blood, an instrument to advance his vain glory; whereof by the said hat he made you participant, to allure you thereby the more to his purpose.

In which doing ye shall return to the truth from which ye have erred, do your duty to your sovereign lord from whom ye have declined, and please thereby Almighty God, whose laws ye have transgressed: and in not so doing, ye shall remain in error, offending both Almighty God and your natural sovereign lord,

(1) 1 Pet. ii. (2) Rom. xiii.

whom chiefly ye ought to seek to please: which thing, for the good mind that we heretofore have borne you, we pray Almighty God of his infinite mercy that you do not. Amen. *Henry VIII.*

A.D. 1535.

When all other the king's subjects, and the learned of the realm had taken and accepted the oath of the king's supremacy, only Fisher, the bishop of Rochester, and sir Thomas More refused (as is afore said) to be sworn; who therefore, falling into the danger of the law, were committed to the Tower, and executed for the same, A.D. 1535. This John Fisher aforesaid had written before against Œcolampadius, whose book is yet extant, and afterwards against Luther.

John Fisher, bishop of Rochester, an enemy to Christ's gospel.

Also, amongst other his acts, he had been a great enemy and persecutor of John Frith, the godly and learned martyr of Jesus Christ, whom he and sir Thomas More caused to be burned a year and a half before: and, shortly after, the said Fisher, to his confusion, was charged with Elizabeth Barton (called the holy maid of Kent), and found guilty by act of parliament, as is above recorded. For his learning and other virtues of life this bishop was well reputed and reported of by many, and also much lamented by some. But whatsoever his learning was, pity it was that he, being endued with that knowledge, should be so far drowned in such superstition; more pity that he was so obstinate in his ignorance; but most pity of all, that he so abused the learning he had, to such cruelty as he did. But this commonly we see come to pass, as the Lord saith, that "whoso striketh with the sword shall perish with the sword," and they that stain their hands with blood, seldom do bring their bodies dry to the grave; as commonly appeareth by the end of bloody tyrants, and especially such as be persecutors of Christ's poor members; in the number of whom were this bishop and sir Thomas More, by whom good John Frith, Tewkesbury, Thomas Hitten, Bayfield, with divers other good saints of God, were brought to their death. It was said that the pope, to recompense bishop Fisher for his faithful service, had elected him cardinal, and sent him a cardinal's hat as far as Calais; but the head that it should stand upon, was as high as London bridge ere ever the pope's hat could come to him. Thus bishop Fisher and sir Thomas More, who a little before had put John Frith to death for heresy against the pope, were themselves executed and beheaded for treason against the king, the one the 22d of June, the other the 6th of July, A.D. 1535.

Blood revenged with blood.

Fisher and More persecutors.

Are beheaded.

Of sir Thomas More something hath been touched before, who was also accounted a man both witty and learned: but whatsoever he was besides, a bitter persecutor he was of good men, and a wretched enemy against the truth of the gospel, as by his books left behind him may appear; wherein most slanderously and contumeliously he writeth against Luther, Zuinglius, Tyndale, Frith, Barnes, Bayfield, Bainham, Tewkesbury; falsely belying their articles and doctrine, as (God granting me life) I have sufficient matter to prove against him.

Lying books of More.

Briefly, as he was a sore persecutor of them that stood in defence of the gospel, so again, on the other side, such a blind devotion he bare to the pope-holy see of Rome, and so wilfully stood in the pope's quarrel against his own prince, that he would not give over till he had brought the scaffold of the Tower-hill with the axe and all, upon his own neck.

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Edward Hall in his Chronicle,[1] writing of the death and manners of this sir Thomas More, seems to stand in doubt whether to call him a foolish wise man, or a wise foolish man: for, as by nature he was endued with a great wit, so the same again was so mingled (saith he) with taunting and mocking, that it seemed to them that best knew him, that he thought nothing to be well spoken, except he had ministered some mock in the communication; insomuch that, at his coming to the Tower, one of the officers demanding his upper garment for his fee, meaning his gown, he answered that he should have it, and took him his cap, saying it was the uppermost garment that he had. Likewise, even going to his death, at the Tower gate, a poor woman called unto him, and besought him to declare that he had certain evidences of hers in the time that he was in office (which, after he was apprehended, she could not come by), and that he would entreat that she might have them again, or else she was undone. He answered; "Good woman, have patience a little while, for the king is so good unto me, that even within this half hour he will discharge me of all businesses, and help thee himself." Also, when he went up the stair of the scaffold, he desired one of the sheriff's officers to give him his hand to help him up, and said, "When I come down again, let me shift for myself as well as I can." Also the hangman kneeled down to him, asking him forgiveness of his death, as the manner is; to whom he answered, "I forgive thee; but I promise thee that thou shalt never have honesty[2] of the striking off my head, my neck is so short. Also, even when he should lay down his neck on the block, he, having a great grey beard, stroked out his beard, and said to the hangman, "I pray you let me lay my beard over the block, lest you should cut it;" thus with a mock he ended his life.

More a scoffer unto his death.

There is no doubt but that the pope's holiness hath hallowed and dignified these two persons long since for catholic martyrs: neither is it to be doubted, but after a hundred years expired, they shall be also shrined and porthosed, dying as they did in the quarrel of the church of Rome, that is, in taking the bishop of Rome's part, against their own ordinary and natural prince. Whereunto (because the matter asketh a long discourse, and a peculiar tractation) I have not in this place much to contend with Cope, my friend. This briefly for a 'Memorandum' may suffice; that if the causes of true martyrdom ought to be pondered, and not to be numbered, and if the end of martyrs is to be weighed by judgment, and not by affection; then the cause and quarrel of these men standing as it doth, and being tried by God's word, perhaps in the pope's kingdom they may go for martyrs, in whose cause they died; but certes in Christ's kingdom their cause will not stand, howsoever they stand themselves.

Exmew, Middlemore, Neudigate, executed for treason.

The like also is to be said of the three monks of the Charter-house, Exmew, Middlemore, and Neudigate, who the same year, in the month of June, were likewise attached and arraigned at Westminster, for speaking certain traitorous words against the king's crown and dignity; for which they were hanged, drawn, and quartered at Tyburn: whom also, because Cope, my good friend, doth repute and accept in the number of holy catholic martyrs, here would be asked of him a

(1) See page 817, edit. 4to. London, 1809.—Ed.
(2) 'Honesty,' or honour.—Ed.

question: What martyrs be they, who, standing before the judge, deny their own words and sayings, and plead not guilty, so as these Carthusians did? Whereby it appeareth, that they would neither have stood nor have died in that cause, as they did, if they might otherwise have escaped by denying. Wherefore, if my friend Cope had been so well advised in setting out his martyrs as God might have made him, he would first have seen the true records, and been sure of the ground of such matters, whereupon he so confidently pronounceth, and so censoriously controlleth others. *Henry VIII.* A. D. 1535.

In the same cause and quarrel of treason also, the same year, a little before these aforesaid, in the month of May, were executed with the like punishment John Houghton, prior of the charter-house in London; Robert Laurence, prior of the charter-house of Belvail; Austin Webster, prior of the charter-house of Exham.[1]

Besides and with these priors suffered likewise at the same time, two other priests, one called Reginald, brother of Sion, the other named John Haile, vicar of Thistleworth. Divers other Charter-house monks also of London were then put in prison, to the number of nine or ten, and in the same prison died; for whom we will, the Lord willing, reserve another place, hereafter to treat of them more at large. Nine Carthusians die in prison, refusing the king's supremacy.

In the mean time, forasmuch as the aforesaid Cope, in his doughty dialogues,[2] speaking of these nine worthies, doth commend them so highly, and especially the three priors above recited, here by the way I would desire Master Cope simply and directly to answer me to a thing or two that I would put to him; and first of this John Houghton, that angelical prior of the Charterhouse, his old companion and acquaintance, of whom thus he writeth; "Atqui cum Johannem illum Houghtonum cogito, non tam hominem quam angelum in humana forma intueri mihi videor, cujus eminentes virtutes, divinas dotes, et heroicam animi magnitudinem, nemo unquam poterit satis pro dignitate explicare,"[3] &c. By these his own words it must needs be confessed, that the author of these dialogues, whosoever he was, had well seen and considered the form and personable stature, proportion and shape, of his excellent body, with such admiration of his personage, that, as he saith, as oft as he calleth the said John Houghton to mind, it seemeth to him even as though he saw an angel in the shape and form of a man: whose eminent virtues, moreover, whose divine gifts and heroical celsitude of mind, no man, saith he, may sufficiently express, &c. And how old was this Master Cope then, would I know, when he saw and discerned all this? for, as I understand, Master Cope, being yet at this present scarce come to the age of forty years, he could not then be above nine years old (the other suffering A.D. 1535); at which age, in my mind, Master Cope had small discretion to judge either of any such angelical proportion of this man's personage, or of his divine qualities and heroical celsitude of his mind; and yet he remembereth him in his dialogues: which thing, among many other probabilities, maketh me vehemently to suspect that these dialogues, printed in Antwerp, A.D. 1566, were Cope's nine worthies. Cope's Dialogues suspected not to be his own.

(1) Ex Actis in Termino Paschæ, an. 27 reg. Hen. VIII.
(2) These dialogues were written by Harpsfield, under the name of Alanus Copus; 4to. Antverpiæ, 1566; see Wood's Athenæ Oxon. vol. i. p. 491. Blois.—Ed.
(3) Copus in Dialog. 9. p. 995.

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brought over by Master Cope there to be printed, but were penned and framed by another Pseudo-Copus, whatsoever, or in what fleet soever he was, unless my marks do greatly fail me. But as the case is of no great weight, so I let it pass, returning to other matters of more importance.

Shortly after the overthrow of the pope, consequently began by little and little to follow the ruin of abbeys and religious houses in England, in a right order and method by God's divine providence. For neither could the fall of monasteries have followed after, unless that suppression of the pope had gone before; neither could any true reformation of the church have been attempted, unless the subversion of those superstitious houses had been joined withal.

Suppression of abbeys first beginneth in England.

Whereupon, the same year, in the month of October, the king, having then Thomas Cromwell of his council, sent Dr. Lee to visit the abbeys, priories, and nunneries in all England, and to set at liberty all such religious persons as desired to be free, and all others that were under the age of four and twenty years; providing withal, that such monks, canons, and friars as were dismissed, should have given them by the abbot or prior, instead of their habit, a secular priest's gown, and forty shillings of money, and likewise the nuns to have such apparel as secular women did then commonly use, and be suffered to go where they would; at which time also, from the said abbeys and monasteries were taken their chief jewels and relics.

A.D. 1536.

When the king had thus established his supremacy, and all things were well quieted within the realm, he, like a wise prince, and having wise counsel about him, forecasting with himself what foreign dangers might fall unto him by other countries about, which were all as yet in subjection to the bishop of Rome, save only a few German princes, and misdoubting the malice of the pope, to provide therefore betimes for perils that might ensue, thought good to keep in, by all means possible, with other princes.

A solemn procession in London, for joy of the French king's health.

And first, to entertain the favour of the French king, who had been sick a little before, and now was lately recovered to health, in signification of public joy and friendship, the king commanded a solemn and famous procession to be ordained through the city of London, with the waits, and children of the grammar schools, with the masters and ushers in their array: then followed the orders of the friars and canons, and the priors with their pomp of copes, crosses, candlesticks, and vergers before them. After these followed the next pageant of clerks and priests of London, all in copes likewise. Then the monks of Westminster and other abbeys, with their glorious gardeviance of crosses, candlesticks, and vergers before them, in like sort. Last of all, came the choir of Paul's, with their residentiaries; the bishop of London and the abbots following after in their pontificalibus. After these courses of the clergy went the companies of the city, with the lord mayor and aldermen in their best apparel, after their degrees. And lest it might be thought this procession of the church of London to make but a small or beggarly show, the furniture of the gay copes there worn, was counted to the number of seven hundred and fourteen. Moreover, to fill up the joy of this procession, and for the more high service to Almighty God, besides

the singing choirs, and chanting of the priests, there lacked no minstrels withal, to pipe at the processions. Briefly, here lacked nothing else but only the ordnance to shoot off also. But because that is used in the processions at Rome, therefore, for difference' sake, the same is reserved only for the pope's own processions, and for none other, in the month of October.

A piping procession.

This grand procession was appointed for a triumph or a thanksgiving for the late recovery of the French king's health, as is afore said.

Over and besides this, the king, to nourish and retain amity with kings and princes (lest the pope, being exiled now out of England, should incite them to war against him), directed sundry ambassadors and messengers with letters and instructions. To the emperor was sent sir Thomas Wyat, to the French king sir Francis Bryan, and Dr. Edward Foxe, who was also sent to the princes of Germany; to the Scottish king was sent sir Ralph Sadler, gentleman of the king's privy-chamber.

Ambassadors to sundry kings.

In Scotland at the same time were cast abroad divers railing ballets and slanderous rhymes against the king of England, for casting off the lady dowager, and for abolishing the pope; for which cause the aforesaid sir Ralph Sadler, being sent into Scotland with lessons and instructions how to address himself accordingly, after he had obtained access unto the king, and audience to be heard, first declareth the affectuous and hearty commendations from the king's majesty, his grace's uncle, and withal delivered his letters of credence: which done, after a few words of courtly entertainment, as occasion served him to speak, the said sir Ralph Sadler, obtaining audience, thus began in the king his master's behalf to declare, as followeth.

Sir Ralph Sadler, ambassador to the Scottish king.

The Oration of Sir Ralph Sadler, Ambassador to the Scottish King.

Whereas there is nothing, after the glory of Almighty God, in this world so much to be tendered by kings, princes, or any honest persons, or so highly to be regarded and defended, as their honour, estimation, good fame, and name, which whosoever neglecteth is to be esteemed unnatural: and unless a man labour to avoid and extinguish the false reports, slanders, and defamations made of him by malicious persons, he may well be suspected in conscience to condemn himself: the king your uncle, considering the same, and hearing of sundry ballets, criminations, and infamous libels made and untruly forged and devised in Scotland against his grace, by your grace's subjects, not only upon trust to find with your grace such natural affection, friendship, and amity, as the nearness of blood between uncle and nephew, necessitude of reverence, proximity both of kin and dominions together doth require; but also upon assurance that your grace and wisdom will consider how these slanders and defamations, although they were but against a private person, whatsoever he were, most commonly redound and are imputed to the whole degree and estate; as the defamation of kings toucheth kings, and so of other degrees and dignities: doth send at this time to your grace, his nephew (others he might have sent more worthy; but me at this time, for lack of a better, hath he sent), to desire, pray, and require your grace, according as the nearness of blood, connexion of estate, and other things before expressed, of right and justice do require: beseeching your grace gently to weigh and balance, and well to ponder, the malice of these the said slanderers, and to call in again all the said defamatory ballets, libels, and other writings, punishing the authors and setters forth thereof according to their demerits. And furthermore, to cause open proclamations to be made through your realm, that none of the inhabitants there, shall, in any manner of wise, so misuse himself hereafter, upon such great pain and punishment as to your grace and your council shall be thought convenient for the transgression thereof: so that others, by their correction, and

Henry VIII. by the fearful example of the penalty, may beware how to commit the like offence in time coming.

A.D. 1536. The example of such slanders is very pernicious to all kings; for, by such slanders of other princes, the slanderers take boldness so to deal afterwards with their own king, as they have done with others, and the next step from such slanderous words is to attempt deeds, and so to fall to sedition: of the importance and danger whereof no man is ignorant.

Evil example a pernicious thing in a commonwealth.

Wherefore your grace, at the contemplation of your dear uncle, in tendering his proceedings, shall do well to follow therein the loving steps of his good brother and ally the French king, who hath already at Rouen, and sundry places else, caused certain slanderous preachers to be sore punished; and further directed commissions through his realm for repressing the same. As also other princes shall be ready (his majesty trusteth) to do the like in their dominions, if like occasion shall be given to require the same of them. In which, in so doing, your grace may be assured, in this your gentle dealing in that part, to win your uncle's most sincere and kind heart, to the increase of your amity and alliance, which as to you shall be most honourable, so shall it be no less profitable unto him.

And thus to conclude with the first part of my narration, concerning the slanderous and defamatory libels, lest I should seem with prolixity of matter more than needs to abuse your grace's silence, I will now descend to the other point of that which I have to utter unto your grace, as touching the pope's nuncio, or messenger; of whose late arrival the king's majesty your uncle having partly intelligence, but not certainly knowing the special cause of his coming from Rome, and yet fearing, by the common bruit and talk of your subjects, what his errand should be (that is, to practise some annoyance, by his pretended censures against the king's majesty your uncle): he therefore, premonishing your grace before, as fearing the worst, most justly maketh his complaint thereof unto your grace his nephew, requiring you, that forasmuch as the aforesaid bruits and reports are slanderous to his majesty, and seeing that neither the emperor, nor the French king, nor any other princes, have consented thereto, or understood thereof, the king's majesty, therefore, your uncle, willing to stop those bruits and talks, desireth and most heartily prayeth your grace, at his instant request, to vouchsafe to consider and weigh,

The second point.

Supremacy of princes.

First, The supremacy of princes, by the holy Scripture granted unto him and other princes in earth, under Christ, upon their churches.

Secondly, To weigh what the gospel and God's word calleth a church.

Also what superstitions, idolatries, and blind abuses have crept into all realms, to the high displeasure of Almighty God, by reason thereof.

Fourthly, What is to be understood by the true censure or excommunication of the church, and how no such can be in the power of the bishop of Rome, or of any other man, against his majesty, or any other prince; having so just ground to avoid from the root, and to abolish that execrable authority, which the bishop of Rome hath usurped, and doth usurp, upon all princes, to their great detriment and damage.

As touching the consideration of which four points, although the king's majesty your uncle doubteth not your grace to be furnished and provided with sufficient knowledge, rightly to discern and judge upon the same; yet, if it shall so please your grace further to know your uncle's mind touching the said points, I assure your highness, in the behalf of your aforesaid uncle his majesty, that he will not stick to send unto you such learned, wise, and discreet men, as shall amply inform you thereof, and of such other things as your grace, having once a smack thereof, shall think most worthy for a prince to know.

His request therefore to your highness is, that you will consider of what moment and importance it shall be unto your grace (having the Scots your subjects so evil instructed in the premises), for you to assent and agree to any such censure, and so, by such example, to give such an upper-hand over yourself and other princes, to that usurper of Rome, as is very like hereafter to happen in other places of Christendom, wheresoever the true declaration of the truth and word of God shall have free course, to scourge them, unless they will adore, worship, and kiss the feet of that corrupt holiness, which desireth nothing else but pride, and the universal thrall of Christendom under Rome's yokes.

Rome's yokes.

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But because the censures of that nuncio be not yet opened, but lie secret and uncertain under muttering, I shall cease further to proceed therein, till further occasion shall minister to me more certain matter to say and to judge. In the mean time, forasmuch as it is most certainly come to the intelligence of the king's majesty, that the abbot of Arbroath should be chosen of late and elected to be a cardinal in this your realm of Scotland, his majesty therefore, for the good love and hearty good will he beareth unto your grace, as the uncle is bound unto the nephew, knowing that you as yet perceive not so well the hypocrisy and deceitful guile and malice of the Romans and their practices, as he himself doth, by his long experience; could not but, hearing thereof, advertise your grace, that his advice is, you should not suffer any of your subjects to take upon him that red hat of pride, whereby he shall incontinently, the same being received (unless he be of a contrary nature to any man that ever was yet of that sort), not only be in manner discharged of his obedience, and become the bishop of Rome's true liege man; but also shall presume of his cardinalship to be your fellow, and to have the rule as well as you. Then should the bishop of Rome creep into your own very bosom, know all your secrets, and at last, unless you will be yoked and serve their pleasure in all points, your grace is like to smart for it. The thing perchance, in the beginning, shall seem to your grace very honourable and pleasant: but wisdom would, to beware of the tail, which is very black and bitter.

The abbot of Arbroath chosen cardinal of Scotland.

His majesty's father, and grandfather to your grace, had a cardinal, whereof he was weary, and never admitted others after his decease, knowing the importable pride of them. In like manner also his highness, by the experience of one, hath utterly determined to avoid all the sort: so well his grace hath known and experienced their mischief, yoke, and thraldom, that thereby is laid upon princes. By reason whereof, as his highness is the more able by his own experience to inform your grace, so of good will and mere propensity of heart, caused partly by nature and kin, partly by conjunction and vicinity of dominions adjoining so near together, he is no less ready to forwarn your grace before, wishing that God will so work in your princely heart and noble stomach, that his majesty's monition and friendly warning, as it proceedeth from a sincere affection and tender care of his part unto his nephew, so it may prevail and take place in your mind, that your grace, wisely weighing with yourself, what supreme right princes have, and ought to have, upon their churches and lands where they govern, and what little cause the bishop of Rome hath thereto, to proceed by unjust censures against them: your grace may therein not only stand to the just defence of your dear uncle, but also may endeavour to follow his steps therein, and to take his counsel, which, he doubteth not, but shall redound, not only to your grace's honour, to the benefit, weal, and profit of your realm and subjects; but, especially, to the glory of Almighty God, and advancement of his true religion.

Inconvenience that cometh by cardinals.

And thus have I expounded unto your grace the sum of my errand and message from the king's majesty your uncle, who, as he would be glad to be advertised, by answer, of your grace's purpose, mind, and intention in this behalf, so, for my part, according to my charge and duty, I shall be pressed and ready, with all diligence, to give mine attendance upon your pleasure for the same accordingly.

The king, considering the present state of his marriage, which was not yet well digested nor accepted in the courts of other princes, and also having intelligence of the straight amity intended by the marriages between the emperor and the French king, and also of the pope's inclination to pleasure the emperor; and further understanding of the order and meaning of the French king's council, not greatly favouring his purposes, sent therefore into France, for his ambassador, Edward Foxe, doctor of divinity, his chaplain and counsellor, with instructions and admonitions how to frame and attemper himself in those the king's affairs. The contents of which his instructions came to this effect:

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The Sum and Effect of King Henry the Eighth's Message to the French King, by his Ambassador, Dr. Edward Foxe, in defence of his proceedings.

That the said Edward Foxe, first declaring to the French king the most effectuous commendations made on the king's behalf, with declaration of the king's most entire and hearty good will to understand of his prosperity, and the good success of his affairs, which his majesty no less desired than his own; and also, after the king's letters being delivered to him and to other personages of his council, then, after his access made unto the king, he should utter and insinuate unto the king his master's mind and intent in these three special points following.

Three causes to be declared in the king's defence.

The first was, to declare the justness of the king's cause concerning the late marriage with queen Anne, and divorcement of the king from his brother's wife.

The second, to signify and express the injuries done by the pope, as afterwards shall be declared.

The third was, to win and allure to the king's devotion the chancellor of France.

And as touching the declaration of the justness of the king's cause, first he, taking with him certain books printed, containing the determinations of universities in that behalf, with reasons and authorities confirming the same, should distribute the said books to the bishop of St. Line and to other bishops, to Monsieur de Langez, and other of the king's council more; and to prove, after the best fashion, to obtain their approbations of the same books, and with dexterity to essay whether he could induce them of the university of Paris, and other learned men, to send forth this book with their authorities and approbations. That done, then he, being acquainted with all those points and articles of the king's cause, in communicating and conference (as the case required), should not only make answer to such things as should be objected, but also furnish and maintain the justness of that opinion, with his learning, in such sort as he could best invent and excogitate.

The pope's injuries to the king.

As touching the second part, which contained the injuries done by the pope against the king, the said ambassador in that behalf, being a man no less acquainted, than also well beaten and ripe in the manifold misbehaviours of the pope from the beginning of the cause, should declare and express to the French king, how injuriously the said pope had demeaned himself towards the king's highness; first, in sending a commission decretal, and then commanding it to be burned: as also in promising, by schedule of his own hand, not to call the cause out of England; and moreover, approving first the justness of the king's cause, yet, notwithstanding, afterwards going from the same, and doing contrary.

The pope inconstant in his deeds, and contrary to himself.

Touching all which injuries received at the pope's hand, though the king had great cause justly to complain, yet other injuries there were besides these, wherewith the king most especially was moved. The one was for calling and citing the king's highness to appear at Rome. The other was for rejecting the person of the king's trusty subject and chaplain, Master Kerne, his ambassador, from making such allegations as to the king in that case appertained; besides sundry other no small griefs and inconveniences, which here might be showed and alleged: but in these two special injuries the king thought himself most chiefly touched and aggrieved. In opening and ripping up of these injuries, and first, in the said injurious calling of the king to Rome, instructions were given to the said ambassador to explicate the open violation therein of the most ancient and general councils, the council of Nice, the council of Africa, and the council of Milevitane; in which councils the contrary was, for quietness of the world, provided and ordered: declaring withal, how agreeable the same is to all laws, reason, and equity, that princes should not be compelled to repair to Rome at the pope's calling, nor be bound, in a matter of such weight and moment, to send out of their realms and dominions, the writings, instruments, and monuments containing the secrets of their affairs, or to make and trust a proctor, being in so far distant parts, in a matter of such importance, to abide and fulfil that, which the said proctor should agree unto there. The matter

Calleth and citeth the king to Rome.

The pope violateth three councils.

and cause whereof did not so much concern the state of any one prince alone, as it touched the dignity of all other christian kings so nearly, that unless they would suffer themselves to be yoked with the pope's authority, it was time (inasmuch as the pope now made this enterprise on them) to search and know the bottom and ground both of his and of their authority; and if any thing by negligence or misuse had been lost, to recover the same, rather than to suffer it to decay any more. As touching all which griefs, hurts, inconveniences, prejudice, and evil example which might thereof ensue, the king's highness doubted not but that his good brother, the French king, would assist and concur with his highness for maintenance and defence of the same

The second point.

For declaration of the second notable grief and injury done by the pope to the king's highness, thus furthermore he was willed to insinuate to the French king, what injury, or rather contumely, the king's highness received at the pope's hand, in not suffering the king's subject and ambassador to allege such matter in defence of his prince, as by law, reason, and equity, was to be heard and admitted, forasmuch as the said ambassador, Dr. Kerne, the king's chaplain, being at Rome at such time as citations were there published against the king's highness, and understanding his grace by them to be called before one Capasuccha, dean of the Rota, was there ready to make answer to the queen's agents' complaint, and had, by the advice of other great learned men, conceived a certain matter containing causes reasonable and lawful, why the king's highness should not be bound to appear there either by himself, or by his proctor: which matter also he did exhibit on the king's behalf, as a true subject by law of nature is bound to maintain and allege in defence of his prince that is absent, and ought, by equity, to preserve him from condemnation. And yet this notwithstanding, the said Capasuccha, not regarding nor considering the matter alleged, demanded whether the said doctor had any proxy from the king or no, for such purpose, and upon default and lack of the said proxy (which was not necessary in this case), proceeded in the principal cause; by reason whereof the said Dr. Kerne appealed to the pope, alleging injury to be done not only to the king's highness, but also to himself, for that such matter as he did allege, was not considered nor regarded, but process made: to which appellation, notwithstanding, the said Capasuccha gave an ambiguous and a doubtful answer; which was, that as much as Dr. Kerne was, by the law, a lawful person, so much he would give place, 'et deferre appellationi;' and otherwise not.

The king's ambassador could not be heard at Rome.

Thus, upon declaration of this doubtful answer, passed certain days, the said Capasuccha promising always to open his said answer and sentence more plainly, and to give a determinate resolution; which he nevertheless did not, albeit he was divers times urged thereunto; but so passed the time, and suddenly returned to process. Whereupon the said Dr. Kerne appealed eftsoons again, and put up a supplication to the pope, for admission of the said appeal; by reason whereof the matter was reasoned in the signature; in which signature by no law it could be showed why the said Dr. Kerne should not be admitted to allege in defence of the king's highness; but only that they there among themselves being the greater number, who were of the emperor's dominions, and fee'd of him (among whom was also the said Capasuccha), gave their voices as the pope said,—that Dr. Kerne should not be heard, 'Sine mandato regiæ majestatis.' Whereunto when Dr. Kerne replied, saying, Whatsoever they decreed or said, there was no law to maintain and bear it: it was said again by cardinal Anconitate, That the pope might judge after his conscience. And, upon this resolution, they determined there to proceed in the principal cause, unless the king would send a proxy; intending by this injury and wrong, to enforce his highness to the exhibition of a proxy there, to his highness's high prejudice, to the pernicious example of the like to be done to other princes, and also to the derogation of the liberties and prerogatives of his gracious realm: unto the observation whereof his highness is bound by his oath, and also by the same oath is bound to recover and restore such liberties and privileges as by any of his predecessors have been lost, diminished, or decayed in time past.

The pope would have the king to appear by proxy at Rome.

These, with other like injuries and wrongs of the pope done to the king, the aforesaid ambassador, Master Foxe, according as he had in charge and commission, did declare, open, and show unto the

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French king, to the intent to solicit the said king tō do, by his mediation, for the remedy and redressing of those aforesaid injuries and wrongful dealings of the pope in this behalf.

The third part or purpose of this message.

Furthermore, for the third purpose, touching the chancellor of France, forasmuch as he was one of the chief personages whom the French king most trusted in his great affairs (by whose advice all matters of learning were then conduced and trained), the king thought it not unprofitable, by all ways and means, to win and allure his friendship and amity also unto his devotion; either that by his means and dexterity the king's purposes might be advanced the better, or at least for a 'ne noceat;' that is, to mitigate and diminish such favour as he, by the admiral or otherwise, was moved to show to the imperials. For this cause the king, committing in charge to his ambassador aforesaid, willed and instructed him how and what to do, and after what manner to attemperate himself to all occasions and times of opportunity; as first, to deliver to him from the king his letters of credence, and withal to declare and extend the king's most affectuous commendations, with the hearty good will and sincere affection which his highness bare to the said cardinal, chancellor of France; with no less desire, also, most gladly to do that thing which might be to his commodity and benefit, according as the manifold pleasures, gratuities, and kindness done on his part for the king's highness, did worthily deserve. Then, after such words of mollification, to enter into further communication with him in such sort as might best serve his honour.

The vain-glory and avarice of the cardinal.

The fashion of princes' courts to be noted.

And forasmuch as the cardinal was then noted to be much moved with the affections of vain-glory and covetousness, therefore, amongst other communication, it was devised to infer mention of the papality, noting what ways and means might be used to attain unto that dignity: wherein, if the king's highness could stand him in any stead, as he thought the person of the said chancellor most meet for the same, so he would not fail to move and to procure it, to the best furtherance of his advancement. And finally, to declare how desirous the king's highness was, to retain, and make sure unto him, the amity and friendship of the said chancellor, and that his highness, devising by what means and ways he might do the same (albeit his grace knew well, that the faith and sincerity of the said chancellor towards his master was such as no gift, pension, or other offer could advance or increase that good will, which, for his master's sake, he would employ in the king's highness's affairs), thought, that for declaration of his hearty good will towards the said chancellor, it were convenient to offer unto him some yearly remembrance, &c.

This was the sum and effect of the message which the king sent unto the French king, and to others of his council, by his ambassador, Master Edward Foxe, which was especially to signify and make manifest to the said French king, the unjust dealings and prejudicial proceedings of the pope, in calling up the king of England to appear at Rome by proxy, which was derogatory to the king's dignity and crown, and also prejudicial both to general councils of the primitive time, and to the ancient laws and statutes of this realm (as is before declared), and no less hurtful for example to all other princes and kings likewise, &c.

Gardiner, ambassador to the French king, who speaks against the king's succession.

This message so done, shortly after was sent to the said French king, Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, with the king's answer and message again on this manner:

The Answer and Message of King Henry the Eighth to the French King, by his Ambassador Stephen Gardiner.

That forasmuch as the saying of the French king to the ambassadors was this; that notwithstanding all the king's realm should agree and condescend ever so much to the right and title, which the succession procreated by this his

lawful matrimony, hath, in this his realm; yet, when outward parties shall conceive any other or contrary opinion thereof, great trouble and vexation might ensue. Whereunto the king made answer again, declaring that he could not but greatly marvel, that the king his brother, being so wise a prince, and thereto so well expert and learned in chronicles and histories, not only of his own realm, but also of all others, or any of his council, being men of such experience as they were taken to be, would think that the opinion and consent of other outward realms were so highly to be considered and regarded of any prince or king, in establishing or in executing of things which might be lawfully done, and which touched the preservation of the rights, pre-eminences, dignity, and state of his realm, and did also notably confer unto the singular benefit and tranquillity of the same, so as the words both of the said king his brother, and of the great master, did pretend: who, furthermore, were not ignorant themselves, that many things have been, by his noble progenitors, kings of France, attempted and done, as well in cases of matrimony, as otherwise, which, in some part, in the opinion of the popes of Rome then being, and, in some part, in the opinion of divers other outward princes, states, seigniories, and common people, have been thought not perfectly good, nor yet much acceptable unto them; and yet, that notwithstanding, his said progenitors, knowing themselves the prosecuting of those causes to be beneficial to them and to the realm, have not therefore desisted from their said purposes, but, diligently employing their own strength and powers with the succours of their friends, have finally achieved their said enterprises without requiring, or greatly regarding, the opinion or agreement thereunto of outward princes.

Kings in the right of their realms are not bound to the agreement of outward realms.

Again, whereas the chancellor of France made this overture to the said bishop of Winchester, Whether the king would be contented to have indifferent judges to be appointed by the authority of the pope, to determine his cause, with a commission decretal from the same, declaring, 'Quid juris,' &c. The king, by his ambassador thereunto answering, declared, 'That the pope, having done unto him such notable and evident injuries as he had done, it was his office and duty now to labour himself to end this matter, and to study how to make due satisfaction to God, and his justice, which he hath, 'tam indignis modis,' offended and violated, and to deliver himself out of the danger, and the perpetual infamy of the world, which he hath incurred by reason of these his most ungodly doings; and not to look that the king should make any request or suit unto him there-for, or recompense for the same, &c.

The overture of the chancellor of France, to the king, to take indifferent judges by the pope's authority.

Furthermore, whereas the pope, at the request of the French king, had in open consistory prorogued execution of his censures and excommunication against the king unto the first day of November, and word thereof was sent to the king by his ambassadors, from the great master of France, that the king might have the said prorogation made authentically in writing, if he would; the king, answering thereunto, thought it not unprofitable, that his ambassadors resident in France should receive into their hands the possession of the said new prorogation, conceived and written in authentic form and manner, according to the order of the laws.

After this again came other letters to the king from France, namely, from the great master of France, tending to this end; that if the king would do nothing for the pope (meaning, by the revocation of such acts of parliament as were made in the realm of England, to the pope's prejudice), it were no reason, neither should it be possible, for the French king to induce the pope to any gratuity or pleasure for the king in his affairs. Whereunto the king answering again, sendeth word to the French king to this effect:

The king requested by the French king to relent to the pope.

The King's Answer to the French King's Request.

That he trusted and hoped well of the perfect friendship of the French king, his good brother, that he will never suffer any such persuasion to enter into his breast, whatsoever the great master, or any other shall say to the contrary thereof; nor that he will require any thing more of him to do for the pope,

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chancellor, or others, than his council hath already devised to be done in this behalf; especially, considering the words of the said French king's promise made before, as well to the duke of Norfolk, as to the other ambassadors, promising his friendship to the king simply, without requiring him to revocate, or infringe, any such act or constitution made by the realm and parliament to the contrary: persuading, moreover, and laying before the eyes as well of the pope, as of the French king, how much it should redound to the pope's dishonour and infamy, and to the slander also of his cause, if he should be seen so to pact and covenant with the king upon such conditions, for the administration of that thing which he, in his own conscience, hath reputed and adjudged to be most rightful, and agreeable to justice and equity; and ought of his office and duty to do in this matter 'simpliciter et gratis,' and without all worldly respects, either for the advancement of his private lucre and commodity, or for the preservation of his pretensed power and authority. For surely it is not to be doubted but that the pope, being minded and determined to give sentence for the invalidity and nullity of the king's first pretensed matrimony, hath conceived and established in his own conscience a firm and certain opinion and persuasion, that he ought of justice and equity so to do.

The pope seeketh not for justice, but his own lucre and commodity.

Then to see the pope to have this opinion indeed, and yet refuse to do this for the king, unless he shall be content for his benefit and pleasure, 'cedere juri suo,' and to do some things prejudicial unto his subjects contrary to his honour: it is easy to be foreseen, what the world and posterity shall judge 'De tam turpi nundinatione justitiæ, et illius tam fœda et sordida lucri et honoris ambitione.' And as for the king's part, if he shall not attain justice now at the mediation of his good brother, knowing the pope to be of this disposition and determination in his heart, to satisfy all his desires, being moved thereunto by justice, and that the let thereof is no default of justice in the cause, but only for that the king would not condescend to his request; it is to the king matter sufficient enough for discharge of his conscience to God and to the world, although he never did execute indeed his said determination. For since his corrupt affection is the only impediment thereof, what need either the king to require him any further to do in the cause, or else his subjects to doubt any further in the justness of the same?

The pope selleth justice. Doeth against his conscience.

Albeit if respects to benefits and merits done towards the pope and see of Rome should be regarded in the attaining of justice in a cause of so high consequence as this is, reason would, that if it would please the pope to consider the former kindness of the king showed unto him in time past (whereof he is very loth to enter the rehearsal, 'Ne videatur velle exprobrare quæ de aliis fecerit bene'), he should not now require of him any new benefit or gratuity to be showed unto him; but rather study to recompense him for the old graces, merits, pleasures, and benefits before received. For surely he thinketh that the pope cannot forget, how that for the conservation of his person, his estate and dignity, the king hath not heretofore spared for any respect, in using the office of a most perfect and steadfast friend, to relinquish the long continued good will established between him and the emperor, and to declare openly to all the world, that for the pope's sake, and in default of his deliverance, he would become enemy to the said emperor, and to make against him actual war.

Forgetteth his old benefactors and friends.

The benefits of the king upon him, when he was taken by the duke of Bourbon.

Besides this, the king hath not failed him with right large and ample subventions of money, for the better supporting of his charges against the enterprises of the said emperor, combining and knitting himself with the French king, to procure the advancement of the said French king's army into Italy, to the charges whereof the king did bear little less than the one half; besides notable losses sustained as well in his customs, subsidies, and other duties, as also to the no little hinderance and damage of his subjects and merchants, occasioned by discontinuance of the traffic and intercourse heretofore used with the emperor's subjects. In doing of all which things, the king hath not been thus respective, as the pope now showeth himself towards him, but, like a perfect friend, hath been always contented frankly, liberally, and openly, to expone all his study, labour, travail, treasure, puissance, realm, and divers subjects, for the pope's aid, and maintenance of the state and dignity of the church and see of Rome. Which things although he doth not here rehearse 'animo exprobrandi,' yet he doubteth not but the same, weighed in the balance of any indifferent man's judgment, shall be thought to be of that weight and value, as that he hath justly

All is lost that is done for a churl.

deserved to have some mutual correspondency of kindness to be showed unto him at the pope's hands; especially in the ministration of justice, and in so reasonable and just cause as this is; and not thus to have his most rightful petition rejected and denied, because he will not follow his desire and appetite in revoking of such acts, as be here made and passed for the weal and commodity of his realm and subjects. *Henry VIII.* A. D. 1536.

Thus ye have heard how instantly the king had laboured, by the means of the French king, to the pope being then in France, for right and justice to be done for the dissolution and nullity of his first pretensed matrimony with his brother's wife: which when it could not be attained at the pope's hands, unless the king would recompense and requite the same, by revoking of such statutes as were made and enacted here in the high court of parliament, for the surety of succession and establishment of the realm; what the king thereunto answered again, ye heard, declaring that to be a far unequal recompense and satisfaction for a thing which ought of right and justice to be ministered unto him, that a king therefore should revoke and undo the acts and statutes passed by a whole realm, contrary to his own honour and weal of his subjects, &c.

Here is moreover to be understood, how that the pope, with all his papists, and the French king also, and peradventure Stephen Gardiner too, the king's own ambassador, had ever a special eye to disprove and disappoint the king's succession by queen Anne, whom they knew all to be a great enemy unto the pope; thinking thereby that if that succession were diminished, the pope's kingdom might soon be restored again in England. But yet, for all their unjust and crafty packing, they were, through God's providence, frustrated of their desired purpose: for, although they so brought to pass the next year following, to annul the order of that succession by a contrary parliament, yet neither did they so annihilate it, but that both king Edward followed, yea, and also the same succession afterwards, by the said king, and other parliaments was restored again; and yet, God be praised, hath hitherto reigned, and doth yet flourish in the realm of England.

The crafty packing of the papists.

The papists frustrated of their purpose.

Now, as we have declared the king's doings in the realm of Scotland and of France, proceeding further in the king's proceedings with other princes, let us see how the king defended himself and his cause before the emperor, sending his ambassador unto him, using these words before his majesty, as here followeth.

The Oration of the King's Ambassador before the Emperor, in Defence of his Cause.

Sir: the king my master, taking and reputing you as his perfect friend, confederate, and ally, and not doubting but you, remembering the mutual kindness between you in times past, will show yourself in all occurrents to be of such mind and disposition, as justice, truth, and equity do require, hath willed me, by his letters, to open and to declare unto you, what he hath done, and in what wise he hath proceeded, concerning such marriage as by many years was supposed to have been between your aunt and his grace: in which matter there being two principal points specially to be regarded and considered, that is to say, the justice of the cause, and the order of the process therein, his highness hath so used him in both, as no man may right wisely complain of the same.

Divisions consisting in two parts.

For as touching the justness of the cause, that is to say, of that marriage

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between him and your said aunt, to be nought, and of no moment, or effect, but against the law of God, nature, and man, and indispensable by the pope, and in no wise available; his highness hath done therein as much as becometh him for discharge of his conscience, and hath found so certain, so evident, so manifest, so open and approved truth, as whereunto his majesty ought of good congruence to give place, and which by all others ought to be allowed and received, not as a matter doubtful, disputable, or depending in question and ambiguity; but as a plain, determined, and discussed verity of the true understanding of God's word and law, which all christian men must follow and obey, and before all other worldly respects prefer and execute. In attaining the knowledge whereof, if his highness had used only his own particular judgment and sentence, or the mind only and opinion of his own natural subjects (although the same might in his conscience have sufficed), he would not much have repugned, if some others had made difficulty to assent to him in the same, till further discussion had been made thereupon. But now, forasmuch as besides his own certain understanding, and the agreement of his whole clergy to the same in both provinces of this realm, his majesty hath also for him the determination of the most famous universities of Christendom, and most indifferent to pronounce and give judgment in this case: and among them, the university of Bologna (all fear of the pope set apart), concluding against his power, and also Padua (the Venetians' threats not regarded) giving their sentence for the truth and evident words of God's law; there should no man, as seemeth to him, gainsay or withstand, either in word or deed, the truth thus opened; but, for his honour and duty, to the observation of God's law, willingly embrace and receive the same. According whereunto his grace perceiveth also, as well in his realm, as elsewhere, a notable consent and agreement amongst all divines, and such as have studied for knowledge of God's law, without contradiction of any number, unless it be such as, applying their mind to the maintenance of worldly affections, do, either in defence of such laws as they have studied, or for satisfaction of their private appetite, forbear to agree unto the same; the number of whom is so small, as, in the discerning of truth, it ought not to be regarded in a case so plainly described and determined by God's word as this is.

The justness of the king's cause.

Universities standing with the king's cause.

Both the number and matter make with the king.

And if percase your majesty here, not regarding the number but the matter, shall seem to consider, in this case, not so much who speaketh, as what is spoken; to answer thereunto, I say, Sir! the king, my master, is of the same mind, for his own satisfaction, and taketh himself to be in the right, not because so many say it, but because he being learned, knoweth the matter to be right. Nevertheless reason would, and enforceth also, that strangers to the cause, and not parties therein, should be induced to believe that to be truth which such a number of clerks do so constantly affirm; especially not being otherwise learned to be judges of their sayings, as your majesty is not. And if you were, then could your highness show such reasons, authorities, and grounds as cannot be taken away; and be so firm and stable, as they ought not of christian men in any part to be impugned, like as hath been partly heretofore showed by his sundry ambassadors to your imperial majesty, and should effusions be done, were it not too great an injury to that which is already passed in the realm, to dispute the same again in any other country: which, being contrarious to the laws and ordinances of his realm, he trusteth your prudency will not require, but take that which is past for a thing done, and justly done; and as for God's part, to leave his conscience to himself, 'qui Domino suo stat aut cadit;' and for the world, (to pass over as a friend that which nothing toucheth you, and not to marvel though the said king my master, regarding the wealth of his soul principally, with the commodity of his person and so great benefit and quiet of his realm), have percase done that which he, for his private fantasy, would had not chanced; like as his highness also would wish it had not happened, that such cause had been given unto him to compel him so to do.

The second part of his oration.

But these things in their outward visage be but worldly, and inwardly touch and concern the soul. 'Quid autem prodest homini si universum mundum lucretur, animæ vero suæ detrimentum patiatur? Primum quærite regnum Dei,' &c. And yet neither is his highness ignorant what respect is to be had unto the world; and how much he hath laboured and travailed therein, he hath sufficiently declared and showed to the world in his acts and proceedings. For

if he had utterly contemned the order and process of the world, or the friendship and amity of your majesty, he needed not to have sent so often and sundry embassades to the pope, and to you both, nor continued and spent his time in delays, as he hath done hitherto, but might, many years past, have done what he hath done now, if it had so liked him, and with as little difficulty then as now, if without such respect he would have followed his pleasure in that behalf. But now I doubt not your majesty doth well remember how often the king, my master, hath sent unto your highness, and that your majesty hath heard also what suits he hath made to the pope, and how the said pope hath handled him again only in delay and dalliance; with open commission given to his legates to determine and give sentence for him by a commission decretal, and secretly to give them instructions, to suspend and put over the same. By which means, and others semblable, he perceived plainly himself to be brought into such a labyrinth, as going forward that way he were like to come to no end, and was therefore compelled to step right forth at once to the maze's end, there to quiet and repose himself at last.

How the pope dallied with the king.

And is it not time to have an end in seven years, or else to seek for it another way? The pope hath showed himself both unwilling to have an end, and also so ready and prone to do him injury, as well in citing him to Rome, as also sending forth certain briefs to his grace slanderous, and for the injustice and iniquity of them, to himself dishonourable; as he gave his highness good and just cause to suspect, whether any end to be made at his hand (if any he would make) might be in his conscience received and followed. For the pope doing injury in some point, why should he be thought a convenient judge, not using himself indifferently in this matter (as many more particularities may be showed and declared), considering there is a general council,[1] willing all matters to be determined where they first began, and that the whole body of our realm hath, for the wealth of the same, by a law established the determination of such causes? by reason whereof the bishop of Canterbury, as metropolitan of our realm, hath given sentence in due judgment for the king's party. It is not to be asked, nor questioned, whether that matter hath been determined after the common fashion, but whether it hath in it common justice, truth, and equity of God's law. For observation of the common order, his grace hath done what lay in him, and enforced by necessity, hath found the true order maintainable by God's word and general councils, which he hath in substance followed with effect, and hath done as becometh him, tendering either God's law, or his person, or the wealth of his realm, like as he doubteth not but your majesty (as a wise prince), remembering his cause from the beginning hitherto, will of yourself consider and think, that among mortal men nothing should be immortal, and suits must once have an end, 'Si possis recte, si non quocunque modo.' And if he cannot as he would, then must his highness do as he may; and he that hath a journey to be perfected, must, if he cannot go one way, essay another. Whatsoever hath been herein done, necessity hath enforced him (that is to say, God's law) in the matter, and such manner of dealing of the pope, as he hath showed unto him in the same, doing sundry injuries without effect of justice, wherein he promised the same. But as for the king's matter to the pope, he shall treat with him apart. As touching your majesty, he taketh you for his friend, and as to a friend he openeth these matters unto you, trusting to find your majesty no less friendly hereafter unto him, than he hath done heretofore.

By these matters thus passed and discoursed to and fro, between the king and these foreign princes above rehearsed, many things are to be understood of the reader, whoso is disposed to behold and consider the state and proceeding of public affairs, as well to the church appertaining, as to the commonwealth. First, how the king cleareth himself both justly and reasonably for his divorce made with the lady Katharine, the emperor's aunt. Secondly, how he proveth and defendeth his marriage with queen Anne to be just and lawful, both by the authority of God's word, and the comprobation of the best and most

The king's divorce, and his marriage with queen Anne, lawful.

(1) This general council was the first council of Constantinople.

Henry VIII. famous learned men and universities, and also by the assent of the whole realm.

A.D. 1536. Furthermore, for the establishing of the king's succession to the imperial crown of this realm, for the suppression of the pope, and uniting the title of supremacy unto the king's crown, what order was therein taken, and what penalty was set upon the same, may appear by the act of parliament set forth A.D. 1534,[1] in these words following:

The pope suppressed.

Denying of the king's supremacy made treason.

'If any person or persons, after the first of February next, do maliciously imagine, invent, practise, or attempt to deprive the king of the dignity, title, or name of his royal estate, &c., that then every such person and persons so offending in any of the premises, their aiders, counsellors, consenters, and abettors, being thereof lawfully convicted, according to the laws and customs of this realm, shall be reputed, accepted, and adjudged traitors; and that every such offence in any the premises committed or done after the said first day of February, shall be reputed, accepted, and adjudged high treason; and the offenders therein, their aiders, consenters, counsellors, and abettors, being lawfully convicted of any such offence, shall have and suffer such pains of death and other penalties, as are limited and accustomed in cases of high-treason.'

Upon this and such other acts concluded in those parliaments, what stomach the pope took, what stir he kept, and what practices he wrought with cardinal Pole, to stir up other nations to war against us; what difficulty also there was with the emperor, with the French king, and with the king of Scots, about the matter; and what labour was used on the king's part, to reconcile the princes for his own indemnity, to keep him from their wars and invasions, and especially to obtain the pope's approbation, and to avoid his censures of excommunication; and finally, what despiteful injuries and open wrongs the pope wrought against him, upon which pope the king had bestowed so much money and great treasures before, all this, likewise, by the premises may appear

Wherefore, to end now with these, and to go forward in our story, as the order and computation of years do give, we have now consequently to enter into the story of the good martyr of God, William Tyndale, being this present year falsely betrayed and put to death; which William Tyndale, as he was a special organ of the Lord appointed, and as God's mattock to shake the inward roots and foundation of the pope's proud prelacy, so the great prince of darkness, with his impious imps, having a special malice against him, left no way unsought how craftily to entrap him, and falsely to betray him, and maliciously to spill his life, as by the process of his story here following may appear.

The Life and Story of the true Servant and Martyr of God, William Tyndale,[2]

WHO, FOR HIS NOTABLE PAINS AND TRAVAIL, MAY WELL BE CALLED THE APOSTLE OF ENGLAND IN THIS OUR LATER AGE.[3]

A.D. 1536. William Tyndale, the faithful minister and constant martyr of Christ, was born about the borders of Wales, and brought up from

(1) Stat. 26 Hen. VIII. (2) See the Latin edition: Basle, 1599, p. 138.—Ed.

(3) Mr. Offer, in his recently published Life of William Tyndale, represents him as the baron, when, in truth, he was only a descendant of the baron. The editor subjoins an extract from an

a child in the university of Oxford, where he, by long continuance, grew up, and increased as well in the knowledge of tongues, and other liberal arts, as especially in the knowledge of the Scriptures, whereunto his mind was singularly addicted; insomuch that he, lying then in Magdalen hall, read privily to certain students and fellows of Magdalen college, some parcel of divinity; instructing them in the knowledge and truth of the Scriptures. His manners also and conversation being correspondent to the same, were such, that all they that knew him, reputed and esteemed him to be a man of most virtuous disposition, and of life unspotted.

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The first taste of God's truth in Magdalen college, by Tyndale.

Thus he, in the university of Oxford, increasing more and more in learning, and proceeding in degrees of the schools, spying his time, removed from thence to the university of Cambridge, where, after he had likewise made his abode a certain space, being now further ripened in the knowledge of God's word, leaving that university also, he resorted to one Master Welch, a knight of Gloucestershire, and was there schoolmaster to his children, and in good favour with his master. This gentleman, as he kept a good ordinary commonly at his table, there resorted to him many times sundry abbots, deans, archdeacons, with divers other doctors, and great beneficed men; who there, together with Master Tyndale sitting at the same table, did use many times to enter communication, and talk of learned men, as of Luther and of Erasmus; also of divers other controversies and questions upon the Scripture.

He disputeth with the doctors.

Then Master Tyndale, as he was learned and well practised in God's matters, so he spared not to show unto them simply and plainly his judgment in matters, as he thought; and when they at any time did vary from Tyndale in opinions and judgment, he would show them in the book, and lay plainly before them the open and manifest places of the Scriptures, to confute their errors, and confirm his sayings. And thus continued they for a certain season, reasoning and contending together divers and sundry times, till at length they waxed weary, and bare a secret grudge in their hearts against him.

Not long after this, it happened that certain of these great doctors had invited Master Welch and his wife to a banquet; where they had talk at will and pleasure, uttering their blindness and ignorance without any resistance or gainsaying. Then Master Welch and his wife, coming home, and calling for Master Tyndale, began to reason with him about those matters whereof the priests had talked before at their banquet. Master Tyndale, answering by the Scriptures, maintained the truth, and reproved their false opinions. Then said the lady Welch, a stout and a wise woman (as Tyndale reported), "Well," said she, "there was such a doctor who may dispend a hundred pounds, and another two hundred pounds, and another three hundred pounds: and what! were it reason, think you,

Instructeth Master Welch and his wife in the truth.

unpublished MS. of a descendant of Thomas, the brother of William Tyndale. "Hugh Tyndale, a descendant of Robert, Baron de Tyndale, of Longly Castle, in Northumberland, settled in Gloucestershire during the wars of York and Lancaster, where he passed for some time under the name of Hutchens, having been concerned in the quarrel between the contending families. He married Alicia, daughter and sole heiress of — Hunt, of Hunt Court, in Nibley, near Dursley, Esquire. His son John Tyndale was the father of William Tyndale of Magdalen hall, Oxford, who was born at Hunt Court about the year 1477, and is justly styled The worthy Apostle of the English Reformation."—Ed.

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that we should believe you before them?" Master Tyndale gave her no answer at that time, and also after that (because he saw it would not avail), he talked but little in those matters. At that time he was about the translation of a book called 'Enchiridion Militis Christiani,'[1] which, being translated, he delivered to his master and lady; who, after they had read and well perused the same, the doctorly prelates were no more so often called to the house, neither had they the cheer and countenance when they came, as before they had: which thing they marking, and well perceiving, and supposing no less but it came by the means of Master Tyndale, refrained themselves, and at last utterly withdrew, and came no more there.

The priests storm against Tyndale.

As this grew on, the priests of the country, clustering together, began to grudge and storm against Tyndale, railing against him in alehouses and other places; of whom Tyndale himself, in his prologue before the first book of Moses, thus testifieth in his own words, and reporteth that he suffered much in that country by a sort of unlearned

Rudeness of the country priests.

priests, being full rude and ignorant (saith he) God knoweth: "who have seen no more Latin, than that only which they read in their portueses and missals (which yet many of them can scarcely read), except it be 'Albertus, De Secretis Mulierum,' in which yet, though they be never so sorrily learned, they pore day and night, and make notes therein, and all to teach the midwives, as they say; and also another called 'Lindwood,' a book of constitutions to gather tithes, mortuaries, offerings, customs, and other pillage, which they call not theirs, but God's part, the duty of holy church, to discharge their consciences withal. For they are bound that they shall not diminish, but increase all things unto the uttermost of their powers, which pertain to holy church." Thus these blind and rude priests, flocking together to the alehouse (for that was their preaching place), raged and railed against him, affirming that his sayings were heresy; adding moreover unto his sayings, of their own heads, more than ever he

Tyndale troubled by them.

spake, and so accused him secretly to the chancellor, and others of the bishop's officers.

Called before the bishop's chancellor.

It followed not long after this, that there was a sitting of the bishop's chancellor appointed, and warning was given to the priests to appear, amongst whom Master Tyndale was also warned to be there. And whether he had any misdoubt by their threatenings, or knowledge given him that they would lay some things to his charge, it is uncertain; but certain this is (as he himself declared), that he doubted their privy accusations; so that he by the way, in going thitherwards, cried in his mind heartily to God, to give him strength fast to stand in the truth of his word.

Then when the time came for his appearance before the chancellor, he threatened him grievously, reviling and rating at him as though he had been a dog, and laid to his charge many things whereof no

Tyndale could not know his accusers.

accuser yet could be brought forth (as commonly their manner is, not to bring forth the accuser), notwithstanding that the priests of the country the same time were there present. And thus Master Tyndale, after those examinations, escaping out of their hands, departed home, and returned to his master again.

There dwelt not far off a certain doctor, that had been an old

(1) Enchiridion, a book of Erasmus.

chancellor before to a bishop, who had been of old familiar acquaintance with Master Tyndale, and also favoured him well; unto whom Master Tyndale went and opened his mind upon divers questions of the Scripture: for to him he durst be bold to disclose his heart. Unto whom the doctor said, "Do you not know that the pope is very Antichrist, whom the Scripture speaketh of? But beware what you say; for if you shall be perceived to be of that opinion, it will cost you your life:" and said moreover, "I have been an officer of his; but I have given it up, and defy him and all his works."

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One good old doctor amongst many naughty.

It was not long after, but Master Tyndale happened to be in the company of a certain divine, recounted for a learned man, and, in communing and disputing with him, he drave him to that issue, that the said great doctor burst out into these blasphemous words, and said, "We were better to be without God's laws than the pope's." Master Tyndale, hearing this, full of godly zeal, and not bearing that blasphemous saying, replied again, and said, "I defy the pope, and all his laws;" and further added, that if God spared him life, ere many years he would cause a boy that driveth the plough, to know more of the Scripture than he did. After this, the grudge of the priests increasing still more and more against Tyndale, they never ceased barking and rating at him, and laid many things sorely to his charge, saying that he was a heretic in sophistry, a heretic in logic, a heretic in divinity; and said moreover to him, that he bare himself bold of the gentlemen there in that country; but notwithstanding, shortly he should be otherwise talked withal. To whom Master Tyndale, answering again, thus said, that he was contented they should bring him into any country in all England, giving him ten pounds a year to live with, and binding him to no more but to teach children, and to preach.

Blasphemy of a blind doctor.

The pope's law preferred before God's law.

To be short, Master Tyndale, being so molested and vexed in the country by the priests, was constrained to leave that country, and to seek another place; and so coming to Master Welch, he desired him, of his good will, that he might depart from him, saying on this wise to him: "Sir, I perceive that I shall not be suffered to tarry long here in this country, neither shall you be able, though you would, to keep me out of the hands of the spiritualty; and also what displeasure might grow thereby to you by keeping me, God knoweth; for the which I should be right sorry." So that in fine, Master Tyndale, with the good will of his master, departed, and eftsoons came up to London, and there preached awhile, according as he had done in the country before, and especially about the town of Bristol, and also in the said town, in the common place called St. Austin's Green.

Tyndale departeth from Master Welch, and cometh to London.

At length, bethinking himself of Cuthbert Tonstal, then bishop of London, and especially for the great commendation of Erasmus, who, in his annotations, so extolleth him for his learning, Tyndale thus cast with himself, that if he might attain unto his service, he were a happy man. And so coming to Sir Henry Guilford, the king's comptroller, and bringing with him an oration of Isocrates, which he had then translated out of Greek into English, he desired him to speak to the said bishop of London for him; which he also did; and willed him moreover to write an epistle to the bishop, and to go himself with him. This he did likewise, and delivered his epistle to a servant

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of his, named William Hebilthwait, a man of his old acquaintance. But God, who secretly disposeth the course of things, saw that was not the best for Tyndale's purpose, nor for the profit of his church, and therefore gave him to find little favour in the bishop's sight; the answer of whom was this: That his house was full; he had more than he could well find: and advised him to seek in London abroad, where, he said, he could lack no service, &c. And so remained he in London the space almost of a year, beholding and marking with himself the course of the world, and especially the demeanour of the preachers, how they boasted themselves, and set up their authority and kingdom; beholding also the pomp of the prelates, with other things more, which greatly misliked him; insomuch that he understood, not only that there was no room in the bishop's house for him to translate the New Testament, but also that there was no place to do it in all England. And therefore, finding no place for his purpose within the realm, and having, by God's providence, some aid and provision ministered unto him by Humphrey Mummuth, above recited (as you may see before), and certain other good men, he took his leave of the realm, and departed into Germany, where the good man, being inflamed with a tender care and zeal of his country, refused no travail nor diligence, how, by all means possible, to reduce his brethren and countrymen of England to the same taste and understanding of God's holy word and verity, which the Lord had endued him withal. Whereupon, considering in his mind, and partly also conferring with John Frith, Tyndale thought with himself no way more to conduce thereunto, than if the Scripture were turned into the vulgar speech, that the poor people might also read and see the simple plain word of God. For first, wisely casting in his mind, he perceived by experience, how that it was not possible to establish the lay people in any truth, except the Scriptures were so plainly laid before their eyes in their mother tongue, that they might see the process, order, and meaning of the text; for else, whatsoever truth should be taught them, these enemies of the truth would quench it again, either with apparent reasons of sophistry, and traditions of their own making, founded without all ground of Scripture; or else juggling with the text, expounding it in such a sense as it were impossible to gather of the text, if the right process, order, and meaning thereof were seen.

Tyndale sueth to bishop Tonstal to be his chaplain.

Tonstal refuseth.

Tyndale departeth into Germany.

Causes moving Tyndale to translate the Scripture into the English tongue.

Again, right well he perceived and considered this only, or most chiefly, to be the cause of all mischief in the church, that the Scriptures of God were hidden from the people's eyes; for so long the abominable doings and idolatries maintained by the pharisaical clergy could not be espied; and therefore all their labour was with might and main to keep it down, so that either it should not be read at all, or if it were, they would darken the right sense with the mist of their sophistry, and so entangle those who rebuked or despised their abominations, with arguments of philosophy, and with worldly similitudes, and apparent reasons of natural wisdom; and, with wresting the Scripture unto their own purpose, contrary unto the process, order, and meaning of the text, would so delude them in descanting upon it with allegories, and amaze them, expounding it in many senses laid before the unlearned lay people, that though thou felt in thy

Hiding of Scripture the cause of mischief.

heart, and wert sure that all were false that they said, yet couldst thou not solve their subtle riddles. *Henry VIII.*

For these and such other considerations this good man was moved (and no doubt stirred up of God) to translate the Scripture into his mother tongue, for the public utility and profit of the simple vulgar people of his country; first setting in hand with the New Testament, which he first translated about A.D. 1527. After that, he took in hand to translate the Old Testament, finishing the five books of Moses, with sundry most learned and godly prologues prefixed before every one, most worthy to be read and read again by all good Christians, as the like also he did upon the New Testament. He wrote also divers other works under sundry titles, amongst which is that most worthy monument of his, entitled, "The Obedience of a Christian Man," wherein, with singular dexterity, he instructeth all men in the office and duty of christian obedience, with divers other treatises, as "The Wicked Mammon," "The Practice of Prelates;" with expositions upon certain parts of the Scripture, and other books also, answering to Sir Thomas More and other adversaries of the truth, no less delectable, than also most fruitful to be read; which partly before being unknown unto many, partly also being almost abolished and worn out by time, the printer hereof, good reader, for conserving and restoring such singular treasures, hath collected and set forth in print the same in one general volume, all and whole together, as also the works of John Frith, Barnes, and others, as are to be seen, most special and profitable for thy reading. A.D. 1536. The New Testament and the five books of Moses translated with Tyndale's prologues.

These books of William Tyndale being compiled, published, and sent over into England, it cannot be spoken what a door of light they opened to the eyes of the whole English nation, which before were many years shut up in darkness.

At his first departing out of the realm he took his journey into the further parts of Germany, as into Saxony, where he had conference with Luther and other learned men in those quarters; where after he had continued a certain season, he came down from thence into the Netherlands, and had his most abiding in the town of Antwerp, *there,[1] being not idle, but labouring in setting forth a plain declaration and understanding of the Scriptures,* until the time of his apprehension; whereof more shall be said (God willing) hereafter. Tyndale goeth into Saxony, and cometh to Antwerp.

Amongst his other books which he compiled, one work he made also for the declaration of the sacrament (as it was then called) of the altar; which he kept by him, considering how the people were not as yet fully persuaded in other matters tending to superstitious ceremonies and gross idolatry. Wherefore he thought as yet time was not come to put forth that work, but rather that it should hinder the people from other instructions, supposing that it would seem to them odious to hear any such thing spoken or set forth at that time, sounding against their great goddess Diana, that is, against their mass, being had everywhere in great estimation, as was the goddess Diana amongst the Ephesians, whom they thought to come from heaven. Wherefore Master Tyndale, being a man both prudent in his doings, and no less zealous in the setting forth of God's holy truth after such sort as it might take most effect with the people, did

(1) See Edition 1563, p. 516.—Ed.

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forbear the putting forth of that work, not doubting but, by God's merciful grace, a time should come to have that abomination openly declared, as it is at this present day: the Lord Almighty be always praised therefore. Amen!

These godly books of Tyndale, and especially the New Testament of his translation, after that they began to come into men's hands, and to spread abroad, as they wrought great and singular profit to the godly, so the ungodly (envying and disdaining that the people should be any thing wiser than they, and again, fearing lest, by the shining beams of truth, their false hypocrisy and works of darkness should be discerned), began to stir with no small ado; like as at the birth of Christ, Herod was troubled, and all Jerusalem with him. But especially Satan, the prince of darkness, maligning the happy course and success of the gospel, set to his might also, how to impeach and hinder the blessed travails of that man; as by this, and also by sundry other ways may appear. For at what time Tyndale had translated the fifth book of Moses called Deuteronomy, minding to print the same at Hamburgh, he sailed thitherward; where by the way, upon the coast of Holland, he suffered shipwreck, by which he lost all his books, writings, and copies, and so was compelled to begin all again anew, to his hinderance, and doubling of his labours. Thus, having lost by that ship, both money, his copies, and his time, he came in another ship to Hamburgh, where, at his appointment, Master Coverdale tarried for him, and helped him in the translating of the whole five books of Moses, from Easter till December, in the house of a worshipful widow, Mistress Margaret Van Emmerson, A.D. 1529; a great sweating sickness being at the same time in the town. So, having dispatched his business at Hamburgh, he returned afterwards to Antwerp again.

Darkness hateth light.

Satan an enemy to all good purposes, especially to the gospel.

Tyndale loseth his books and copies by shipwreck.

Coverdale a helper of Tyndale.

Thus, as Satan is, and ever hath been, an enemy to all godly endeavours, and chiefly to the promoting and furtherance of God's word, as by this and many other experiments may be seen, so his ministers and members, following the like quality of their master, be not altogether idle for their parts; as also by the pope's chaplains and God's enemies, and by their cruel handling of the said Master Tyndale at the same time, both here in England and in Flanders, may well appear.

When God's will was, that the New Testament in the common tongue should come abroad, Tyndale, the translator thereof, added to the latter end a certain epistle, wherein he desired them that were learned to amend, if ought were found amiss. Wherefore if there had been any such default deserving correction, it had been the part of courtesy and gentleness, for men of knowledge and judgment to have showed their learning therein, and to have redressed what was to be amended. But the spiritual fathers then of the clergy, being not willing to have that book to prosper, cried out upon it, bearing men in hand that there were a thousand heresies in it, and that it was not to be corrected, but utterly to be suppressed. Some said it was not possible to translate the Scriptures into English; some, that it was not lawful for the lay people to have it in their mother-tongue; some, that it would make them all heretics. And to the intent to induce the temporal rulers also unto their purpose, they made more

The practice of popish prelates to keep the Scriptures from the people.

matter, and said that it would make the people to rebel and rise against the king. All this Tyndale himself, in his own prologue before the first book of Moses, declareth; and addeth further, showing what great pains were taken in examining that translation, and comparing it with their own imaginations and terms, that with less labour, he supposeth, they might have translated themselves a great part of the Bible: showing moreover, that they scanned and examined every tittle and point in the said translation, in such sort, and so narrowly, that there was not one *i* therein, but if it lacked a prick over its head, they did note it, and numbered it unto the ignorant people for a heresy. So great were then the froward devices of the English clergy (who should have been the guides of light unto the people), to drive the people from the text and knowledge of the Scripture, which neither they would translate themselves, nor yet abide it to be translated of others; to the intent (as Tyndale saith) that the world being kept still in darkness, they might sit in the consciences of the people through vain superstition and false doctrine, to satisfy their lusts, their ambition, and insatiable covetousness, and to exalt their own honour above king and emperor, yea and above God himself.[1]

Henry VIII. A.D. 1536.

Causes why the pope's clergy cannot abide the Scripture in the common tongue.

The bishops and prelates of the realm, thus (as ye have heard) incensed and inflamed in their minds, although having no cause, against the Old and New Testament of the Lord newly translated by Tyndale, and conspiring together with all their heads and counsels, how to repeal the same, never rested before they had brought the king at last to their consent; by reason whereof, a proclamation in all haste was devised and set forth under public authority, but no just reason showed, that the Testament of Tyndale's translation, with other works besides, both of his, and of other writers, were inhibited and abandoned, as ye heard before:[2] which was about A.D. 1527. And yet not contented herewith, they proceeded further, how to entangle him in their nets, and to bereave him of his life; which how they brought to pass, now it remaineth to be declared.

Privy conspiracy of the bishops against Tyndale.

In the registers of London it appeareth manifest, how that the bishops and sir Thomas More having any poor man under 'coram,' to be examined before them, namely, such as had been at Antwerp, most studiously would search and examine all things belonging to Tyndale, where and with whom he hosted, whereabouts stood the house, what was his stature, in what apparel he went, what resort he had, &c.: all which things when they had diligently learned (as may appear by the examination of Simon Smith and others), then began they to work their feats, as you shall hear by the relation of his own host.

William Tyndale, being in the town of Antwerp, had been lodged about one whole year in the house of Thomas Pointz an Englishman, who kept there a house of English merchants; about which time came thither one out of England, whose name was Henry Philips, his father being customer of Poole, a comely fellow, like as he had been a gentleman, having a servant with him: but wherefore

(1) 'Hæc ille.'

(2) The popish prelates procured not only the condemnation of Tyndale's books, but also burned both them and the Testament, calling it 'Doctrinam peregrinam,' strange doctrine.

Henry VIII. he came, or for what purpose he was sent thither, no man could tell.

A. D. 1536. Master Tyndale divers times was desired forth to dinner and supper amongst merchants; by means whereof this Henry Philips became acquainted with him, so that within short space Master Tyndale had a great confidence in him, and brought him to his lodging, to the house of Thomas Pointz; and had him also once or twice with him to dinner and supper, and further entered such friendship with him, that through his procurement he lay in the same house of the said Pointz; to whom he showed moreover his books, and other secrets of his study, so little did Tyndale then mistrust this traitor.

His friendship to Philips, his betrayer.

But Pointz, having no great confidence in the fellow, asked Master Tyndale how he came acquainted with this Philips. Master Tyndale answered, that he was an honest man, handsomely learned, and very conformable. Then Pointz, perceiving that he bare such favour to him, said no more, thinking that he was brought acquainted with him by some friend of his. The said Philips, being in the town three or four days, upon a time desired Pointz to walk with him forth of the town to show him the commodities thereof, and in walking together without the town, had communication of divers things, and some of the king's affairs; by which talk Pointz as yet suspected nothing, but after, by the sequel of the matter, he perceived more what he intended. In the mean time this he well perceived, that he bare no great favour either to the setting forth of any good thing, or to the proceedings of the king of England. But after, when the time was past, Pointz perceived this to be his mind, to feel if he could perceive by him, whether he might break with him in the matter, for lucre of money, to help him to his purpose, for he perceived before that he was monied, and would that Pointz should think no less: but by whom it was unknown. For he had desired Pointz before, to help him to divers things; and such things as he named, he required might be of the best, "for," said he, "I have money enough;" but of this talk came nothing but that men should think he had some things to do; for nothing else followed of his talk. So it was to be suspected, that Philips was in doubt to move this matter for his purpose, to any of the rulers or officers of the town of Antwerp, for doubt it should come to the knowledge of some Englishmen, and by the means thereof Master Tyndale should have had warning.

The papists spare no cost to fulfil their malicious enterprises.

Philips well monied by the English bishops.

So Philips went from Antwerp to the court of Brussels, which is from thence twenty-four English miles, the king having there no ambassador; for at that time the king of England and the emperor were at a controversy for the question betwixt the king and the lady Katharine, who was aunt to the emperor; and the discord grew so much, that it was doubted lest there should have been war between the emperor and the king; so that Philips, as a traitor both against God and the king, was there the better retained, as also other traitors more besides him; who, after he had betrayed Master Tyndale into their hands, showed himself likewise against the king's own person, and there set forth things against the king. To make short, the said Philips did so much there, that he procured to bring from thence

with him to Antwerp, that procuror-general, who is the emperor's attorney, with certain other officers, as after followeth; which was not done with small charges and expenses, from whomsoever it came.

Within a while after, Pointz sitting at his door, Philips's man came unto him, and asked whether Master Tyndale were there, and said, his master would come to him; and so departed: but whether his Master Philips were in the town or not, it was not known; but at that time Pointz heard no more, either of the master or of the man. Within three or four days after, Pointz went forth to the town of Barrois, being eighteen English miles from Antwerp, where he had business to do for the space of a month or six weeks; and in the time of his absence Henry Philips came again to Antwerp, to the house of Pointz, and coming in, spake with his wife, asking her for Master Tyndale, and whether he would dine there with him; saying, "What good meat shall we have?" She answered, "Such as the market will give." Then went he forth again (as it is thought) to provide, and set the officers whom he brought with him from Brussels, in the street, and about the door. Then about noon he came again, and went to Master Tyndale, and desired him to lend him forty shillings; "for," said he, "I lost my purse this morning, coming over at the passage between this and Mechlin." So Master Tyndale took him forty shillings, which was easy to be had of him, if he had it; for in the wily subtleties of this world he was simple and inexpert.

Philips a traitor, and the betrayer of Tyndale.

The simplicity of Tyndale.

Then said Philips, "Master Tyndale! you shall be my guest here this day." "No," said Master Tyndale, "I go forth this day to dinner, and you shall go with me, and be my guest, where you shall be welcome." So when it was dinner-time, Master Tyndale went forth with Philips, and at the going forth of Pointz's house, was a long narrow entry, so that two could not go in a front. Master Tyndale would have put Philips before him, but Philips would in no wise, but put Master Tyndale before, for that he pretended to show great humanity. So Master Tyndale, being a man of no great stature, went before, and Philips, a tall comely person, followed behind him; who had set officers on either side of the door upon two seats, who, being there, might see who came in the entry; and coming through the same entry, Philips pointed with his finger over Master Tyndale's head down to him, that the officers who sat at the door might see that it was he whom they should take, as the officers that took Master Tyndale afterwards told Pointz, and said to Pointz, when they had laid him in prison, that they pitied to see his simplicity when they took him. Then they took him, and brought him to the emperor's attorney, or procuror-general, where he dined. Then came the procuror-general to the house of Pointz, and sent away all that was there of Master Tyndale's, as well his books as other things; and from thence Tyndale was had to the castle of Filford, eighteen English miles from Antwerp, and there he remained until he was put to death.

How Tyndale was betrayed.

Had to the castle of Filford.

Then incontinent, by the help of English merchants, were letters sent, in favour of Tyndale, to the court of Brussels. Also, not long after, letters were directed out of England to the council at Brussels, and sent to the merchant-adventurers, to Antwerp, commanding them

Henry VIII. A. D. 1536.

to see that with speed they should be delivered. Then such of the chief of the merchants as were there at that time, being called together, required the said Pointz to take in hand the delivery of those letters, with letters also from them, in favour of Master Tyndale, to the lord of Barrois and others; which lord of Barrois (as it was told Pointz by the way) at that time was departed from Brussels, as the chief conductor of the eldest daughter of the king of Denmark, to be married to the palsgrave, whose mother was sister to the emperor, she being chief princess of Denmark. Pointz, after he heard of his departure, did ride after the next way, and overtook him at Achon, where he delivered to him his letters; which when he had received and read, he made no direct answer, but somewhat objecting, said, There were of their countrymen that were burned in England not long before (as indeed there were Anabaptists burned in Smithfield); and so Pointz said to him, "Howbeit," said he, "whatsoever the crime was, if his lordship or any other nobleman had written, requiring to have had them, he thought they should not have been denied." "Well," said he, "I have no leisure to write, for the princess is ready to ride." Then said Pointz, "If it shall please your lordship, I will attend upon you unto the next baiting-place;" which was at Maestricht. "If you so do," said the lord, "I will advise myself by the way what to write." So Pointz followed him from Achon to Maestricht, which are fifteen English miles asunder; and there he received letters of him, one to the council there, another to the company of the merchant-adventurers, and another also to the lord Cromwell in England.

Letters sent from England by lord Cromwel and others in the behalf of Tyndale.

Letters from the lord of Barrois.

So Pointz rode from thence to Brussels, and then and there delivered to the council the letters out of England, with the lord of Barrois's letters also, and received eftsoons answer into England of the same by letters which he brought to Antwerp to the English merchants, who required him to go with them into England. And he, very desirous to have Master Tyndale out of prison, let not to take pains, with loss of time in his own business and occupying, and diligently followed with the said letters, which he there delivered to the council, and was commanded by them to tarry until he had other letters, with which he was not dispatched thence in a month after. At length, the letters being delivered him, he returned again, and delivered them to the emperor's council at Brussels, and there tarried for answer of the same.

Pointz sent with letters from Brussels to England.

When the said Pointz had tarried three or four days, it was told him by one that belonged to the Chancery, that Master Tyndale should have been delivered to him according to the tenor of the letters; but Philips, being there, followed the suit against Master Tyndale, and hearing that he should be delivered to Pointz, and doubting lest he should be put from his purpose, he knew no other remedy but to accuse Pointz, saying, that he was a dweller in the town of Antwerp, and there had been a succourer of Tyndale, and was one of the same opinion; and that all this was only his own labour and suit, to have Master Tyndale at liberty, and no man's else.

The suit of Philips against Tyndale.

Thus, upon his information and accusation, Pointz was attached by the procuror-general, the emperor's attorney, and delivered to the keeping of two serjeants at arms; and the same evening was sent to him one

Pointz attached by Philips.

of the chancery, with the procuror-general, who ministered unto him an oath, that he should truly make answer to all such things as should be inquired of him, thinking they would have had no other examinations of him but of his message. The next day likewise they came again, and had him in examination, and so five or six days one after another, upon not so few as a hundred articles, as well of the king's affairs, as of the message concerning Tyndale, of his aiders, and of his religion; out of which examinations, the procuror-general drew twenty-three or twenty-four articles, and declared the same against the said Pointz, the copy whereof he delivered to him to make answer thereunto, and permitted him to have an advocate and proctor, that is, a doctor and proctor in the law; and order was taken, that eight days after he should deliver unto them his answer, and from eight days to eight days, to proceed till the process were ended. Also that he should send no messenger to Antwerp where his house was, being twenty-four English miles from Brussels, where he was prisoner, nor to any other place, but by the post of the town of Brussels; nor to send any letters, nor any to be delivered to him, but written in Dutch; and the procuror-general, who was party against him, to read them, to peruse and examine them thoroughly (contrary to all right and equity), before they were sent or delivered: neither might any be suffered to speak or talk with Pointz in any other tongue or language, except only in the Dutch tongue; so that his keepers, who were Dutchmen, might understand what the contents of the letters or talk should be: saving that at one certain time the provincial of the White Friars came to dinner where Pointz was prisoner, and brought with him a young novice, being an Englishman, whom the provincial, after dinner, of his own accord, did bid to talk with the said Pointz; and so with him he was licensed to talk. The purpose and great policy therein was easy to be perceived. Between Pointz and the novice was much pretty talk, as of sir Thomas More, and of the bishop of Rochester, and of their putting to death; whose death he seemed greatly to lament, especially dying in such a quarrel, worthy (as he said) to be accounted for martyrs; with other noble doctrine, and deep learning in divinity, meet to feed swine withal: such blindness then in those days reigned amongst them.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1536.

Pointz examined.

Talk between Pointz and a novice.

* The[1] eighth day, the commissioners that were appointed came to the house where Pointz was kept, to have had his answer in writing: he, making no great haste in proceeding, answereth them with a dilatory manner, saying, he was there a prisoner, and might not go abroad, so that, although he had appointed and named who were to be a council with him, they came not to him, nor could he go to them; nor could any come to give counsel in this matter, but such as were licensed and named by them. Then they gave him a day, to make answer against the next eighth day. And Pointz drew out his own mind, answering to the whole declaration generally; which, at the next coming, he delivered them: but that answer they would not take, saying, he must answer to every article particularly; and so they took order, that he should make it ready against the next coming. Thus he trifled them off, from Allhallow-tide until Christ-

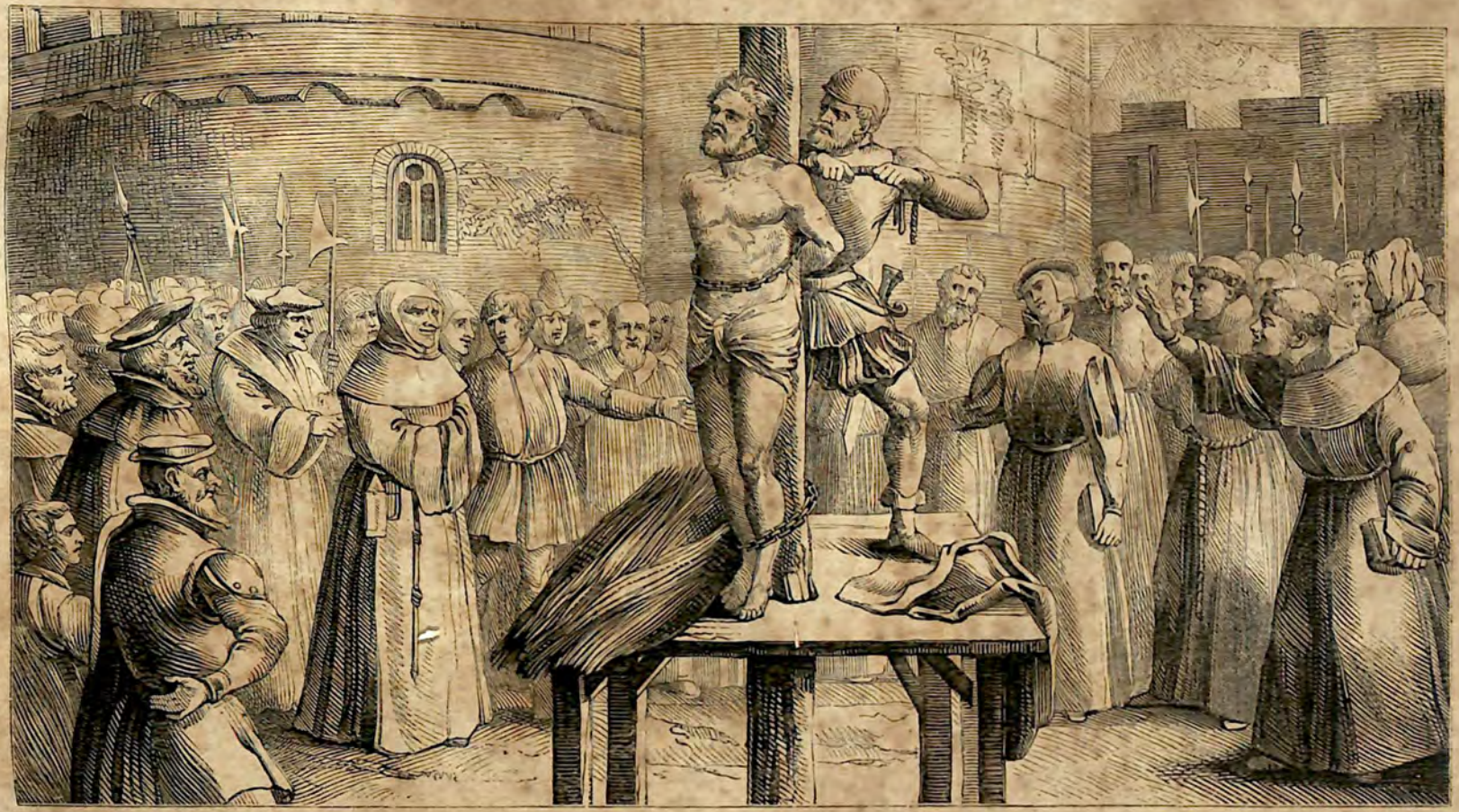
(1) The history, being more fully given in the first edition, is here substituted for a short passage in recent editions.—Ed.

Henry VIII. A. D. 1536.

mas-even, with dilatory matters, from one eighth day to another eighth day. And upon Christmas even, in the morning, they came to him to have had an answer, which was not made, nor had any counsel come to him in all that time: howbeit, they would delay the time no longer, but said they, "Bring in your answer this day, or else ye shall be put from it;" so he perceived, that if it were not brought in that night, he should have been condemned without answer. So then, with much ado, he got the advocate to help him in ordering of his answer; but it was long ere he came, so that it was past eight o'clock of Christmas-even before his answers were delivered to the procuror-general. And then afterwards, as the time served, at the days appointed, it went forth with replication duplic, with other answers each to other, in writing what they could, in answering to the emperor's ordinances. And at such times as the commissioners came to Pointz, that traitor Philips accompanied them to the door, in following the process against him, as he also did against Master Tyndale, as they who had Pointz in keeping showed him.

The process being ended, as the order is there, either party delivered up to the commissioners a bag, with his process in writing, and took an inventory of every parcel of writing that was within the bag. So it rested in their hands; but, upon sentence, Pointz required, in the time of process, that he might put in surety, and so to be at liberty. This they granted him at the first time, but, afterwards, they denied to take surety for his body. Then he sent a post from the town of Brussels to Antwerp to the English merchants, thinking they would not let him have stuck for lack of their help, in putting in sureties for him, considering the cause, with the circumstance, especially since † they brought him into this trouble themselves; although it does not appear that they made him any promise for his charges and pains † taken, as Pointz reported of them they really did.

But, to pass over this, and to make the matter short: if the aforesaid merchants, such as were of the town of Antwerp, had, at the time, been surety for him, then the matter had been altered from a criminal to a civil case; but when Pointz had delivered to them his answer, they demanded of him, for his charges, money, or sureties. The charges were much, to reckon for the two officers' meat, and drink, and wages, beside his own charges; so that it was about five shillings every day. For all the while he was prisoner, he was not in a common prison, but in the keeping of two officers in one of their houses. So they demanded sureties to be brought within eight days for the charges, but then they denied him to take surety for his body, to make answer at liberty. Pointz, considering that they altered in their purposes, as well in other things as in that; and perceiving, by other things (as also it was told in secret), that it would have cost him his life if he had tarried, yet Pointz granted them to put in sureties, requiring of them to have a messenger to send; not because he reckoned to have any, but to make a delay, otherwise they would have sent him to a stronger prison. But Pointz delayed them, thinking, if he could, to make escape; yet he did make a good face, as though he reckoned to have been in no danger; which if he had not done, it was very unlikely he should have escaped with his life out of their hands. And at the eighth day the commissioners came



THE MARTYRDOM AND BURNING OF WILLIAM TYNDALE.

again to Pointz, and there received both their bags with the process, one from the procuror-general, and one from Pointz, delivering either of them an inventory of such pieces of writing as were delivered in the bags, and demanded sureties of Pointz, according to the order they took when they were last with him. Pointz alleged that he had divers times required those who had him in keeping to get him a messenger, as he also had done, but made no great haste to have any; for he reckoned it should be a sufficient delay, whereby he might have another day. And with much alleging the impossibility of his being able to get a messenger to send forth, at the last, they put him apart, and agreed to give him a day eight days after, and called him in again, and commanded the officer to get him a messenger, as they did. And so Pointz sent him with letters to the English merchants, who at that time were at Barrois. Howbeit, he reckoned to get away before the return again of the messenger, for he perceived his tarrying there should have been his death. And therefore, to put in a venture to get away, that so he might save himself (for, if he had been taken, it would have been but death, for he had been prisoner there in their hands at that time about twelve or thirteen weeks), he tarried not the coming again of the messenger, but, in a night, by some means he conveyed himself off, and so, by God's help, at the opening of the town gate in the morning, he got away. And when it was perceived that he was gone, there was horse sent out after him, but, because he well knew the country, he escaped and came into England. But what more trouble followeth to Pointz after the same, it serveth not for this place to rehearse. Master Tyndale, still remaining in prison, was proffered an advocate and a procuror; for in any crime there, it shall be permitted to counsel to make answer in the law; but he refused to have any, saying, he would make answer for himself, and did: but, it is to be thought, his answer will not be put forth. Notwithstanding, he had so preached to them there who had him in charge, and such as was there conversant with him in the castle, that they reported of him, that if he were not a good christian man, they knew not whom they might take to be one.*

The condemnation and martyrdom of Tyndale, A.D. 1536.

At last, after much reasoning, when no reason would serve, although he deserved no death, he was condemned by virtue of the emperor's decree, made in the assembly at Augsburgh (as is before signified), and, upon the same, brought forth to the place of execution, was there tied to the stake, and then strangled first by the hangman, and afterwards with fire consumed in the morning, at the town of Filford, A.D. 1536; crying thus at the stake with a fervent zeal, and a loud voice, "Lord! open the king of England's eyes."

His prayer.

Commendation of Tyndale, by them that were about him.

Such was the power of his doctrine, and the sincerity of his life, that during the time of his imprisonment (which endured a year and a half), it is said, he converted his keeper, the keeper's daughter, and others of his household. Also the rest that were with Tyndale conversant in the castle, reported of him that if he were not a good christian man, they could not tell whom to trust.

The procurator-general, the emperor's attorney, being there, left this testimony of him, that he was "Homo doctus, pius, et bonus," that is, "a learned, a good, and a godly man."

Henry VIII. A. D. 1536.

The same morning in which he was had to the fire, he delivered a letter to the keeper of the castle, which the keeper himself brought to the house of the aforesaid Pointz in Antwerp, shortly after; which letter, with his examinations and other his disputations, I would might have come to our hands; all which I understand did remain, and yet perhaps do, in the hands of the keeper's daughter. For so it is of him reported, that as he was in the castle prisoner, there was much writing, and great disputation to and fro, between him and them of the university of Louvain (which was not past nine or ten miles from the place where he was prisoner), in such sort, that they all had enough to do, and more than they could well wield, to answer the authorities and testimonies of the Scripture, whereupon he most pithily grounded his doctrine.

God's judgment upon Philips.

* That traitor, worse than Judas to man's judgment (only not comparing this to the case of Christ, and that the Scripture hath already judged Judas), was otherwise in the act—doing not so good; for Judas, after he had betrayed his Master and Friend, was sorry, acknowledged and confessed his fact openly, declared his Master to be the very Truth, and despising the money that he had received for doing the act, brought it again and cast it before them. This traitor Philips, contrariwise, not lamenting, but rejoicing in what he had done, not declaring the honest goodness and truth of his friend, but applying, in all that he could devise, to declare him to be false and seditious, and not despising the money that he had received, not bringing it again, but procuring and receiving more, wherewith to follow the suit against that innocent blood to the death; which case of things endured about one whole year and a half, in which he lost no time, but all that time followed Pointz with most diligent attendance to and fro, and from Louvain to Brussels, and to Filford, with process to have sentence against him. And having there no other thing to do, he applied himself to nothing else; which was not done with small expenses and charges, from whomsoever it came. And, as I have heard say there in that country, Master Tyndale found them in the university of Louvain with enough to do.

And yet, in all that while, if they had not taken to help them an ordinance of the emperor's making (which ordinance was made by the advice and counsel of the pope's soldiers, for the upholding of his kingdom, and also joined with his own laws), they knew not else how to have brought him to his death by their disputing with him in the Scriptures; for he was permitted to dispute, in answering to them, by writing. And that traitor Philips was not satisfied with that, but he knew that he should have money enough, as himself before had said to Pointz. But, as when Judas did run away with the bag when he went to betray Christ, with which he went his way, the other apostles thought he had gone to have bought things necessary (although he went to appoint with the Jews for the taking of his master, Christ), so, in like manner, this traitor Philips, the same morning that he brought his treachery to purpose, with bringing Master Tyndale into the hands of God's enemies, took money of him under a colour of borrowing, and put it into his bag, and then incontinent went his ways therewith, and came with his company of soldiers, who

(1) For the passage distinguished with asterisks, see Edition 1563, pages 519, 520.—Ed.

laid hands upon him as before, and led him away. And about one whole year and a half after, he was put to death at Filford, with fire;* and, albeit this Philips rejoiced awhile after he had done it, yet the saying so goeth, that he not long time after enjoyed the price of innocent blood, but was consumed at last with lice. *Henry VIII.* A. D. 1536. God's judgment upon Philips.

The worthy virtues and doings of this blessed martyr, who, for his painful travails and singular zeal to his country, may be called, in these our days, an apostle of England, it were long to recite. Among many others, this, because it seemeth to me worthy of remembrance, I thought not in silence to overpass, which hath unto me been credibly testified by certain grave merchants, and some of them also such as were present the same time at the fact, and men yet alive; the story whereof is this: There was at Antwerp on a time, amongst a company of merchants as they were at supper, a certain juggler, who, through his diabolical enchantments of art magical, would fetch all kinds of viands and wine from any place they would, and set them upon the table incontinent before them, with many other such like things. The fame of this juggler being much talked of, it chanced that as Master Tyndale heard of it, he desired certain of the merchants, that he might also be present at supper, to see him play his parts. To be brief, the supper was appointed, and the merchants, with Tyndale, were there present. Then the juggler, being required to play his feats, and to show his cunning, after his wonted boldness began to utter all that he could do, but all was in vain. At last, with his labour, sweating, and toiling, when he saw that nothing would go forward, but that all his enchantments were void, he was compelled openly to confess, that there was some man present at supper, who disturbed and letted all his doings. So that a man, even in the martyrs of these our days, cannot lack the miracles of true faith, if miracles were now to be desired. The power of God's saints against the devil.

As concerning the works and books of Tyndale, which extend to a great number, thou wast told before, loving reader! how the printer hereof[1] mindeth, by the Lord's leave, to collect them all in one volume together, and put them out in print. Wherefore it shall not greatly at this time be needful to make any several rehearsal of them. And as touching his translation of the New Testament, because his enemies did so much carp at it, pretending it to be so full of heresies; to answer therefore to their slanderous tongues and lying lips, thou shalt hear and understand what faithful dealing and sincere conscience he used in the same, by the testimony and allegation of his own words, written in his epistle to John Frith, as followeth, "I call God to record against the day we shall appear before our Lord Jesus, to give our reckoning of our doings, that I never altered one syllable of God's word against my conscience, nor would do this day, if all that is in earth, whether it be honour, pleasure, or riches, might be given me," &c. Tyndale's works looked for, to be all set out in one volume. The faithful dealing of Tyndale in translating the New Testament.

And as ye have heard Tyndale's own words, thus protesting for himself, now let us hear likewise the faithful testimony of John Frith, for Tyndale his dear companion and brother; thus declaring in his answer to Master More, as followeth:

(1) 'The printer hereof,' John Daye.—Ed.

Henry VIII. A. D. 1536.

The Testimony of John Frith, in his Book of the Sacrament, concerning William Tyndale.

And Tyndale I trust liveth, well content with such a poor apostle's life as God gave his Son Christ, and his faithful ministers in this world, who is not sure of so many mites, as ye be yearly of pounds, although I am sure that for his learning and judgment in Scripture, he were more worthy to be promoted than all the bishops in England. I received a letter from him, which was written since Christmas, wherein, among other matters, he writeth this: 'I call God to record against the day we shall appear before our Lord Jesus, to give a reckoning of our doings, that I never altered one syllable of God's word against my conscience, nor would do this day, if all that is in earth, whether it be honour, pleasure, or riches, might be given me. Moreover, I take God to witness to my conscience, that I desire of God to myself in this world, no more than that, without which I cannot keep his laws,' &c. Judge, christian reader, whether these words be not spoken of a faithful, clear, innocent heart. And as for his behaviour, it is such that I am sure no man can reprove him of any sin, howbeit no man is innocent before God, who beholdeth the heart.

The words of Tyndale to John Frith.

Thus much out of Frith. And thus, being about to conclude and finish with the life and story of William Tyndale, it shall be requisite now that the reader do hear something likewise of his supplications made to the king and nobles of the realm, as they are yet extant in his works to be seen, and worthy in all ages to be marked, the tenor whereof tendeth to this effect as followeth.

Tyndale's Supplication to the King, Nobles, and Subjects of England.[1]

I beseech the king's most noble grace, well to consider all the ways by which the cardinal, and our holy bishops, have led him since he was first king; and to see whereunto all the pride, pomp, and vain boast of the cardinal is come, and how God hath resisted him and our prelates in all their wiles. We, having nothing to do at all, have meddled yet with all matters, and have spent for our prelates' causes more than all Christendom, even unto the utter beggaring of ourselves; and have gotten nothing but rebuke and hate among all nations, and a mock and a scorn of them whom we have most holpen. For the Frenchmen (as the saying is) of late days made a play, or a disguising, at Paris, in which the emperor danced with the pope and the French king, and wearied them; the king of England sitting on a high bench, and looking on. And when it was asked why he danced not, it was answered, that he sat there but to pay the minstrels their wages: as one who should say, we paid for all men's dancing. We monied the emperor openly, and gave the French king double and treble secretly; and to the pope also. Yea, and though Ferdinand had money sent openly to blind the world withal, yet the saying is, through all Dutch-land, that we sent money to the king of Poland, &c.

His first petition.

The king of England pays for all.

Furthermore, I beseech his grace also to have mercy on his own soul, and not to suffer Christ and his holy Testament to be persecuted under his name any longer, that the sword of the wrath of God may be put up again, which, for that cause, no doubt, is most chiefly drawn.

Tyndale's second petition.

Thirdly, my petition is to his grace, to have compassion on his poor subjects, that the realm utterly perish not with the wicked counsel of our pestilent prelates. For if his grace, who is but a man, should die, the lords and commons not knowing who hath most right to enjoy the crown, the realm could not but stand in great danger.

His third.

My fourth suit and exhortation is to all the lords temporal of the realm, that they come and fall before the king's grace, and humbly desire his majesty to suffer it to be tried, who of right ought to succeed: and if he or she fail, who next, and who third. And let it be proclaimed openly; and let all the lords temporal be sworn thereto, and all the knights, and squires, and gentlemen, and

His fourth.

(1) Ex lib. Tynd., 'Praxi prælatorum.'

the commons above eighteen years old, that there be no strife for the succession. If they try it by the sword, I promise them, I see no other likelihood, but it will cost the realm of England, &c.[1] *Henry VIII.*

A. D. 1536.

Further, of all the subjects of England this I crave—that they repent; for the cause of evil rulers is the sin of the subjects, as testifieth the Scripture. And the cause of false preachers is, that the people have no love unto the truth, saith Paul, in 1 Thess. ii. We be all sinners a hundred times greater than all that we suffer. Let us, therefore, each forgive others, remembering the greater sinners the more welcome, if we repent; according to the similitude of the riotous son.[2] For Christ died for sinners, and is their Saviour, and his blood is their treasure, to pay for their sins. He is that fatted calf which is slain to make them good cheer withal, if they will repent and come to their Father again; and his merits are the goodly raiment to cover the naked deformities of their sins. His fifth petition.

Finally, if the persecution of the king's grace, and other temporal persons, conspiring with the spiritualty, be of ignorance, I doubt not but that their eyes shall be opened shortly, and they shall see and repent, and God shall show them mercy. But if it be of a set malice against the truth, and of a grounded hate against the law of God, by the reason of a full consent they have to sin, and to walk in their old ways of ignorance, whereunto, being now past all repentance, they have utterly yielded themselves, to follow with full lust, without bridle or snaffle (which is the sin against the Holy Ghost), then ye shall see, even shortly, that God shall turn the point of the sword wherewith they now shed Christ's blood, homeward, to shed their own again, after all the examples of the Bible.

These things thus discoursed, pertaining to the story and doings of Tyndale, finally it remaineth to infer certain of his private letters and epistles, whereof, among divers others which have not come to our hands, two special he wrote to John Frith, one properly, under his own name, another under the name of Jacob; but, in very deed, it was written and delivered to John Frith, being prisoner then in the Tower, as ye shall further understand by the sequel hereafter. The copy and tenor of the epistles here followeth.

A Letter sent from William Tyndale unto Master Frith, being in the Tower.

The grace and peace of God our Father, and of Jesus Christ our Lord, be with you, Amen. Dearly beloved brother John! I have heard say, how the hypocrites, now that they have overcome that great business which letted them, or at the least way have brought it to a stay, they return to their old nature again. The will of God be fulfilled, and that which he hath ordained to be, ere the world was made, that come, and his glory reign over all!

Dearly beloved! however the matter be, commit yourself wholly and only unto your most loving Father, and most kind Lord. Fear not men that threat, nor trust men that speak fair; but trust him that is true of promise, and able to make his word good. Your cause is Christ's gospel, a light that must be fed with the blood of faith. The lamp must be dressed and snuffed daily, and that oil poured in every evening and morning, that the light go not out. Though we be sinners, yet is the cause right. If when we be buffeted for well doing, we suffer patiently and endure, that is acceptable to God;[3] for to that end we are called. For Christ also suffered for us, leaving us an example, that we should follow his steps, who did no sin. Hereby have we perceived love, that he had laid down his life for us; therefore we ought also to lay down our lives for the brethren.[4] Rejoice and be glad, for great is your reward in heaven.[5] For we suffer with him, that we may also be glorified with him; who shall change our vile body, that it may be fashioned like unto his glorious body; according to the working whereby he is able even to subject all things unto him.[6]

Dearly beloved! be of good courage, and comfort your soul with the hope of this high reward, and bear the image of Christ in your mortal body, that it may,

(1) I pray God this be not a prophecy against England. (2) Luke xv. (3) 1 Pet. ii.
(4) 1 John ix. (5) Matt v. (6) Rom. viii. Phil. iii.

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at his coming, be made like to his, immortal; and follow the example of all your other dear brethren, who choose to suffer in hope of a better resurrection. Keep your conscience pure and undefiled, and say against that, nothing. Stick at necessary things, and remember the blasphemies of the enemies of Christ, saying, they find none but that will abjure, rather than suffer the extremity. Moreover, the death of them that come again after they have once denied, though it be accepted with God, and all that believe, yet it is not glorious: for the hypocrites say 'He must needs die; denying helpeth not. But, might it have holpen, they would have denied five hundred times; but seeing it would not help them, therefore, of pure pride and mere malice together, they spake with their mouths, what their conscience knoweth false.' If you give yourself, cast yourself, yield yourself, commit yourself, wholly and only to your loving Father; then shall his power be in you, and make you strong; and that so strong, that you shall feel no pain, which should be to another present death: and his Spirit shall speak in you, and teach you what to answer, according to his promise. He shall set out his truth by you wonderfully, and work for you above all that your heart can imagine:[1] yea and you are not yet dead, though the hopocrites all, with all that they can make, have sworn your death. 'Una salus victis nullam sperare salutem;' to look for no man's help, bringeth the help of God to them that seem to be overcome in the eyes of the hypocrites: yea, it shall make God to carry you through thick and thin for his truth's sake, in spite of all the enemies of his truth. There falleth not a hair, till his hour be come; and when his hour is come, necessity carrieth us hence, though we be not willing. But if we be willing, then have we a reward and thank.

Boldness of spirit. Death, after denying, evil spoken of by the adversaries. Obedience to God.

Perseverance to the end. Bilney.

Fear not the threatening therefore, neither be overcome of sweet words, with which twain the hypocrites shall assail you; neither let the persuasions of worldly wisdom bear rule in your heart; no, though they be your friends that counsel you. Let Bilney be a warning to you, let not their visor beguile your eyes. Let not your body faint. He that endureth to the end shall be saved.[2] If the pain be above your strength, remember, whatsoever ye shall ask in my name, I will give it you.' And pray to your Father in that name, and he shall ease your pain, or shorten it. The Lord of peace, of hope, and of faith, be with you, Amen.

William Tyndale.

Martyrs for the gospel.

Two have suffered in Antwerp, 'In die sanctæ crucis,' unto the great glory of the gospel; four at Risele in Flanders, and at Lucca hath there one at the least suffered; and all the same day. At Rouen in France they persecute, and at Paris are five doctors taken for the gospel. See, you are not alone; be cheerful, and remember that among the hard hearted in England, there is a number reserved by grace; for whose sakes, if need be, you must be ready to suffer. Sir, if you may write, how short soever it be, forget it not, that we may know how it goeth with you, for our heart's ease. The Lord be yet again with you with all his plenteousness, and fill you that you flow over, Amen.

If, when you have read this, you may send it to Adrian, do, I pray you, that he may know how that our heart is with you.

George Joy at Candlemas, being at Barrois, printed two leaves of Genesis in a great form, and sent one copy to the king, and another to the new queen, with a letter to N., to deliver them; and to purchase license, that he might so go through all the Bible. Out of this is sprung the noise of the new Bible; and out of that is the great seeking for English books at all printers and bookbinders in Antwerp, and for an English priest, that should print.

This chanced the ninth day of May.

Sir, your wife is well content with the will of God, and would not, for her sake, have the glory of God hindered.

William Tyndale.

Another notable and worthy Letter of Master William Tyndale, sent to the said John Frith, under the name of Jacob.

The grace of our Saviour Jesus, his patience, meekness, humbleness, circumspection, and wisdom, be with your heart, Amen.

(1) To look for no man's help, bringeth God's help. (2) Matt. xxii.

Dearly beloved brother Jacob, mine heart's desire in our Saviour Jesus, is, that you arm yourself with patience, and be cold, sober, wise, and circumspect, and that you keep you alow by the ground, avoiding high questions, that pass the common capacity. But expound the law truly, and open the veil of Moses to condemn all flesh; and prove all men sinners, and all deeds under the law, before mercy have taken away the condemnation thereof, to be sin and damnable; and then, as a faithful minister, set abroach the mercy of our Lord Jesus, and let the wounded consciences drink of the water of him. And then shall your preaching be with power, and not as the doctrine of the hypocrites; and the Spirit of God shall work with you, and all consciences shall bear record unto you, and feel that it is so. And all doctrine that casteth a mist on those two, to shadow and hide them (I mean the law of God, and mercy of Christ), that resist you with all your power. Sacraments without signification refuse. If they put significations to them, receive them, if you see it may help, though it be not necessary.[1]

Henry VIII. A. D. 1536

Deeds without faith, are sin.

The law of God, and the mercy of Christ.

Of the presence of Christ's body in the sacrament, meddle as little as you can, that there appear no division among us. Barnes will be hot against you. The Saxons be sore on the affirmative: whether constant or obstinate, I commit it to God. Philip Melancthon is said to be with the French king. There be in Antwerp that say, they saw him come into Paris with a hundred and fifty horses, and that they spake with him. If the Frenchmen receive the word of God, he will plant the affirmative in them.[2] George Joy would have put forth a treatise of the matter, but I have stopped him as yet: what he will do if he get money, I wot not. I believe he would make many reasons little serving to the purpose. My mind is that nothing be put forth till we hear how you shall have sped. I would have the right use preached, and the presence to be an indifferent thing, till the matter might be reasoned in peace, at leisure, of both parties. If you be required, show the phrases of the Scripture, and let them talk what they will: for as to believe that God is everywhere, hurteth no man that worshippeth him nowhere but within in the heart, in spirit and verity; even so, to believe that the body of Christ is everywhere (though it cannot be proved), hurteth no man that worshippeth him nowhere save in the faith of his gospel.[3] You perceive my mind: howbeit if God show you otherwise, it is free for you to do as he moveth you.

Ubiquity cannot be proved.

I guessed long ago, that God would send a dazing into the head of the spiritualty, to catch themselves in their own subtlety, and I trust it is come to pass. And now methinketh I smell a counsel to be taken, little for their profits in time to come. But you must understand, that it is not of a pure heart, and for love of the truth, but to avenge themselves, and to eat the whore's flesh, and to suck the marrow of her bones.[4] Wherefore cleave fast to the rock of the help of God, and commit the end of all things to him: and if God shall call you, that you may then use the wisdom of the worldly, as far as you perceive the glory of God may come thereof, refuse it not; and ever among thrust in, that the Scripture may be in the mother tongue, and learning set up in the universities. But if aught be required contrary to the glory of God, and his Christ, then stand fast, and commit yourself to God, and be not overcome of men's persuasions; which haply shall say, We see no other way to bring in the truth.

Worldly wisdom, so far as it may serve God's glory, may be used.

Brother Jacob, beloved in my heart! there liveth not in whom I have so good hope and trust, and in whom my heart rejoiceth, and my soul comforteth herself, as in you; not the thousandth part so much for your learning, and what other gifts else you have, as because you will creep alow by the ground, and walk in those things that the conscience may feel, and not in the imaginations of the brain; in fear, and not in boldness; in open necessary things, and not to pronounce or define of hid secrets, or things that neither help nor hinder, whether it be so or no; in unity, and not in seditious opinions: insomuch that if you be sure you know, yet in things that may abide leisure, you will defer, or say (till others agree with you), 'Methinks the text requireth this sense or understanding.' Yea, and if you be sure that your part be good, and another

Lowly walkings.

(1) Master Tyndale here beareth with time.
(2) By the affirmative, he meaneth the opinion which M. Luther and the Saxons do hold of the Sacrament.
(3) Master Tyndale again beareth with time.
(4) 'Eating the whore's flesh,' is to spoil the pope's church only for the prey and spoil thereof.

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hold the contrary, yet if it be a thing that maketh no matter, you will laugh and let it pass, and refer the thing to other men, and stick you stiffly and stubbornly in earnest and necessary things. And I trust you be persuaded even so of me: for I call God to record against the day we shall appear before our Lord Jesus, to give a reckoning of our doings, that I never altered one syllable of God's word against my conscience, nor would this day, if all that is in the earth, whether it be pleasure, honour, or riches, might be given me. Moreover, I take God to record to my conscience, that I desire of God, to myself in this world, no more than that, without which I cannot keep his laws.

Upright handling in the translation of Tyndale.

Finally, if there were in me any gift that could help at hand, and aid you if need required, I promise you I would not be far off, and commit the end to God. My soul is not faint, though my body be weary. But God hath made me evil favoured in this world, and without grace in the sight of men, speechless and rude, dull and slow witted: your part shall be to supply what lacketh in me; remembering that as lowliness of heart shall make you high with God, even so meekness of words shall make you sink into the hearts of men. Nature giveth age authority, but meekness is the glory of youth, and giveth them honour. Abundance of love maketh me exceed in babbling.

A low heart maketh a man high with God.

Sir, as concerning purgatory and many other things, if you be demanded, you may say, if you err, the spiritualty hath so led you, and that they have taught you to believe as you do. For they preached you all such things out of God's word, and alleged a thousand texts, by reason of which texts you believed as they taught you; but now you find them liars, and that the texts mean no such things, and therefore you can believe them no longer; but are as you were before they taught you, and believe no such thing: howbeit you are ready to believe, if they have any other way to prove it: for without proof you cannot believe them, when you have found them with so many lies, &c. If you perceive wherein we may help, either in being still, or doing somewhat, let us have word, and I will do mine uttermost.

My lord of London hath a servant called John Tisen, with a red beard, and a black-reddish head, and who was once my scholar: he was seen in Antwerp, but came not among the Englishmen. Whether he is gone an ambassador secret, I wot not.

The mighty God of Jacob be with you, to supplant his enemies, and give you the favour of Joseph: and the wisdom and the spirit of Stephen be with your heart, and with your mouth, and teach your lips what they shall say, and how to answer to all things. He is our God, if we despair in ourselves, and trust in him: and his is the glory. Amen.

I hope our redemption is nigh. William Tyndale.

This letter was written A.D. 1533, in the month of January: which letter, although it do pretend the name of Jacob, yet understand, good reader, that it was written in very deed to John Frith, as is above told thee. For the more proof and evidence hereof, read Frith's book of the sacrament, and there thou shalt find a certain place of this epistle repeated word for word, beginning thus; "I call God to record, against the day we shall appear before our Lord Jesus to give a reckoning of our doing, that I never altered one syllable of God's word against my conscience," &c.; which epistle John Frith himself witnesseth that he received from Tyndale, as in his testimony above appeareth.

THE DEATH OF THE LADY KATHARINE, PRINCESS DOWAGER, AND THAT OF QUEEN ANNE.

The same year in which William Tyndale was burned, which was A.D. 1536, in the beginning of the year, first died lady Katharine, princess dowager, in the month of January.

After whom, the same year also, in the month of May next

following, followeth the death also of queen Anne, who had now been married to the king the space of three years. In certain records thus we find, that the king, being in his jousts at Greenwich, suddenly with a few persons departed to Westminster, and, the next day after, queen Anne, his wife, was had to the Tower, with the lord Rochford her brother, and certain others, and, the nineteenth day after, was beheaded. The words of this worthy and christian lady at her death were these: *Henry VIII.* A. D. 1536.

The Words of Queen Anne at her Death.

Good christian people! I am come hither to die, for according to the law, and by the law, I am judged to death; and therefore I will speak nothing against it. I come hither to accuse no man, nor to speak any thing of that whereof I am accused and condemned to die; but I pray God save the king, and send him long to reign over you, for a gentler, or a more merciful prince was there never; and to me he was ever a good, a gentle, and a sovereign lord. And if any person will meddle of my cause, I require them to judge the best. And thus I take my leave of the world, and of you all, and I heartily desire you all to pray for me. O Lord have mercy on me! To God I commend my soul.

And so she kneeled down, saying, "To Christ I commend my soul:" "Jesu, receive my soul." Repeating the same divers times, till at length the stroke was given, and her head was stricken off. Queen Anne beheaded.

And this was the end of that godly lady and queen. Godly I call her, for sundry respects, whatsoever the cause was, or quarrel objected against her. First, her last words spoken at her death declared no less her sincere faith and trust in Christ, than did her quiet modesty utter forth the goodness of the cause and matter, whatsoever it was. Besides that to such as wisely can judge upon cases occurrent, this also may seem to give a great clearing unto her, that the king, the third day after, was married in his whites unto another. Certain this was, that for the rare and singular gifts of her mind, so well instructed, and given toward God, with such a fervent desire unto the truth and setting forth of sincere religion, joined with like gentleness, modesty, and pity toward all men, there have not many such queens before her borne the crown of England. Principally this one commendation she left behind her, that during her life, the religion of Christ most happily flourished, and had a right prosperous course. Commendations of her.

Many things might be written more of the manifold virtues, and the quiet moderation of her mild nature, how lowly she would bear, not only to be admonished, but also of her own accord would require her chaplains plainly and freely to tell whatsoever they saw in her amiss. Also, how bountiful she was to the poor, passing not only the common example of other queens, but also the revenues almost of her estate; insomuch that the alms which she gave in three quarters of a year, in distribution, is summed to the number of fourteen or fifteen thousand pounds; besides the great piece of money which her grace intended to impart into four sundry quarters of the realm, as for a stock there to be employed to the behoof of poor artificers and occupiers. Again, what a zealous defender she was of Christ's gospel all the world doth know, and her acts do and will declare to the world's end. Amongst which other her acts this is one, that she placed Master Hugh Latimer in the bishopric of Worcester, and also preferred Her mild nature in taking admonition. Her great alms.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1536. Dr. Shaxton to his bishopric, being then accounted a good man. Furthermore, what a true faith she bare unto the Lord, this one example may stand for many: for that when king Henry was with her at Woodstock, and there, being afraid of an old blind prophecy, for which neither he nor other kings before him durst hunt in the said park of Woodstock, nor enter into the town of Oxford, at last, through the christian and faithful counsel of that queen, he was so armed against all infidelity, that both he hunted in the aforesaid park, and also entered into the town of Oxford, and had no harm. But because, touching the memorable virtues of this worthy queen, partly we have said something before, partly because more also is promised to be declared of her virtuous life (the Lord so permitting) by others who then were about her, I will cease in this matter further to proceed.

Parliaments not always constant. This I cannot but marvel, why the parliament holden this year, that is, the twenty-eighth year of the king (which parliament three years before had established and confirmed this marriage as most lawful), should now so suddenly, and contrary to their own doings, repeal and disable the said marriage again as unlawful, being so lawfully before contracted.[1] But more I marvel, why the said parliament, after the illegitimation of the marriage enacted, not contented with that, should further proceed, and charge her with such carnal desires of her body as to misuse herself with her own natural brother, the lord Rochford, and others; being so contrary to all nature, that no natural man will believe it.

But in this act of parliament did lie, no doubt, some great mystery, which here I will not stand to discuss, but only that it may be suspected some secret practising of the papists here not to be lacking, considering what a mighty stop she was to their purposes and proceedings, and on the contrary side, what a strong bulwark she was for the maintenance of Christ's gospel, and sincere religion, which they then in no case could abide. By reason whereof it may be easily considered, that this christian and devout Deborah could lack no enemies amongst such a number of Philistines, both within the realm, and without.

Again, neither is it unlike, but that Stephen Winchester, being then abroad in embassy, was not altogether asleep; the suspicion whereof may be the more conjectural, for that Edmund Bonner, archdeacon of Leicester, and then ambassador in France, succeeding after Stephen Winchester, did manifestly detect him of plain papistry, as in the sequel of their stories, when we come to the time, more amply (the Lord granting) shall be expressed.

Lawfulness of queen Anne's succession. And as touching the king's mind and assent, although at that time, through crafty setters-on, he seemed to be sore bent both against that queen, and to the disheriting of his own daughter; yet unto that former will of the king so set against her then, I will oppose again the last will of the king, wherein, expressly and by name, he did accept, and by plain ratification did allow, the succession of his marriage to stand good and lawful.

Furthermore, to all other sinister judgments and opinions, whatsoever can be conceived of man against that virtuous queen, I object and oppose again (as instead of answer) the evident demonstration of

(1) Stat. an. 28 Hen. 8. cap. 7.

God's favour, in maintaining, preserving, and advancing the offspring of her body, the lady ELIZABETH, now queen, whom the Lord hath so marvellously conserved from so manifold dangers, so royally hath exalted, so happily hath blessed with such virtuous patience, and with such a quiet reign hitherto, that neither the reign of her brother Edward, nor of her sister Mary, to hers is to be compared; whether we consider the number of the years of their reigns, or the peaceableness of their state. In whose royal and flourishing regiment we have to behold, not so much the natural disposition of her mother's qualities, as the secret judgment of God in preserving and magnifying the fruit and offspring of that godly queen. *Henry VIII.* A.D. 1536. Defence of her, against privy backbiters.

And finally, as for the blasphemous mouth both of cardinal Pole, and of Paulus Jovius, that popish cardinal, who, measuring belike other women by his courtezans of Rome, so impudently abuseth his pen in lying and railing against this noble queen:[1] to answer again in defence of her cause to that Italian, I object and oppose the consent and judgment of so many noble protestants and princes of Germany, who, being in league before with king Henry, and minding no less but to have made him the head of their confederation, afterwards, hearing of the death of this queen, utterly brake from him, and refused him only for the same cause. The protestants of Germany forsake king Henry for the death of queen Anne.

But all this seemeth (as is said) to be the drift of the wily papists, who, seeing the pope to be repulsed out of England, by the means chiefly of this queen, and fearing always the succession of this marriage in time to come, thought by sinister practice to prevent that peril before, whispering in the king's ears what possibly they could, to make that matrimony unlawful; and all for the disheriting of that succession. The wily practices of the papists.

Again, Stephen Gardiner (who was a secret worker against that marriage, and a perpetual enemy against lady Elizabeth), being then abroad with the French king, and the great master of France, ceased not, in his letters, still to put the king in fear, that the foreign princes and powers of the world, with the pope, would never be reconciled to the king, neither should he be ever in any perfect security, unless he undid again such acts before passed, for the ratification of that succession: which thing when they had now brought to pass after their own desire (that both now the queen was beheaded, and Elizabeth the king's daughter disherited), they thought all things to be sure for ever. But yet God's providence still went beyond them, and deceived them; for incontinently after the suffering of queen Anne, the king, within three days after, married lady Jane Seymour, of whom came king Edward, as great an enemy to God's enemy the pope, as ever his father was, and greater too. God's providence still disappointeth the papists. The king marrieth lady Jane

In the mean time, as these troublous tumults were in doing in England, Paul III., bishop of Rome, for his part was not behind, to help forward for his own advantage; who, seeing his usurped kingdom and seat to be darkened in the countries of Germany, and also in England, thought it high time to bestir him; and therefore, to provide some remedy against further dangers, appointed a general council at Mantua in Italy, requiring all kings and princes either personally to The seat of the beast darkened.

(1) Paulus Jovius can find no immorality in all Rome, but must come and pick matter, where none is, in England.

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be there, or else to send their ambassadors under fair pretences, as to suppress heresies, and to restore the church, and to war against the Turk, &c. This bull was subscribed with the hands of twenty-six cardinals, and set up in divers great cities, that it might be known and published to the whole world; unto which bull first the protestants of Germany do answer, declaring sufficient causes why they refused to resort to that council, being indicted at Mantua, in the pope's own country.[1] Whose declaration, with their causes grave and effectual, being set forth in print, and in the English tongue, although they were worthy here to be inserted, yet for brevity, and more speed in our story, I will pretermit the same, and only take the oration or answer of our king here; wherein he likewise rendereth reasons and causes most reasonable, why he refuseth to come or to send, at the pope's call, to this council indicted at Mantua: whose oration or protestation, because it containeth matter of some weight and great experience, I thought good here to express as followeth:

A Protestation in the Name of the King, and the whole Council and Clergy of England, why they refuse to come to the Pope's Council, at his call.

Seeing that the bishop of Rome calleth learned men from all parts, conducting them by great rewards, making as many of them cardinals as he thinketh most meet, and most ready to defend frauds and untruths; we could not but with much anxiety cast with ourselves, what so great a preparance of wits should mean. As chance was, we guessed even as it followed. We have been so long acquainted with Romanish subtleties and popish deceits, that we well and easily judged the bishop of Rome to intend an assembly of his adherents, and men sworn to think all his lusts to be laws: we were not deceived. Paul, the bishop of Rome, hath called a council, to which he knew well either few or none of the christian princes could come. Both the time that he indicted it, and also the place where he appointed it to be, might assure him of this. But whither wander not these popish bulls? whither go they not astray? What king is not cited and summoned by a proud minister and servant of kings, to come to bolster up errors, frauds, deceits, and untruths, and to set forth this feigned general council? For who will not think that Paul, the bishop of Rome, goeth sooner about to make men believe that he pretendeth a general council, than that he desireth one indeed? No! who can less desire it, than they that do despair of their cause, except they be judges, and give sentence themselves against their adversaries? We, who very sore against our will at any time leave off the procurement of the realm and common weal, need neither to come ourselves, nor yet to send our procurators thither; no, nor yet to make our excuse for either of both. For who can accuse us, that we come not at his call, who hath no authority to call us?

The pope's craft espied.

The king not bound to come at the pope's call.

But for a season let us (as a sort of blindlings do) grant that he may call us, and that he hath authority so to do, yet, we pray you, may not all men see, what availeth it to come to this council, where ye shall have no place, except ye be known both willing to oppress truth, and also ready to confirm and stablish errors? Do not all men perceive, as well as we, with what integrity, fidelity, and religion, these men go about to discuss matters in controversy, that take them in hand in so troublesome a time as this is? Is it not plain what fruit the common weal of Christendom may look for there, whereas Mantua is chosen the place to keep this council at? Is there any prince not being of Italy, yea, is there of Italy any prince, or other dissenting from the pope, that dareth come to this assembly, and to this place? If there come none that dare speak for trodden truth, none that will venture his life, is it marvel if (the bishop of Rome being judge, no man repining, no man gainsaying) the defenders of the papacy obtain that popish authority, now quailing and almost fallen, be set up again?

Who be they that have place, in the pope's council.

The place not indifferent.

No reason that the pope should judge his own cause.

(1) Ex Johan. Sleid., lib. x.

Is this the way to help things afflicted? to redress troubled religion? to lift up oppressed truth? Shall men this way know, whether the Roman bishops (who, in very deed, are, if ye look upon either their doctrine or life, far under other bishops) ought to be made like their fellows, that is, to be pastors in their own diocese, and so to use no further power; or else, whether they may make laws, not only unto other bishops, but also to kings and emperors? O boldness! meet to be beaten down with force, and not to be convinced with arguments! Can either Paul that now lordeth, or any of his, earnestly go about (if they alone, or at least without any adversary, be thus in a corner assembled together) to heal the sicknesses, to take away the errors, to pluck down the abuses that now are crept into the church, and there be bolstered up by such councils as now is like to be at Mantua?

The bishop of Rome, in learning and life, far under other bishops.

It is very like that these, who prowl for nothing but profit, will right gladly pull down all such things as their forefathers made, only for the increase of money. Whereas their forefathers, when their honour, power, and primacy, were called into question, would either in despite of God's law maintain their dignity, or, to say better, their intolerable pride, is it like that these will not tread in their steps, and make naughty new canons, whereby they may defend old evil decrees? Howbeit, what need we to care either what they have done, or what they intend to do hereafter, forasmuch as England hath taken her leave of popish crafts for ever, never to be deluded with them hereafter? Roman bishops have nothing to do with English people. The one doth not traffic with the other; at least, though they will have to do with us, yet we will none of their merchandise, none of their stuff. We will receive them of our council no more. We have sought our hurt, and bought our loss a great while too long. Surely their decrees, either touching things set up or put down, shall have none other place with us than all bishops' decrees have; that is, if we like them, we admit them; if we do not, we refuse them. But lest, peradventure, men shall think us to follow our senses too much, and that we, moved by small or no just causes, forsake the authority, censures, decrees, and popish councils, we thought it best here to show our mind to the whole world.

Paul the pope prowleth for profit.

England taketh her leave of the pope for ever.

Refuseth the pope's merchandise.

Wherefore we protest, before God and all men, that we embrace, profess, and will ever so do, the right and holy doctrine of Christ. All the articles of his faith, no jot omitted, be all so dear unto us, that we would much sooner stand in jeopardy of our realm, than to see any point of Christ's religion in jeopardy with us. We protest that we never went from the unity of this faith, neither that we will depart an inch from it. No, we will much sooner lose our lives, than any article of our belief shall decay in England. We, who in all this cause seek nothing but the glory of God, the profit and quietness of the world, protest that we can suffer deceivers no longer. We never refused to come to a general council; no, we promise all our labour, study, and fidelity, to the setting up of trodden truth, and troubled religion, in their place again, and to do all that shall lie in us, to finish such controversies as have a great while too long vexed Christendom. Only we will all christian men to be admonished, that we can suffer no longer that they be esteemed willing to take away errors, who indeed, by all the ways their wits will serve them, go about this alone, that no man, under pain of death, may speak against any error or abuse.

Goeth not from the unity of faith, although it goeth from the pope.

The faith of England, catholic.

We would have a council; we desire it, yea, and crave nothing so oft of God, as that we may have one. But yet we will that it be such as christian men ought to have; that is, frank and free, where every man without fear may say his mind. We desire that it be a holy council, where every man may go about to set up godliness, and not apply all their study to the oppressing of truth. We will it be general, that is to say, kept at such time, and in such place, that every man who seeketh the glory of God may be present, and there frankly utter his mind: for then it shall seem general, either when no man that dissenteth from the bishop of Rome is compelled to be from it; or when they that be present are not letted by any just terror, to say boldly what they truly think: for who would not gladly come to such a council, except it be the pope, his cardinals, and popish bishops? On the other side, who is so foolish, where the chief point that is to be handled in this council is the pope's own cause, power, and primacy, to grant that the pope should reign, should be judge, should be president of this council? If he, who indeed can never think

What a true general council ought to be.

The conditions.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1536.

himself able to defend his cause before any other judge, be evermore made his own judge, and so controversies not decided, but errors set up, what can be devised in the commonwealth of Christendom more hurtful to the truth, than general councils?

The pope would judge his own cause.

Hath no power to summons councils.

And here to touch somewhat their impudent arrogancy: By what law, power, or honest title take they upon them to call kings, to summon princes to appear, where their bulls command them? In time past all councils were appointed by the authority, consent and commandment of the emperor, kings, and princes: why now taketh the bishop of Rome this upon him? Some will say, 'It is more likely that bishops will more tender the cause of religion, gladlier have errors taken away, than emperors, kings, or princes.' The world hath good experience of them, and every man seeth how faithfully they have handled religious matters. Is there any man that doth not see how virtuously Paul now goeth about by this occasion to set up his tyranny again? Is it not like that he that chooseth such a time as this is, to keep a council, much intendeth the redress of things that now are amiss? that he seeketh the restoring of religion, who now calleth to a council, the emperor and the French king, two princes of great power, so bent to wars, that neither they, nor any other christian prince can, in a manner, do any thing but look for the end of this long war? Go to, go to, bishop of Rome! Occasion long wished for offereth herself unto you: take her! she openeth a window for your frauds to creep in at. Call your cardinals, your own creatures, show them that this is a jolly time to deceive princes in.

How the pope can watch his time.

O fools! O wicked men! May we not justly so call you? Are ye not fools, who, being long suspected, not only by princes, but by all christian people, in a manner, that in no case you could be brought to a general council, plainly show the whole world, that by these your conciliables, your hutter-mutter in corners, you take away all hope of a lawful, catholic, and general council? Are you not wicked, who so hate truth, that except she be utterly banished, ye will never cease to vex her?[1] The living God is alive, neither can Truth, his darling, he being alive, be called to so great shame, contumely, and injury; or, if it may be called to all these, yet can it come to none of them. Who is he that grievously lamenteth not men to be of such shameful boldness, to show apertly that they be enemies unto Christ himself? on the other side, who will not be glad to see such men as foolish as they be wicked? The world is not now in a light suspicion, as it hath been hitherto, that you will no reformation of errors; but every man seeth before his eyes your deceits, your wicked minds, your immortal hatred that ye bear against the truth. Every sman eeth how many miserable tragedies your pretence of a unity and concord hath brought into Christendom. They see your fair face of peace hath served sedition, and troubled almost all christian realms. They see ye never oppugn religion more than when ye will seem most to defend it. They be sorry to see that great wits a long season have spent their whole strength in defence of deceits: Reason, to put his whole power to the promoting of pride and ungodliness; Virtue to serve Vice; Holiness to be slave to Hypocrisy; Prudence to Subtlety; Justice to Tyranny. They be glad that Scripture now fighteth for itself, and not against itself. They be glad that God is not compelled to be against God; Christ against Christ. They be glad that subtlety hath done no more hurt to religion in time past, than now constancy doth good to truth. They see the marks that ye have shot at, in all your councils past, to be lucre, money, gains. They see you sought your profit, yea, though it were joined with the slaughter of truth. They see, ye would ever that sooner injury should be done to the gospel, than that your authority, that is to say, arrogant impudency, should in any point be diminished.

An enemy to Christ.

Hateth the truth.

A troubler of christian realms.

He marks whereat he shooteth.

His craft in stealing a general council.

And, we pray you, what may Paul the bishop of Rome seem now to go about, who, seeing all princes occupied in great affairs, would steal (as he calleth it) a general council? what other thing, than hereby to have some excuse to refuse a general council hereafter, when time and place much better for the handling of matters of religion shall be given unto the princes of Christendom? He will think he may then do as princes now do. He will think it lawful not to come then, because princes now come not. We pray God that we ever brawl not one with another for religion; and whereas dissension is amongst us, we yet for

(1) Truth may be pressed; it cannot be oppressed.

our parts do say, that we, as much as men may, defend the better part, and be in the right way. We pray God that the world may enjoy peace and tranquillity, and that then we may have both time and place to settle religion: for except princes first agree, and so (war laid aside) seek peace, he loseth his labour that seeketh a general council. If the bishop of Rome may keep his council while they thus be together, will not there be made many pretty decrees? If they, who would come if they had leisure, be absent, and we, who though we safely might come, will not lose any part of our right; trow you, in all our absence, that the bishop of Rome will not handle his profit and primacy well?

Time and place prettily picked of the pope.

Paul! how can any of ours not refuse to come to Mantua, through so many perils, a city so far set from England, so nigh your friends, kinsmen, and adherents? Is he not unworthy of life, who, when he may tarry at home, will pass through so many jeopardies of life? Can he who cometh to Cremona, a city not far from Mantua, be safe if he be taken not to be the bishop of Rome's friend, that is (as the common sort of deceived people do interpret) a heretic? And if there come to Mantua such a number as would furnish a general council, may not Mantua seem too little to receive so many guests? Put these two together: all the way from England to Mantua is full of just perils, and yet if ye escape all those, the very place where the council is kept is more to be suspected than all the way. Do ye not know all civil laws to compel no man to come to any place, where he shall be in jeopardy of his life all the way? We have no safe-conduct to pass and return by the dominions of other princes. And if we had a safe-conduct, yet should not we be charged with rashness, that where just terror might have dissuaded us from such a journey, we committed ourselves to such perils? Surely he, who, the time being as it is, things standing as they do, will go from England to Mantua,[1] may be careless, if he lack wit: sure of his arrival, or return from thence, he cannot be; for who doth not know how oft the bishops of Rome have played false parts with them that in such matters have trusted to their safe-conducts? How oft have they caused, by their perfidy, such men to be slain, as they have promised by their faith before, that they should both come safe, and go safe? These be no news, that popes are false, that popes keep no promise either with God or man; that popes, contrary to their oaths, do defile their cruel hands with honest men's blood. But we tarry too long in things that as well touch all men as us.

What a heretic is among the papists.

Falsehood of popes no new thing.

We will, these now laid apart, turn our oration unto such things, as privately touch both us, king Henry VIII., and all Englishmen. Is it unknown to any man, what mind Paul the bishop of Rome beareth to us king Henry VIII., to us his nobility, to us his grace's bishops, and to us all his grace's subjects, for the pulling down of his usurped power and proud primacy? for expelling of his usurped jurisdiction, and for delivering of our realm from his grievous bondage and pollage? Who seeth not him even inflamed with hatred against us, and the flames to be much greater than he can now keep them in? He is an open enemy, he dissembleth no longer, provoking all men, by all the means that he can, to endamage us and our country. These three years he hath been occupied in no one thing so much, as how he might stir up the commons of England, now corrupting some with money, some with dignities. We let pass what letters he hath written to christian princes: with how great fervent study he hath exhorted them to set upon us. The good vicar of Christ, by his doing, showeth how he understandeth the words of Christ. He thinketh he playeth Christ's part well, when he may say, as Christ did,[2] 'I come not to make peace in earth, but to send swords about;' and not such swords as Christ would his to be armed withal, but such as cruel man-quellers abuse in the slaughter of their neighbours We marvel little though they vex other princes oft, seeing they recompense our favour showed to them with contumelies, our benefits with injuries.

His hatred against England.

The pope bringeth not peace, but the sword to the earth: otherwise than Christ did.

We will not rehearse here how many our benefits bestowed upon Roman bishops be lost. God be with such ingrate carles, unworthy to be numbered amongst men: certes such, that a man may well doubt whether God or man hath better cause to hate them. But that we have learned to owe good will even to them that immortally hate us, what could we wish them so evil, but

Benefits cast away upon the pope.

(1) The way to Mantua is long and dangerous.
(2) 'Non veni pacem mittere in terram, sed gladium.'

Henry VIII. A. D. 1536.

they have deserved much worse? We wish them this hurt alone, that God send them a better mind. God be thanked, we have made all their seditious intents sooner to show their great malice towards us, than to do us much hurt; yea, they have well taught us, evermore to take good heed to our enemies. Undoubtedly it were good going to Mantua, and to leave their whelps amongst the lambs of our flock. When we be weary of our wealth, we will even do then, as they would have us now do. No, no! as long as we shall see his heart so good towards us, we trust upon his warning we shall well provide to withstand his cruel malice. No, let him now spend his deceits, when they can hurt none but such as would deceive, and are deceived.

The pope's curses not feared in England.

They have, by sundry ways, made us privy, how much we be bound to them. It went nigh their hearts, to see the judgment of Julius, of Clement VII., of Paul III., nothing to be regarded with us. They be afraid, if we should sustain no hurt because we justly rejected their primacy, that other princes would begin to do likewise, and to shake off their shoulders the heavy burdens that they so long have borne against Scriptures, all right and reason. They be sorry to see the way stopped, that now their tyranny, avarice, and pride, can have no passage unto England, which was wont to walk, to triumph, to toss, to trouble all men. They can scarce suffer privileges, that is to say, license to spoil our citizens, given them by our forefathers, and brought in by errorful custom, to be taken from them. They think it unlawful that we require things lawful of them that will be under no laws. They think we do them wrong,

His trumpery dispatched out of England.

because we will not suffer them to do us wrong any longer. They see their merchandise to be banished, to be forbidden. They see that we will buy no longer chalk for cheese. They see they have lost a fair fleece, vengeably sorry that they can dispatch no more pardons, dispensations, totquots, with the rest of their baggage and trumpery. England is no more a babe. There is no man

Gold given for lead.

here, but now he knoweth that they do foolishly, who give gold for lead, more weight of that, than they receive of this. They pass not, though Peter and Paul's faces be graven in the lead, to make fools fain. No, we be sorry that they should abuse holy saints' visages, to the beguiling of the world.

Surely, except God take away our right wits, not only his authority shall be driven out for ever,[1] but his name also shortly shall be forgotten in England. We will from henceforth ask counsel from him and his, when we lust to be deceived, when we covet to be in error: when we desire to offend God, truth,

The pope's foundation is all deceit.

and honesty. If a man may guess the whole work by the foundation, where deceits begin the work, can any other than deceits be builded upon this foundation? What can you look for in this Mantuan council, other than the oppression of truth and true religion? If there be any thing well done, think, as

He doth a few things well, that many evils may the better be taken at their hands.

every man doth, bishops of Rome to be accustomed to do a few things well, that many evils may the better be taken at their hands. They, when they lust, can yield some part of their right. They are content that some of their decrees, some of their errors and abuses, be reprehended: but they are never more to

The better proceed.

be feared, than when they show themselves most gentle; for if they grant a few, they ask many, if they leave a little, they will be sure of a great deal. Scarce a man may know how to handle himself, that he take no hurt at their hands, yea, when they bless him; who seldom do good, but for an intent to do

He ought to be called, and not to call.

evil. Certainly, come whoso will to these shops of deceits, to these fairs of frauds, we will lose no part of our right in coming at his call, who ought to be called, and not to call. We will neither come at Mantua, nor send thither for this matter, &c.

The pope again prorogues his council.

And so the king, proceeding in the said his protestation, declareth moreover, how the pope, after he had summoned his council first to be kept at Mantua, the 23d day of May, A.D. 1537, shortly after directed out another bull, to prorogate the same council to the month of November; pretending, for his excuse, that the duke of Mantua would not suffer him to keep any council there, unless he maintained a number of warriors for defence of the town. And therefore, in his latter bull, he prorogueth this assembly, commanding patriarchs,

(1) God grant!

archbishops, bishops, abbots, and others of the spiritualty, by virtue of obedience, and under pain of cursing, to be present; but showeth no place at all where he would be, nor whither they should come. And in very deed no great matter though no place were named; for as good a council nowhere to be called, as where it could not be; and as well no place served him that intended no council, as all places. And to say truth, much better no place to be named, than to name such as he purposed not to come to; for so should he break no promise, who maketh none. And so, going forward in his oration, toward the latter end the king thus inferreth by his words of protestation, saying: *Henry VIII.* A. D. 1537.

Princes, as they gave the pope primacy, so they take it from him again.

Now, we will the pope and his adherents to understand that which we have oft said, and now say, and ever will say: 'He nor his hath no authority nor jurisdiction in England.' We give him no more than he hath: that is never a deal. That which he hath usurped against God's law, and extorted by violence, we, by good right, take from him again. But he and his will say, we gave them a primacy. We hear them well: we give it you indeed. If you have authority upon us as long as our consent giveth it you (and you evermore will make your plea upon our consent), then let it have even an end where it began: we consent no longer, your authority must needs be gone. If we, being deceived by false pretence of evil-alleged Scriptures, gave to you that ye ought to have refused, why may we not, our error now perceived, your deceit espied, take it again? We princes wrote ourselves to be inferiors to popes. As long as we thought so, we obeyed them as our superiors. Now we write not as we did, and therefore they have no great cause to marvel, if we hereafter do not as we did; both the laws civil, and also the laws of God, be on our side. For a free man born doth not lose his liberty, no nor hurt the plea of his liberty, though he write himself a bondman.

Custom.

Again, If they lean to custom, we send them to St. Cyprian, who saith, that custom, if truth be not joined with it, is nothing but 'erroris vetustas,' that is, 'an old error.' Christ said, 'Ego sum via, veritas, et vita:' 'I am the way, the truth, and life:' he never said, 'Ego sum consuetudo,' 'I am the custom.' Wherefore, seeing custom serveth you on the one side, and Scripture us on the other, are ye able to match us? In how many places doth Christ admonish you to seek no primacy, to prefer yourselves before nobody; no, to be obedient unto all creatures! Your old title, 'servus servorum,' evil agreeth with your new forged dignity. But we will not tarry in matters so plain: we only desire God, that Cæsar and other christian princes, would agree upon some holy council, where truth may be tried, and religion set up, which hath been hurt by nothing so sore, as by general—not general—councils: errors and abuses grow too fast. 'Erudimini qui judicatis terram;' 'Get you learning, you that judge the earth,' and excogitate some remedy for these so many diseases of the sick church. They that be wisest, do despair of a general council: wherefore we think it now best, that every prince call a council provincial, and every prince do redress his own realm. We make all men privy to what we think best to be done for the redress of religion. If they like it, we doubt not but they will follow it, or some other better. Our trust is, that all princes will so handle themselves in this behalf, that princes may enjoy their own, and priests of Rome content themselves with what they ought to have. Princes, as we trust, will no longer nourish wolves' whelps; they will subscribe no more to popish pride, to the papacy, &c.

The pope's title and his dignity agree not together.

Let every prince reform his realm, and tarry not for councils.

Favour our doings, O christian princes! Your honour and ancient majesty is restored. Remember there is nothing pertaining so much to a prince's honour as to set forth truth, and to help religion. Take you heed that their deceit work not more mischief than your virtue can do good, and everlasting war we would all princes had with this papacy. As for their decrees, so hearken to them, that if in this Mantuan assembly things be well done, ye take them; but not as authorized by them, but that truth, and things that maintain religion, are to be taken at all men's hands. And even as we will admit things well made, so, if there be any thing determined in prejudice of truth, for the maintenance

Henry VIII. A. D. 1537.

of their evil grounded primacy, or that may hurt the authority of kings, we protest unto the whole world that we neither allow it, nor will at any time allow it.

Ye have, christian readers! our mind concerning the general council. We think you all see, that Paul, and his cardinals, bishops, abbots, monks, friars, with the rest of the rabblement, do nothing less intend, than the knowledge and search of truth. Ye see this is no time meet, Mantua no place meet, for a general council. And though they were both meet, yet except some other call this council, you see that we need neither to come, nor to send. You have heard how every prince in his own realm may quiet things amiss. If there be any of you that can show us a better way, we promise, with all hearty desire, to do that which shall be thought best for the settling of religion, and that we will leave our own advices, if any man show us better; which mind of ours we most heartily pray God that gave it us, not only to increase in us, but also to send it unto all christian princes, all christian prelates, and all christian people.

A little before the death of queen Anne, there was a parliament at Westminster, wherein were given to the king, by consent of the abbots, all such houses of religion as were under three hundred marks; which was a shrewd prognosticate of the ruin of greater houses, which indeed followed shortly after, as was and might easily be perceived before by many, who then said, that the low bushes and brambles were cut down before, but great oaks would follow after.

The papists' purpose disappointed.

Although the proceeding of these things did not well like the minds of the pope's friends in England, yet, notwithstanding, they began again to take some breath of comfort, when they saw the aforesaid queen Anne dispatched. Nevertheless they were frustrated of their purpose (as is afore showed) and that double wise. For first,

Queen Jane married to the king.

after they had their wills of queen Anne, the Lord raised up another queen, not greatly for their purpose, with her son king Edward; and

Lord Cromwell groweth in authority.

also for that the lord Cromwell, the same time, began to grow in authority, who, like a mighty pillar set up in the church of Christ, was enough, alone, to confound and overthrow all the malignant devices of the adversaries, so long as God gave him in life here to continue; whose story hereafter followeth more at large.

Alteration of religion a little beginneth.

Shortly after this aforesaid marriage of the king with this queen Jane Seymour above mentioned, in the month of June, during the continuation of the parliament, by the consent of the clergy holding then a solemn convocation in the church of St. Paul, a book was set forth containing certain articles of religion necessary to be taught to the people; wherein they treated specially but of three sacraments, baptism, penance, and the Lord's Supper; where also divers other things were published concerning the alteration of certain points of religion, as that certain holidays were forbidden, and many abbeys began to be suppressed. For this cause the rude multitude of Lincolnshire, fearing the utter subversion of their old religion, wherein they had been so long nursled, did rise up in a great commotion, to the number well near of twenty thousand, having for their captain a

Commotion in Lincolnshire.

A monk stirrer of the commotion.

monk, called doctor Makerel, calling himself then captain Cobler; but these rebels, being repressed by the king's power, and desiring pardon, soon brake up their assembly. For they, hearing of the royal army of the king coming against them, with his own person there present, and fearing what would follow of this, first the noblemen and gentlemen, who before favoured them, began to withdraw themselves, so that they were destitute of captains; and at last they, in

writing, made certain petitions to the king, protesting that they never intended hurt towards his royal person. These petitions the king received, and made this answer again to them as followeth. *Henry VIII.* A. D. 1537.

The King's Answer to the Rebels in Lincolnshire.

First, we begin to make answer to the fourth and sixth articles, because upon them dependeth much of the rest. Concerning choosing of councillors, I never have read, heard, or known, that princes, councillors, and prelates, should be appointed by rude and ignorant common people, nor that they were persons meet, or of ability, to discern and choose meet and sufficient councillors for a prince. How presumptuous then are ye, the rude commons of one shire, and that one the most base of the whole realm, and of the least experience, to find fault with your prince, for the electing of his councillors and prelates, and to take upon you, contrary to God's law and man's laws, to rule your princes, whom you are bound, by all law, to obey and serve with both your lives, lands, and goods, and for no worldly cause to withstand.

Suppression of religious houses.

As for the suppression of religious houses and monasteries, we will that ye and all our subjects should well know, that this is granted us by all the nobles spiritual and temporal of this realm, and by all the commons in the same, by act of parliament; and not set forth by any councillor or councillors upon their mere will and fantasy, as you full falsely would persuade our realm to believe.

And where ye allege that the service of God is much diminished, the truth thereof is contrary; for there be no houses suppressed where God was well served, but where most vice, mischief, and abomination of living was used; and that doth well appear by their own confessions, subscribed with their own hands, in the time of their visitations, and yet we suffered a great many of them (more than we needed by the act) to stand; wherein if they amend not their living,[1] we fear we have more to answer for, than for the suppression of all the rest. And as for the hospitality for the relief of the poor, we wonder ye be not ashamed to affirm that they have been a great relief of poor people, when a great many, or the most part, have not past four or five religious persons in them, and divers but one, which spent the substance of the goods of their houses in nourishing of vice, and abominable living. Now what unkindness and unnaturality may we impute to you, and all our subjects that be of that mind, which had lever such an unthrift sort of vicious persons should enjoy such possessions, profits, and emoluments, as grow of the said houses, to the maintenance of their unthrifty life, than we, your natural prince, sovereign lord, and king, who do and have spent more of our own in your defences, than six times they be worth?

The act of uses.

As touching the Act of Uses, we marvel what madness is in your brain, or upon what ground ye would take authority upon you, to cause us to break those laws and statutes, which, by all the noble knights and gentlemen of this realm (whom the same chiefly toucheth), have been granted and assented to, seeing in no manner of things it toucheth you, the base commons of our realm.

Also, the grounds of all those uses were false, and never admitted by law, but usurped upon the prince, contrary to all equity and justice, as it hath been openly both disputed and declared by all the well learned men in the realm of England, in Westminster-hall: whereby ye may well perceive how mad and unreasonable your demands be, both in that, and in the rest; and how unmeet it is for us, and dishonourable, to grant or assent unto, and less meet and decent for you, in such a rebellious sort, to demand the same of your prince.

The act of fifteenth.

As touching the Fifteenth which you demand of us to be released, think ye that we be so faint-hearted, that perforce ye of one shire (were ye a great many more) could compel us, with your insurrections, and such rebellious demeanour, to remit the same? or think you that any man will or may take you to be true subjects, that first make and show a loving grant, and then perforce would compel your sovereign lord and king to release the same, the time of payment whereof is not yet come? Yea, and seeing the same will not countervail the tenth

(1) In these visitations of religious houses, horrible it is to read, what wickedness and abomination were there found and registered by the visitors.

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penny of the charges which we have, and daily do sustain, for your tuition and safeguard, make you sure that by your occasions of these ingratitudes, unnaturalness, and unkindness to us now administered, ye give us cause (who have always been as much dedicated to your wealth, as ever was king) not so much to set our study for the setting forward of the same, seeing how unkindly and untruly ye deal now with us, without any cause or occasion: and doubt ye not, though you have no grace nor naturalness in you to consider your duty of allegiance to your king and sovereign lord, the rest of our realm, we doubt not, hath; and we and they shall so look on this cause, that we trust it shall be to your confusion, if, according to your former letters, you submit not yourselves.

The act of first fruits.

As touching the first fruits, we let you to wit, it is a thing granted us by act of parliament also, for the supportation of part of the great and excessive charges, which we support and bear for the maintenance of your wealths and other our subjects: and we have known also that ye our commons have much complained also in times past, that the most part of our goods, lands, and possessions of the realm, were in the spiritual men's hands; and yet, bearing us in hand that ye be as loving subjects to us as may be, ye cannot find in your hearts that your prince and sovereign lord should have any part thereof (and yet it is nothing prejudicial unto you our commons), but do rebel and unlawfully rise against your prince, contrary to the duty of allegiance and God's commandment. Sirs! remember your follies and traitorous demeanours, and shame not your native country of England, nor offend any more so grievously your doubted king and natural prince, who always hath showed himself most loving unto you; and remember your duty of allegiance, and that ye are bound to obey us your king, both by God's commandment and the law of nature.

Wherefore we charge you eftsoons, upon the aforesaid bonds and pains, that you withdraw yourselves to your own houses every man, and no more to assemble contrary to our laws and your allegiances, and to cause the provokers of you to this mischief, to be delivered to our lieutenant's hands or ours, and you yourselves to submit you to such condign punishment as we and our nobles shall think you worthy of: for doubt you not else, that we and our nobles neither can nor will suffer this injury at your hands unrevenged, if ye give not to us place of sovereignty, and show yourselves as bounden and obedient subjects, and no more intermeddle yourselves from henceforth with the weighty affairs of the realm, the direction whereof only appertaineth to us your king, and such noblemen and councillors as we list to elect and choose to have the ordering of the same.

And thus we pray unto Almighty God, to give you grace to do your duties, to use yourselves towards us like true and faithful subjects, so as we may have cause to order you thereafter; and rather obediently to consent amongst you to deliver into the hands of our lieutenant a hundred persons, to be ordered according to their demerits, at our will and pleasure, than, by your obstinacy and wilfulness, to put yourselves, your wives, children, lands, goods and chattels, besides the indignation of God, in the utter adventure of total destruction, and utter ruin, by force and violence of the sword.

Commotion of Lincolnshire assuaged.

After the Lincolnshire men had received this the king's answer aforesaid, made to their petitions, each mistrusting the other, who should be noted to be the greatest meddler, even very suddenly they began to shrink, and out of hand they were all divided, and every man at home in his own house in peace: but the captains of these rebels escaped not all clear, but were afterwards apprehended, and had as they deserved.[1]

Popish insurrection in Yorkshire.

After this, immediately, within six days upon the same, followed a new insurrection in Yorkshire for the same causes, through the instigation and lying tales of seditious persons, especially monks and priests; making them believe, that their silver chalices, crosses, jewels, and other ornaments, should be taken out of their churches; and that no man should be married, or eat any good meat in his house,

(1) Ex Ed. Hal.

but should give tribute there-for to the king: but their especial malice was against Cromwell and certain other counsellors. *Henry VIII.*

The number of these rebels was nearly forty thousand, having for their badges the five wounds, with the sign of the sacrament, and 'Jesus' written in the midst. A.D. 1537.

A holy pilgrimage.

This their devilish rebellion they termed by the name of a 'Holy Pilgrimage;' but they served a wrong and a naughty saint. They had also in the field their streamers and banners, whereupon was painted Christ hanging upon the cross on the one side, and a chalice, with a painted cake in it, on the other side, with other such ensigns of like hypocrisy and feigned sanctity, pretending thereby to fight for the faith and the right of holy church.

The king's power against the rebels in the north.

As soon as the king was certified of this new seditious insurrection, he sent with all speed against them, the duke of Norfolk, the duke of Suffolk, the marquis of Exeter, the earl of Shrewsbury, and others, with a great army, forthwith to encounter with the rebels.

These noble captains and councillors, thus well furnished with habiliment of war, approaching towards the rebels, and understanding both their number, and how they were full bent to battle, first with policy went about to essay and practise how to appease all without bloodshedding; but the northern men, stoutly and sturdily standing to their wicked cause and wretched enterprise, would in no case relent from their attempts: which when the nobles perceived, and saw no other way to pacify their furious minds, utterly set on mischief, they determined upon a battle. The place was appointed, the day assigned, and the hour set; but see the wondrous work of God's gracious providence! The night before the day of battle came (as testifieth Edward Hall), fell a small rain, nothing to speak of, but yet, as it were by a great miracle of God, the water which was but a very small ford, and that men in a manner, the day before, might have gone dry-shod over, suddenly rose of such a height, deepness, and breadth, that the like no man that there did inhabit, could tell they ever saw before; so that that day, even when the hour of battle should come, it was impossible for the one army to come at the other.

Blind stubbornness of superstitious people, rebelling, where they have no cause.

A great miracle of God, for the cause of his gospel.

After this, that the appointment made between both of the armies (being thus disappointed as it is to be thought, only by God, who extended his great mercy, and had compassion on the great number of innocent persons that in that deadly slaughter had like to have been murdered), could take no place; then, by the great wisdom and policy of the said captains, a communication was had, and a pardon of the king's majesty obtained for all the captains and chief doers of this insurrection; and they were promised that for such things as they found them aggrieved withal, they should gently be heard, and their reasonable petitions granted; and that their articles should be presented to the king, that by his highness's authority, and the wisdom of his council, all things should be brought to good order and conclusion: and with this order every man quietly departed, and those who before were bent as hot as fire to fight, being letted thereof by God, went now peaceably to their houses, and were as cold as water.

'A Domino factum est istud.'

In the time of this ruffle in Yorkshire, and the king lying the

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same time at Windsor, there was a butcher dwelling within five miles of the said town of Windsor, who caused a priest to preach that all they that took part with the Yorkshiremen, whom he called God's people, did fight in God's quarrel; for which both he and the priest were apprehended and executed.

Popish priests rebelling against the king.

Divers other priests also, with others about the same time, committing, in like sort, treason against the king, suffered the like execution. Such a business had the king then to rid the realm from the servitude of the Romish yokes.

'Tantæ molis erat, Romanam *evertere sedem!*'

But God's hand did still work withal, in upholding his gospel and trodden truth against all seditious stirs, commotions, rebellions, and whatsoever was to the contrary; as both by the stories before passed, and by such also as hereafter follow, may notoriously appear.

The next year after this, which was A.D. 1537, after the great execution had been done upon certain rebellious priests, and a few other laymen, with certain noble persons also and gentlemen, amongst whom were the lord Darcy, the lord Hussy, Sir Robert Constable, sir Thomas Percy, sir Francis Bygot, sir Stephen Hamilton, sir John Bulmer and his wife, William Lomeley, Nicholas Tempest, with the abbots of Jervaux and of Rivaulx, &c.

Prince Edward born. Death of queen Jane.

In the month of October, the same year following, was born prince Edward; shortly after whose birth, queen Jane, his mother, the second day after, died in childbed, and left the king again a widower, who so continued the space of two years together. Upon the death of this queen Jane, and upon the birth of prince Edward her son, these two verses were made which follow:

'Phœnix Jana jacet nato Phœnice, dolendum
Secula Phœnices nulla tulisse duas.'[1]

Here, by the way, is to be understood, that during all this season, since the time that the king of England had rejected the pope out of the realm, both the emperor, the French king, and the king of Scots, with other foreign potentates (who were yet in subjection under the pope), bare him no great good favour inwardly, whatsoever outwardly they pretended. Neither were here lacking privy setters-on, nor secret working among themselves how to compass ungracious mischiefs, if God, by contrary occasions, had not stopped their intended devices. For first the pope had sent cardinal Pole to the French king, to stir him to war against the realm of England.

The pope stirreth war against England by cardinal Pole.

Secondly, whereas the French king, by treaty of perpetual peace, was bound yearly to pay to the king of England, at the first days of May and November, about ninety-five thousand crowns of the sun, and odd money, and over that ten thousand crowns at the said two terms, for recompense of salt-due, as the treaties thereof did purport, that pension remained now unpaid four years and more.

Furthermore, the emperor and the French king, both, retained Grancetor, a traitorous rebel against the king, and condemned by act of parliament, with certain other traitors more, and yet would not deliver him unto the king at his earnest suit and request.

(1) These verses were thought to be made by Maste Armigyl Wade.

The French king also, digressing from his promise and treaty, made alliance with Clement, the bishop of Rome, in marrying the dauphin to his niece, called Katharine de Medicis. *Henry VIII.* A. D. 1537.

The said French king moreover, contrary to his contract made, married his daughter to the king of Scots: all which events were prejudicial; and put the king, no doubt, in some fear and perplexity (though otherwise a stout and valiant prince), to see the pope, the emperor, the French king, and the king of Scots, so bent against him.

And yet, all this notwithstanding, the Lord still defended the justness of his cause against them all. For although the French king was so set on by the pope, and so linked in marriage with the Scots, and lacked nothing now but only occasion to invade the realm of England, yet notwithstanding he, hearing now of the birth of prince Edward, the king's son by queen Jane, and understanding also, by the death of the said queen Jane, that the king was a widower, and perceiving, moreover, talk to be that the king would join in marriage with the Germans, began to wax more calm and cold, and to give much more gentle words, and to demean himself more courteously, labouring to marry the queen of Navarre, his sister, to the king.

The ambassadors resident then in France for the king, were Stephen Gardiner, with Dr. Thirleby, &c.; which Stephen Gardiner, what he wrought secretly for the pope's devotion, I have not expressly to charge him. Whether he so did, or what he did, the Lord knoweth all! But this is certain, that when Dr. Bonner, archdeacon then of Leicester, was sent into France by the king (through the means of the lord Cromwell), to succeed Stephen Gardiner in embassy, which was about A.D. 1538, he found such dealing in the said bishop of Winchester as was not greatly to be trusted; besides, the unkind parts of the said bishop against the aforesaid Bonner, coming then from the king and lord Cromwell, as were not to be liked.

A.D. 1538. Dr. Bonner the king's ambassador in France.

Long it is to recite from the beginning, and few men peradventure would believe, the brawling matters, the privy complaints, the contentious quarrels and bitter dissensions, between these two; and especially what despiteful contumelies Dr. Bonner received at the hands of Winchester. For understand, good reader! that this Dr. Bonner all this while remained yet, as he seemed, a good man, and was a great furtherer of the king's proceedings, and a favourer of Luther's doctrine, and was advanced only by the lord Cromwell, whose promotions are here to rehearse: first, he was archdeacon of Leicester, parson of Blaydon, of Dereham, Chiswick, and Cheryburton; then he was made bishop of Hereford, and, at last, preferred to be bishop of London: the chief of which preferments and dignities were conferred unto him only by the means and favour of the lord Cromwell, who was then his chief and only patron and setter-up; as the said Bonner himself, in all his letters, doth manifestly protest and declare; the copies of which his letters I could here produce and exhibit, but for prolonging my story with superfluous matter. Yet that the world and all posterity may see how the coming up of Dr. Bonner was only by the gospel (howsoever he was afterwards unkind unto the gospel), this one letter of his, which I will here infer, written

In the beginning a favourer of the truth, and a Lutheran.

Lord Cromwell the only setter-up of Bonner.

Bonner's coming up was by the gospel.

Henry VIII. to the lord Cromwell out of France, may stand for a perpetual testimony, the tenor whereof here ensueth.

A. D. 1538.

A Letter of Dr. Bonner, the King's Ambassador resident in France, sent to the Lord Cromwell, declaring the order of his promotions and coming up.[1]

Bonner confesseth himself much bound to the lord Cromwell.

My very singular especial good lord, as one most bounden, I most humbly commend me unto your honourable good lordship. And whereas in times past it hath liked the same, without any my deserts or merits, even only of your singular exceeding goodness, to bestow a great deal of love, benevolence, and good affection upon me so poor a man, and of so small qualities, expressing indeed sundry ways the good effects thereof to my great preferment, I was very much bound thereby unto your honourable good lordship, and thought it always my duty (as indeed it was), both to bear my true heart again unto your lordship, and also, remembering such kindness, to do unto the same all such service and pleasure as might then lie in my small power to do.

Preferred to the bishopric of Hereford.

But where, of your infinite and inestimable goodness it hath further liked you of late, first to advance me unto the office of legation from such a prince as my sovereign lord is, unto the emperor and French king; and next after, to procure and obtain mine advancement to so honourable a promotion as the bishopric of Hereford, I must here acknowledge the exceeding greatness of your lordship's benefit, with mine own imbecility to recompense it, and say, as Virgil writeth,

'Grates persolvere dignas non opis est nostræ.'

Acceptilation.

Surely, my good lord, I neither am, neither shall be able to requite this your lordship's most special kindness and bountiful goodness at any time, unless I should use that civil remedy called in law 'acceptilation,' which great debtors especially are accustomed to procure at the hands of their creditors; whereby yet nevertheless your goodness, the only doer thereof, should rather be increased, than my duty towards the same thereby diminished. And 'cessio bonorum' (the only extreme refuge and help of poor debtors, devised also in civil[2]) might somewhat help herein, saying that it is not possible that I should come 'ad tam pinguem fortunam' (whereupon that remedy is grounded), whereby I may recompense and requite this debt worthily.

So that in conclusion there resteth this; that unless your lordship's self do loose me, as you have bound me, I shall (and that full gladly) remain continually your most bounded beadsman. And sir, I most humbly beseech your good lordship, in the honour of God, seeing this thing is begun and advanced only by your goodness and means, you will, to the intent the act may be wholly your own, stretch out your goodness, not suffering the rest to be perfected otherwise than by your own hands; wherein, as I must and shall acknowledge myself to be exceedingly beholden unto your good lordship, so shall I the same more esteem and set by, during my life, having so attained it by your only goodness: and verily, if your good lordship be not better to me herein than I can (unless it be of your own goodness) desire you, I know not how I shall be able to overcome the great charges annexed to this promotion. For though my promotions afore were right, honest, and good, yea, and such as one of far better qualities than I was, or am of, ought therewith to have been contented; yet, considering that of divers of them, that is to wit, Leicester, Blaydon, Dereham, Chiswick, and Cheryburton, the first fruits, tenths, and charges borne, I have not received clearly one penny, I am now never a whit the more able to bear the great charges of this.

The promotion of Bonner.

I shall therefore herein, and in all things else pertaining hereunto, seeing your lordship is so great a patron, and will needs bind me for ever to be your own (as indeed I will), refer altogether unto your goodness, beseeching you to take the order and disposition of all into your hands. I cannot tell whether the late bishop standeth bounden for the first fruits, tenths, or other duties which by statute may be demanded of his successor; but I fear it greatly, and

(1) Out of Bonner's own hand-writing.
(2) Here seemeth to lack some word, but that I would not alter any thing in his own copy.

beseech your lordship that I may be holpen therein. My charges now here enforce me the more to speak and trouble your good lordship, which at the beginning are not a few, and yet not ended. Of my fidelity to your good, I have, of five hundred crowns, remaining forty, bestowed upon horses, mules, mulets, raiment, and other necessaries, standing debtor to Master Thirleby nevertheless, and also to Master Dr. Heynes, for one hundred marks, or fast upon, to them both. And besides this, such is my chance now at the beginning, divers of my servants have fallen sick, being in great peril and danger, putting me to no little charges.

Over and besides these displeasures coming unto me by not having their service, and others to keep them, and also wanting mine other servaints in England, which, though I have sent for them, yet neither they, neither my horses or stuff are come, I must and do take patience, trusting it will mend.

Upon the closing up of this letter, and depeach of this bearer, God willing, I will pack up my gear, and to-morrow betimes follow the French king, who yesterday departed from Shambour, and maketh haste toward Paris. And thus our blessed Lord long and well preserve your good lordship in health.

At Blois, the 2d of September, in the evening.

Scribbled by the weary hand of him that is bounden to be, and is indeed, your lordship's beadsman, and at commandment,

EDMUND BONNER.

Dr. Bonner all this while showed himself to be a good man, and a good gospeller.

Divers other letters of Dr. Bonner, beside this, remain in writing, unto the like effect and purport, which here also I might add for a further demonstration hereof; but this one, instead of many, may suffice. Now to our purpose again, which is to declare how this Dr. Bonner, in the time of his first springing up, showed himself a good man, and a fast friend to the gospel of Christ and to the king's proceedings; and contrariwise, how Stephen Gardiner did halt then both with God and with the king: also what unkindness and contumelies the said Bonner received at Gardiner's hands; what rancour and heart-burning was between them; and what complaints the one moved against the other, remain, consequently, by their writings and records, to be opened. For the more evident demonstration whereof, they that have the letters of the said Dr. Bonner, written from France to the king and the lord Cromwell, may right well perceive.

Rancour and heart-burning between Winchester and Bonner.

Bonner declareth himself a gospeller.

And first, to note what a gospeller he was: in his letter from Rouen he, speaking of his trusty companion, and bearer of his letters (who was belike Dr. Heynes), giveth this report both of him and of himself; saying, "If this bearer had been, so much desirous to please the emperor, and follow his religion, as he was studious to serve truly your grace, and to advance the truth, he had not wanted," &c. And again: "And besides that, he hath not wanted the evil report of naughty fellows, naming him a Lutheran, wherein, for company, I was joined, such was their goodness," &c. Again, in another letter written to the lord Cromwell, these words he hath, speaking of his companion Dr. Heynes. "Especially for that the said Dr. Heynes, by his upright dealing herein, and professing the truth, neither got thanks nor reward, but was blazed abroad by honest folks to be a Lutheran. The less he pleaseth in Spain, the better argument it is, that his intent was to serve none but the king's highness and the truth," &c.

Reckoned a Lutheran.

Bonner and Heynes noted for Lutherans.

And furthermore, in another minute, writing to the lord Comwell of Stephen Winchester, and of his churlishness toward him, thus he saith: "And there found I, in Master Dr. Thirleby, much kindness,

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and in the bishop of Winchester as little," &c. And in the same letter it followeth: "And if I had received any entertainment of the bishop of Winchester, I would likewise have sent you word. I thank God I need not, for I had nothing of him," &c.

Winchester against Bonner.

Also in another letter, the said Bonner, writing to the lord Cromwell concerning one Barnaby and himself, what cold welcome they both had at the hands of Winchester, used these words following:

Winchester also against Barnaby, because the lord Cromwell favoureth him.

"And, my good lord, I beseech you to continue your good favour to this honest poor man Barnaby, who is body and soul assuredly your own, and as well beloved of the bishop of Winchester as I am: and of my troth I suppose and believe verily, one of the chief grudges the bishop hath against him, is because your lordship, of your charitable goodness, doth love and favour him.

Another Letter of Dr. Bonner to the Lord Cromwell, complaining of Winchester, and also declaring how he was promoted by the said Lord Cromwell, to the Bishopric of Hereford.

My very singular especial good lord, according to my most bounden duty, I recommend me right humbly unto your good lordship, advertising the same, that the 29th of the last month, about four of the clock at afternoon, there arrived here Barnaby with your lordship's letters, dated at Eutrecht the 24th of the same: and thinking that at his said arrival, the bishop of Winchester, Master Thirleby, and I, had been all lodged together, whereas in very deed we had several lodgings, he went straight to the bishop of Winchester's lodging (Master Thirleby and I being then walking in the fields), and the bishop incontinently inquired of him, not how the king's grace did, as was his duty, but (as Barnaby told me) inquired of him where he left the king's grace at his coming away: whether he had brought any letters for him: whether Master Brian and Master Wallop were in the court at his departing: and, finally, what news were in England. To the which questions, when Barnaby had made answer, saying that he left the king's grace at Berlin, and that Master Brian and Master Wallop were in the court at his departing; and withal, that he had no letters from them, nor any other to him; and finally, for the news that the king's highness had given me the bishopric of Hereford: the bishop (as Barnaby reporteth, and I doubt not but he saith truly) cast down his head, making a plaice-mouth with his lip, and afterwards lifting up his eyes and hands (as cursing the day and hour it chanced), seemed so evil contented therewith, that he would neither bid Barnaby drink, or tarry supper, nor yet further commune with him, but turning from him, called one Master Medow, and showed him of the same tidings, taking it (as it appeared) very heavily; semblably as he doeth every thing that is or may be for my preferment. And when Barnaby perceived that I was not there, and that also this comfortable countenance and good cheer were made unto him, he went thence and searched for me, who then was walking with Master Thirleby, as is before; and was by chance communing with him of the bishop of Winchester, giving him advertisement that he should not be abused by the said bishop, who, I said, made him, not for any hearty love, I thought, he bare unto him, but either in despite of me, to whom he thought it should be greatly displeasant; either else under colour thereof, and by familiarity, for to grope him, and to serve his own crafty purposes by him.

Winchester inquired not how the king did.

The plaice-mouth of Winchester against Bonner.

Winchester against Bonner's preferment.

Bonner made bishop of Hereford.

And soon after the departure of Master Thirleby from me, who then went to the bishop to supper, I returned towards my lodging, and by the way met with Barnaby, whose salutation was after that sort, that it caused me to wonder at it, especially, I having no expectation or hope of such thing as he rehearsed unto me. And surely, my good lord, I would not believe him in the thing he told, till I perceived the same by the superscription of your lordship's letter, which he afterwards delivered unto me: declaring withal (to my great comfort) the prosperous estate of the king's highness, and of your good lordship. Which known, I besought Almighty God to grant the long continuance thereof, and also, as was my duty, did give most humble thanks to the king's highness, and

to your said good lordship. And hereupon, keeping your lordship's letters still in my hands unbroken, I went incontinently to the lodging of Master Thirleby which was in my way, to communicate these my news and great good fortune with him;[1] and not finding him there, I read over your lordship's letters, sending the same afterwards to Master Thirleby; and perceiving, by Barnaby, that he had other letters for me, which he told me he must deliver unto me secretly, I went to mine own lodging with him, and there receiving them accordingly, did read them over, both that, your lordship's second letter sent to me, and also the other sent to Master Wyat, &c.

Your lordship's most bounden beadsman,
And always at commandment,
EDMUND BONNER.

When the king, by the advice of the lord Cromwell, and others of his council, had appointed Dr. Edmund Bonner to return from the emperor, and to be resident in France, in the place of Winchester and of Dr. Thirleby, he sent his letters to the said bishop of Winchester, and to Master Thirleby, showing his pleasure unto them in that behalf, with this clause in the same letters contained in express words as followeth.

And whereas the said Master Bonner wanteth furniture of stuff and plate meet for that office, our pleasure is that you, Master Thirleby, shall deliver unto him by indenture, all the plate you have of ours in your custody, and that you, my lord of Winchester, shall furnish him with all such other stuff, as shall be necessary for him; wherein as you shall do unto us pleasure, so we shall be content at your return, to satisfy you for the same, &c.[2]

The bishop of Winchester receiving these letters from the king, and being loth to come into England (whatsoever the matter was), also hearing that Dr. Bonner should succeed him, his disdainful nature did stomach him exceedingly. But because there was no other remedy but that the king's commandment must be done, first he sendeth the king's letter, with his also, to the emperor's court, unto Master Bonner, and to Dr. Heynes, willing them in all haste to repair to Lyons within two days. Beside these letters of Winchester, Dr. Thirleby adjoined his letters also, with like quickness, to the said Dr. Heynes and to Bonner, the contents whereof here follow.

A Letter of Doctor Thirleby to Heynes and Bonner.

With my hearty commendations, and the desire of your company, and now so much rather that I shall thereby have a great benefit, viz. the deliverance from trouble to ease, from a strange country to mine own, from the waiting upon him[3] that forceth as little for me, as I am acquainted with him, to the service of him whose prosperity and love I account as my life;[4] these shall be to pray you to make no less speed hither, than you would make to a good feast when that you be hungry. Master Bonner shall know many things, but when you come I shall tell you more, so that you haste you. Come, I pray you; I would fain be at home. I saw not my master these four months. When as you, Master Bonner, shall come to Lyons, it shall be good to go to Bonvise; he is a good money-maker: in faith I can write no more, but bid you come heartily, 'hastily,' I would have written, and the sooner the better welcome to Lyons, where this was given the last of July.

By him that hath loved you well,
And now will love you better,
If you haste you hither,
THOMAS THIRLEBY.

(1) See how Bonner rejoiceth at his great good fortune; as though he had not enough before, having four livings, and being meetly well sped for one man.
(2) The king's pleasure was not regarded by the bishop of Winchester.
(3) He meaneth here the French king. (4) The king of England, he meaneth.

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At the receipt of these letters, Dr. Bonner and Dr. Heynes did put themselves in a readiness to repair incontinent unto Lyons, thinking there to have found Winchester and Thirleby, according to the purport of their letters. But Winchester and Thirleby, not abiding their coming, made haste away from Lyons to La Barella; where Bonner, riding in post after Winchester, overtook him. With whom what entertainment and talk he had, and what accusations he laid to his charge, and what brawling words passed between them, and what great misliking Bonner had of him for special causes here in this brabling matter or brawling dialogue, under following, may appear; which, for thy recreation, and the further understanding of Winchester's qualities, I wish thee, loving reader! to peruse and consider.

But first, here is to be noted, that the king and the lord Cromwell, at what time they had appointed Dr. Edmund Bonner to be resident ambassador in France, required in their letters, that he should advertise them by writing, what he did mislike in the doings and behaviour of certain persons whom they did then note unto him. Whereupon the said Dr. Bonner sendeth this declaration of Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, as followeth:

A Declaration sent by Dr. Bonner to the Lord Cromwell, describing to him the evil behaviour of Stephen of Winchester, with special Causes therein contained, wherefore and why he misliked him.[1]

Complaints of Bonner against Winchester.

First, I mislike in the bishop of Winchester, that when any man is sent in the king's affairs, and by his highness' commandment, the bishop, unless he be the only and chief inventor of the matter and setter-forth of the person, he will not only use many cavillations, but also use great strangeness in countenance and cheer to the person that is sent: over and besides, as small comfort and counsel as may be in the matter; rather dissuading and discouraging the person earnestly to set forward his message, than emboldening and comforting him, as is his duty, with help and counsel to adventure and do his best therein. The experience whereof I have had myself with him, as well at Rouen, the first time I was sent to Rome, commanded by the king's highness to come by him, and at Marseilles, the time of the intimation of the king's protestation, provocation, and appeal; as also lately, going to Nice, touching the general council, and the authority of the bishop of Rome; and finally, now last of all, at my return from Spain, where neither my diligence in coming to him, and using him in the beginning with all the reverence I could, neither the king's letters written unto him in my favour, nor yet other thing could mollify his hard heart and cankered malicious stomach, but that he would spitefully speak, and unkindly do; as indeed he did, to his great shame and my dishonesty, as followeth.

Vain-glorious pride of Winchester.

What experience Bonner hath of it.

Malicious stomach of Winchester.

When riding in post I came to La Barella, a post on this side Lyons, the 7th day of August, he being in bed there, I tarried till he, rising up and making himself ready, came at last out to me, standing and tarrying for him in a second chamber; and at his coming thither, he said, 'What, Master Bonner! good morrow! Ah sir, ye be welcome;' and herewithal he put out his hand, and I, kissing mine, took him by it, and incontinently after he said, 'Come on, let us go and walk awhile into the fields;' and withal drew towards the door, preparing him to walk. To whom I said, I would wait upon him. His going to the fields (as appeared afterwards), was not so much to walk, as to have a place where he might speak loud, and triumph alone against me, calling in his words again, if he spake any amiss; or utterly deny them, if that made for his purpose. And by chance, rather than by good wisdom, afore I went forth, I asked for Master Thirleby, and desired I might see him and speak with him. The bishop that perceiving, and, withal, that I stuck upon it, he commanded one of his servants to call Master Thirleby; but yet, afore his coming, the bishop could not be idle,

(1) Out of the copy of Bonner's own letters, by his own hand writing, which I have to show.

but said this to me: 'Master Bonner! your servant was yesterday with me, and as I told him, I will tell you: In good faith you can have nothing of me.' 'Nothing, my lord!' quoth I, merrily speaking, 'marry, God forbid! that is a heavy word, and much uncomfortable to him that wanteth all things, and trusteth much upon your goodness that hath a great deal.' 'In faith,' quoth he, 'ye shall have nothing of me: marry, ye shall have of Master Thirleby, his carriage, mules, his bed, and divers other things, that he may spare; and which he hath kept for you.' 'Well, my lord!' quoth I, 'if I shall have nothing of you, I must make as good shift as I can for myself otherwise, and provide it it where I may get it.'

Dialogue between Bonner and Winchester.

And here the bishop, because I would not give him thanks for that thing which was not worthy thanks, and that also I would not show myself greatly contented and pleased, though I received nothing at his hands, he began somewhat to kindle, and asked what I wanted. I told him again, that I wanted all things saving money and good will to serve the king's highness. 'Tell me one thing,' quoth he, 'that you want.' 'One thing,' quoth I, 'marry, amongst many things that I want, I want napery.' 'That shall ye not need,' quoth he; 'here in this country:' and here he began to tell a long tale, that none used that, but Master Wallop and he, in the beginning: which is not true generally. And from this he began to go, descending by his negatives: 'My mulets,' said he, 'ye cannot have, for if ye should, I must needs provide others for them again: my mulet-cloths ye cannot have, because mine arms are on them, not meet for you to bear: my raiment (I being bishop), that is not meet for you.' And so proceeding forth in the rest, nothing had he for me, and nothing should I have.

Winchester will do nothing for Bonner, and Bonner will give no thanks to Winchester.

Winchester's negatives.

And here came Master Thirleby, who welcomed me very gently, and after an honest sort: to whom the bishop rehearseth again his negatives, and maketh a long discourse, bringing in conclusion, for all that he could do, that nothing I should have of him: and this rehearsed he still on end I am sure above a dozen times, and that with a pilot's voice; so that all his company, standing more than three or four pair of butt lengths off, heard him.

Thirleby present. The pilot voice of Winchester.

When I saw that he would make no end, but ever rehearsed one thing still, I said to him, 'My lord! I beseech you, seeing I shall have nothing of you, but of master doctor here, let me give him thanks that deserveth it, and trouble you therein no more: but leaving communication therein, let me desire and pray you, that we may commune of the king's matters; and that I may have therein knowledge, as well of the state thereof, as also of your counsel in that behalf.'

The bishop was so hot and warm in his own matters, that he would not hear, but needs would return again, and show why that I could have nothing of him. 'My lord!' quoth I, 'here is still on end one tale, which methinketh, seeing that I understand it, ye need not so oft repeat it, especially seeing that it cometh always to this conclusion, that I shall have nothing of you.' 'Ye lie,' quoth he, 'I said not so.' 'I report me,' quoth I, 'to Master Thirleby here present, whom I shall desire to bear record of your sad and discreet honest behaviour with me.' 'I say you lie,' quoth he. 'My lord!' quoth I, 'I thank you.' 'I do not say,' quoth he, 'that ye shall *have* nothing of me; but I say you *can* have nothing of me. And though the one here comprehendeth the other, yet there is a great diversity between these two manners of speaking:— I can spare nothing unto you, and therefore ye shall have nothing; and though I can spare you, yet you shall have nothing;—for in the one is an honesty in the speaker, which would, if he could, do pleasure; and in the other there lacketh that honesty.'

Winchester more respective to his own, than to the king's affairs. 'Ye lie' quoth Winchester. His old sophistication.

'My lord!' quoth I, 'to examine whether I shall have nothing, because ye can spare nothing; or shall have nothing, though ye have plenty, because ye will I shall have nothing, it shall not much help me in my journey. Wherefore, seeing ye bide upon this, that I shall have nothing, I will thank you for nothing, and provide otherwise for myself.' 'Dirt in your teeth![1] quoth he, 'and provide as ye will.' 'Bishop-like spoken, by my faith,' quoth I, 'and well it becometh you to speak thus to me.' 'Yea marry! doth it become me,' quoth he: and repeating the words again, said with a sharp accent, 'Have nothing of me? Dirt in your teeth!' 'Well, my lord!' quoth I, 'this needeth not, saving that ye have a full stomach, and your wit abroad, willingly hereby to ease your stomach against me.'[2] 'Yes marry,' quoth he, 'it needeth for me, though it

(1) Bishop-like spoken.
(2) Mark the mellifluous and honey-mouthed words of Winchester to Bonner.

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needeth not for you; for I intend,' quoth he, 'I would ye should know it, to justify myself to the king in all things.' 'If ye do so,' quoth I, 'ye shall do the better.' 'Nay,' quoth he, 'I do it, and will do it.' 'Well,' quoth I, 'ye are the more to be commended, if ye so can do.' 'Yes,' quoth he, 'I can do it.'

'Now, by my troth,' quoth I, 'seeing the king's highness hath written so tenderly for me unto you, as appeareth by his highness's letters that his grace hath done, me thinketh, ye having so great plenty of all things, and I so great need thereof, coming post, as I do, ye go about as evil to justify yourself to the king, as any one that I have seen. And I wiss, my lord,' quoth I, 'I would have reckoned, that coming as I do come, I should have been both better welcome, and better entreated of you, than now I am, even and it had been for no other respect, than because I am an Englishman.'

The stomach of Gardiner against Bonner.

'I shall tell you,' quoth he, 'for the king's sake, ye may look to have: but for your own sake, ye get nothing.' 'Well,' quoth I, 'then having nothing, I will give no thanks at all; and having any thing, I shall give thanks to the king, and none to you.' 'I tell you,' quoth he, 'ye get nothing:' 'and I tell you again,' quoth I, 'that I will thank you for nothing.' And here the flesh of his cheek began to swell and tremble,[1] and he looked upon me as he would have run me through; and I came and stood even by him, and said, 'Trow you, my lord!' quoth I, 'that I fear your great looks? Nay, faith! do I not. Ye had need to get another stomach to whet upon than mine, and a better whetstone than any ye have; for, I assure you, you shall not whet me to your purpose: and if ye knew how little I do set by this unloving and indiscreet behaviour of yours, ye would not use it upon me. And I shall tell you,' quoth I, 'if I were not bridled, and had not other respects both to the king's highness, my sovereign lord, and also unto others that may command me, I would have told you, ere this time, my mind after another sort.' 'Tell me?' quoth he, 'dirt in your teeth!' 'Well, my lord!' quoth I, 'ye would, I perceive by you, and by your words, provoke me to speak as indiscreetly and bedlamly, as ye do:[2] but surely ye shall not, howsoever ye shall speak. But this will I tell you, I shall show how I am handled of you.' 'Marry, spare not,' quoth he. 'Well, my lord!' quoth I, 'you have here full well played the part of a bishop, and it is great joy of you, that with this your furious anger and choler, ye can make all the company here about you to be ashamed of you, as I am sure they are. And for my part, if ye yourself be not ashamed, or, coming to yourself (for now your anger is such that you hear not yourself), be not displeased, I shall be ashamed, and pity this your doing without wisdom; and the oftener you use this manner, the more shall it be to your dishonesty.'

All the company ashamed of Winchester's talk.

'Lo!' quoth he, 'how fondly he speaketh, as who saith, I were all in the blame. Will you not hear,' quoth he, 'this wise man?' 'My Lord!' quoth I, 'I would you could hear with indifferent ears, and see with indifferent eyes, yourself. Ye have made a brabling here for nothing, and would that I should give you thanks for that thing which Master Thirleby hath done for me.' 'I look for no thanks of you,' quoth he; and said withal, looking spitefully, that he knew me well enough; and that he was not deceived in me. 'Well!' quoth I, 'and methinks I know you well enough too; wherefore, as ye say you are not deceived in me, so I trust I will not be deceived by you. But I pray you, sir,' quoth I, 'because ye say ye know me well enough, and that ye be not deceived in me, How do you know me? for honest and true, or otherwise? If you do, say it, and I shall make answer.'

Brabling for nothing. Spiteful looks of Winchester.

I could not drive him to answer hereunto; so that I suppose, either of his own naughty nature he hath made me an image after his own fantasy, or else believed the report of such in conditions, as he is himself, who, in malice, I suppose, and disdain, may be compared to the devil in hell, not giving place to him in pride at all. In communication he repeated oft the provision of the thousand crowns. I told him they went in my diets, and that it would be a good while afore they were come out. And further I said, that seeing they had been 'simpliciter' given to me, I would never thank him for them, but the king's highness; and I said, that if they were twenty thousand, he should break so many sleeps, afore he should have any part thereof, entreating me as he did. 'Well,' quoth he, 'you have them.' 'That is truth,' quoth I, 'and nothing thankful to you.' 'Why then,' quoth he, 'seeing you have here divers

(1) The like trembling and leaping of his veins and flesh for anger, did Bonner also note in this Winchester's disputing with him in Germany. Vide Bucer. De Cœlibatu.

(2) Stephen Gardiner, 'bedlam-like.'

things of Master Thirleby's, and all other things are "parabilia pecunia," which you have, ye may make thereby good provision for yourself.' 'That is truth,' quoth I; 'and that can I and will do, though ye tell me not, seeing I have nothing of you, and afore this had provided at Lyons for all things necessary, if ye without necessity had not made that great haste to depart thence, enforcing me thereby to follow you. And yet,' quoth I, 'one thing may I tell you: ye are very desirous I should be provided well for, as appeareth in that you have taken away at Lyons one horse that Francis had provided for me, and also your servant Mace, having a horse to sell, and knowing my need, by your consent hath sold his horse to a stranger, rather than he would sell him to me. So that nothing suffering me to have of you, and taking away that provision which I make, and go about to make, you well declare how heartily you desire I should be provided for.' 'In faith,' quoth he, 'choose you, ye may provide and you will; and seeing your journey hither from Lyons is vain, you may thither return again, and make there provision for yourself.' 'I thought,' quoth he, 'departing from Lyons, to have made easy journeys, and to have followed the court till you had come, and now come you, squirting in post, and trouble all.' 'I came forth in post,' quoth I, 'by the commandment of the king my master, and had liberty to return at pleasure by his grace's letters; and seeing that I had no horses for the journey, methought better to ride in post than go afoot.' 'Well,' quoth he, 'I will not depart hence this twelvemonth, except ye be otherwise provided.' 'Provided?' quoth I, 'I must tarry till I may be provided for horses, if ye speak of that provision: and seeing that this riding in post grieveth you, it causeth me to think you are loth to depart, and angry that I shall succeed you. I have here already two gowns and a velvet jacket, so that you shall not be letted an hour by me.'

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Winchester putteth Bonner to his shifts.

Churlish dealing of Winchester.

Angry that Bonner should succeed him.

'I tell you,' quoth he, 'ye shall otherwise provide, or else I will not depart. For I tell you,' quoth he, 'though you care not for the king's honour, but wretchedly do live with ten shillings a-day, as ye did in yonder parts, you and your companion, I must and will consider the king's honour.' 'And I tell you again,' quoth I, 'I will and do consider the king's honour as much as ye at any time will do, and as sorry will be, that it should be touched by any negligence or default in me: yea, and I say more to you,' quoth I, 'though ye may spend far above me, I shall not stick, if any thing be to be spent for the king's honour, to spend as liberally as you, so long as either I have it, or can get it to spend. And whosoever informed you of the wretchedness and spending scarcely of my companion and me in the parts where we have been, made a false lie, and ye show your wisdom full well in so lightly believing and rehearsing such a tale.' 'I cannot tell,' quoth he, 'but this was openly rehearsed by Master Brian's servants at my table.' 'Yea, was?' quoth I. 'Yea, marry, was it,' quoth he. 'Now, by my troth,' quoth I, 'then was the fare that was bestowed upon them very well cast away: for, of my fidelity, that week that Master Brian and his servants were with us at Villa Franca, it cost my companion and me five and twenty pounds in the charges of the house!' 'This, they say,' quoth he. 'Yea,' quoth I, 'and therein they lie.'

Reproved to his face of false slander.

And here I showed him, that being well settled at Nice, and having made there good and honest provision, to our no little charges, Master Wyat would not rest till he had gotten us to Villa Franca, where, even upon the first words of Master Heynes, he was right well content to take of us twenty shillings by the day; which was not during ten days: whereas, at his coming to us to Nice, himself and all his servants, and then tarrying with us two days, we took not one penny of him. And moreover, at the departing of Master Wyat from Villa Franca, in post, into England, we found ourselves, our servants, all Master Wyat's servants, to the number of sixteen, all his acquaintance, who, dinner and supper, continually came to us; sometime twelve, sometimes ten, and, when they were least, six or eight; and for this we had not one penny of Master Wyat. And yet at our coming from Barcelona, where we tarried about eight days, we gave to Master Wyat twenty-eight livres, and to his servants five livres, besides forty shillings that privately I gave to some, being of gentle fashion, out of mine own purse: so that I told him, it was neither Master Wyat, nor Mason, that found us and our servants, but *we* paid for the finding of them: and here it chanced to us to have all the charge, and other men to have all the thanks.

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The bishop when he heard this was amazed, and stood still, finally saying, 'By my troth,' quoth he, 'I tell you as it was told me, and master doctor here can tell whether it was so or no. Yea, and I will tell you more,' quoth he, 'they said that Master Heynes would have been more liberal a great deal, if you had not been.' 'Now, by my troth,' quoth I, 'I shall therein make Master Heynes himself judge thereof, who can best tell what communication hath been between him and me therein.'

Winchester's wild head.

Thinking that this communication had driven the other matters out of the bishop's wild head, I held my peace; and by and by was he in hand again with them, as hot as ever he was. 'My lord!' quoth I, 'I desired ere while your lordship to make an end of this communication, wherein the longer ye talk, the more ye make me believe that you would (where ye have spoken undiscreetly, yea, and unkindly, not regarding the king's letters), with multitude of words, and great countenance, I should think ye had not done amiss. But surely you lose your labour, for ye shall never make me think that ye are desirous to do me pleasure, neither for mine own sake, nor for the king's: for if your words be well weighed, I have as much of you indeed for mine own sake, as I have for the king's sake: that is, nothing at all.'

He regardeth not the king's letters.

Bonner outscolded by Winchester, and driven to silence.

Here both of us were talking together; but I held on still, and ever enforced him to this: 'My lord!' quoth I, 'this is the only thing that I shall desire of you; that whereas the king's grace hath here, in the French Court, divers affairs (as I take it), ye would therein instruct me in the state thereof, and give me your best counsel and advice: and this I protest unto you, that if ye this will do, I will attentively hear you; and if ye will not, I shall with pain hear you in your other things, but I will make no answer at all.'

For all this the bishop ended not; but in conclusion, when he saw that he could by no means induce me to answer, he returned homewards, and I brought him unto his lodging and chamber.

Bonner taketh his leave of Winchester.

It being dinner time, and all things provided, and standing afore him, and he turning his back from me into a window—I, at his turning towards me again, put off my bonnet, and said, 'God be with you, my lord!' He gave no answer to me at all, nor countenance, but suffered me to go. Whereupon, returning to my lodging, which was in Master Thirleby's chamber, I caused my dinner to be provided; and when it was almost ready, the bishop's steward, called Myrrel, came for me (whether sent from the bishop or not, I cannot tell), and I told him my dinner was provided for, and withal, that my lord his master had given me such a breakfast, that I needed no dinner nor supper; and so the steward, drinking with me, returned again, and I went to dinner at Master Thirleby's lodging, and after dinner I went to the bishop's lodging, who, at my coming, very gently put off his bonnet, and so we walked together quietly awhile; and shortly after, the bishop began after this manner: 'Master Bonner! to-day we communed of provision for you, and because ye shall lay no blame upon me, I will tell you what I will do for you: I will provide and make ready for you mules, mulets, horses, servants, money; yea, and all things that shall be necessary.'

Winchester's good will cometh upon him at last.

'My Lord!' quoth I, 'here is a large offer, and a great kindness come upon you; I marvel,' quoth I, 'that I could hear nothing of this to-day in the morning.' 'I tell you,' quoth he, 'this will I do; for know you, that I will consider the king's honour and pleasure, and doubt not but the king will pay me again.' 'My lord!' quoth I, 'I have sent my servant already to Lyons, to make provision for me, and I have sent others abroad here in the town and country, to do the same: ye shall never need to trouble yourself herewith.' 'I will,' quoth he, 'you shall not say, another day, that ye could not be provided for.' 'My lord!' quoth I, 'let me have instructions in the king's matters, and as for other things I shall not ask of you, because this day ye made me so plain answer.'

Winchester's offer to Bonner being 'refused,' they part.

After much communication I departed from him lovingly, telling him that I would be at Ferrara that night, where he intended to be lodged. And so the bishop, bidding me farewell, took soon after his horse, riding to Ferrara to bed; and by the way I overtook him, and passing by, doing my duty to him and his company, I came to Ferrara, lodging at the post-house, and even as the bishop came into the town, stood at the post-house door; to whom the bishop said, 'We shall see you soon, Master Bonner!' 'Yea, my lord!' quoth I, thinking that thereby he had desired me to supper, and at supper-time I went to his

lodging, having others to eat my supper at home, and glad he appeared to be that I was come, making merry communication all supper while, but nothing at all yet speaking to me, or giving any thing to me, saving, at the coming of the fruit, he gave me a pear,[1] I trow, because I should remember mine own country. After supper, he walked, taking Master Thirleby with him, and I walked with an Italian, being ambassador for the count Mirandula; and after a good space we returned, and bade the bishop good night.

I did not after that night dine or sup with the bishop, till he came to Bourges in Berry, where, upon the depeach of Francis, and closing up of our letters sent to the king's highness, the supper was so provided, and set upon the board; and the bishop in washing, standing so between me and the door that I could not get out; and there would he needs that I should wash with him and sup. And I suppose, all the way from Barella to Blois, he talked not above four times with me, and at every time, saving at Moulines (where he by mouth told me somewhat of the king's affairs here in France), and at Varron (when he, answering to my requests in writing, delivered me his book of his own hand for mine instructions, the copy whereof is now sent herewithal), there was quick communication between us. His talking by the way was with Master Thirleby, who, I think, knoweth a great deal of his doing, and will, if he be the man I take him for, tell it plainly to your lordship. I myself was out of credence with the bishop, not being appliable to his manners and desires.

Winchester's book of instructions delivered to Bonner.

And surely, as Master Thirleby told me at his first coming to Lyons, and then speaking with the bishop, the bishop seemed to be so well content to return, and so glad of his coming to succeed him, that his flesh in his face began all to tremble, and yet would the bishop make men believe, that he would gladly come home: which thing, believe it who will, I will never believe; for ever he was looking for letters out of England, from Master Wallop and Master Brian, whom he taketh for his great friends. And Master Wyat himself reckoned, that the bishop should have come into Spain, or else my lord of Durham; so that the bishop of Winchester ever coveted to protract the time, desiring yet withal to have some shadow to excuse and hide himself; as tarrying at Barella, he made excuse by my not coming to Lyons: and coming to Varennes, and there, hearing by the ambassadors of the Venetians a flying tale of the going of the French king towards Bayonne, to meet the emperor, by and by he said, 'Lo! where is Master Diligence now? If he were now here (as then I was that night), we would to the Court and present him, and take our leave.' But when I in the morning was up afore him, and ready to horse, he was nothing hasty. No; coming to Moulines afore him, and there tarrying for him, the French king lying at Schavenna, three small leagues off, he made not half the speed and haste that he pretended.

Winchester's flesh trembleth at the coming of Thirleby. Loth to return into England.

Bonner called Master Diligence.

I mislike in the bishop of Winchester, that he cannot be content that any, joined in commission with him, should keep house, but to be at his table. Wherein either he searcheth thereby a vain glory and pride to himself, with some dishonour to the king, as who saith, there was among all the king's ambassadors but one able to maintain a table, and that were he; or else he doth the same for an evil intent and purpose, to bring them thereby into his danger, that they shall say and do as liketh him alone; which, I suppose verily, hath been his intent

The second complaint: Winchester would be alone.

I mislike in the said bishop, that whereas he, for his own pomp and glory, hath a great number of servants in their velvets and silks, with their chains about their necks, and keepeth a costly table with excessive fare, and exceeding expenses many other ways, he doth say, and is not ashamed to report, that he is so commanded to do by the king's grace; and that is his answer commonly, when his friends tell him of his great charges; and so, under colour of the king's commandment and honour, he hideth his pride, which is here disdained.

The third: the pomp and glory of Winchester.

I mislike in the said bishop, that he, having private hatred against a man, will rather satisfy his own stomach and affection, hindering and neglecting the king's affairs, than, relenting in any part of his sturdy and stubborn will, give familiar and hearty counsel (whereby the king's highness' matters and business may be advanced and set forth) to him that he taketh for his adversary.

The fourth: given more to his own affections than to the king's affairs.

I mislike in the said bishop that he ever continually, here in this court of France, made incomparably more of the emperor's, king of Portugal's, Vene-

(1) Bonner seemeth by this pear, to be a Worcestershire man.

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tians', and duke of Ferrara's ambassadors, than of any Frenchmen in the court, which, with his pride, caused them to disdain him, and to think that he favoured not the French king, but was imperial.

The fifth: Winchester, suspected to be imperial.

I mislike in the bishop that there is so great familiarity and acquaintance, yea, and such mutual confidence, between the said bishop and M., as naughty a fellow, and as very a papist, as any that I know, where he dare express it. The bishop, in his letters to Master Wyat, ever sendeth special commendations to Mason, and yet refuseth to send any to Master Heynes and me, being with Master Wyat, as we perceived by the said letters. And Mason maketh such foundation of the bishop, that he thinketh there is none such; and he told me at Villa Franca, that the bishop, upon a time, when he had fallen out with Germain, so trusted him, that weeping and sobbing he came unto him, desiring and praying him that he would speak with Germain, and reconcile him, so that no words were spoken of it: and what the matter was, he would not tell me; that young fellow Germain knoweth all. And Preston, who is servant to the bishop of Winchester, showed me one night in my chamber at Blois, after supper, that Germain is ever busy in showing the king's letters to strangers, and that he himself hath given him warning thereof. This thing Preston told me the night before that the bishop departed hence, and when I would have had more of him therein, he, considering how the bishop and I stood, kept him more close, and would say no further.

The sixth: Bonner, like a true gospeller, complaineth of papists. Winchester suspected of untrue dealing.

Things in the aforesaid declaration to be noted.

In this declaration of Dr. Edmund Bonner, above-prefixed, sent to the lord Cromwell, divers things we have to note: First, as touching Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester; here we have a plain demonstration of his vile nature and pestilent pride, joined with malice and disdain intolerable: whereof worthily complaineth Dr. Bonner aforesaid, showing six special causes, why and wherefore he misliketh that person, according as he was willed before, by the king's commandment so to do.

Gardiner revolteth to papistry.

Secondly, In the said Stephen Winchester, this we have also to note and understand, that as he here declareth a secret inclination from the truth (which he defended before in his book 'De Obedientia') to papistry, joining part and side with such as were known papists; so he seemeth likewise to bear a like secret grudge against the lord Cromwell, and all such whomsoever he favoured.

Thirdly, As concerning the before-named Dr. Edmund Bonner, the author of this declaration, here is to be seen and noted, that he, all this while, appeared a good man, and a diligent friend to the truth; and that he was favoured of the lord Cromwell for the same.

Bonner's coming up, only by the gospel.

Fourthly, That the said Dr. Bonner was not only favoured of the lord Cromwell, but also by him was advanced first to the office of legation, then to the bishopric of Hereford, and lastly to the bishopric of London; whom the said Dr. Bonner, in his letters, agniseth, and confesseth to be his only patron, and singular Mecænas.

Which being so, we have in this said Dr. Bonner greatly to marvel, what should be the cause that he, seeing all his setting-up, making, and preferring, came only by the Gospel, and by them of the Gospel's side, he, being then so hated of Stephen Gardiner, and such as he was; being also at that time such a furtherer and defender of the Gospel (as appeareth both by his preface before Gardiner's book 'De Obedientia,' and by his writings to the lord Cromwell; also by helping forward the printed bibles at Paris), could ever be a man so ungrateful and unkind afterwards, to join part with the said Stephen Gardiner against the Gospel (without which Gospel he had never come to be bishop either of Hereford, or yet of London), and now to

abuse the same bishopric of London, to persecute that so vehemently which before so openly he defended? Wherein the same may well be said to him in this case, that he himself was reported once to say to the French king in the cause of Grancetor; to wit, that he had done therein against *God,[1] against* his honour, against justice, against honesty, against friendship, against his own promise and his oath so often made, against his own doctrine and judgment which then he professed, against all truth, against the treaties and leagues between him and his setters-up, and against all together; and, to conclude, against the salvation of his own soul, *which[2] would God he would have mercy upon, although he had showed want of mercy unto others!*

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His own words retorted against him.

But to refer this to the book of His accounts, who shall judge one day all things uprightly, let us proceed further in the continuation of this Dr. Bonner's legation; who, being now ambassador in the court of France, as ye have heard, had given him in commission from the king to treat with the French king for sundry points, as for the printing of the New Testament in English, and the Bible at Paris; also for slanderous preachers, and malicious speakers against the king; for goods of merchants taken and spoiled; for the king's pension to be paid; for the matters of the duke of Suffolk; for certain prisoners in France. Item, for Grancetor the traitor, and certain other rebels to be sent into England, &c. Touching all these affairs, the said Dr. Bonner did employ his diligence and travail to the good satisfaction and contentment of the king's mind, and discharge of his duty in such sort as no default could be found in him; save only that the French king, one time, took displeasure with him, for that the said Bonner, being now made bishop of Hereford, and bearing himself somewhat more seriously and boldly before the king, in the cause of Grancetor the traitor (wherein he was willed, by the advertisement of the king's pleasure, to wade more deeply and instantly), used these words to the French king (as the French king himself did afterwards report them), saying, that he had done, in deliverance of that aforesaid Grancetor, being an Englishman, against God, against his honour, against justice, against reason, against honesty, against friendship, against all law, against the treaties and leagues between him and his brother the king of England; yea, and against all together, &c. These words of bishop Bonner, although he denieth to have spoken them in that form and quality, yet howsoever they were spoken, did stir up the stomach of the French king to conceive high displeasure against him, insomuch that he, answering the lord ambassador again, bade him write these three things unto his master:

Printing the New Testament in English, and the Bible at Paris.

Diligence of Bonner in legation.

His words to the French king.

Bonner bidden to write to the king.

First, Among other things, that his ambassador was a great fool.

Secondarily, That he caused to be done better justice there in his realm in one hour, than they did in England in a whole year.

Thirdly, That if it were not for the love of his master, he should have a hundred strokes with a halbert, &c.

And furthermore, the said French king beside this, sending a special messenger with his letters to the king of England, willed him to revoke and call this ambassador home, and to send him another. The cause why the French king took these words of bishop Bonner

(1 and 2) See Edition 1570, in loc.—Ed.

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so to stomach (as the lord chancellor said), was this: For that the kings of France, standing chiefly, and in manner only, upon their honour, can suffer that in no case to be touched. Otherwise, in those words (if they had been well taken) was not so much blame, perchance, as boldness, being spoken somewhat vehemently in his master's behalf. But this one thing seemeth to me much blameworthy, both in this bishop, and many others, that they, in earthly matters, and to please terrene kings, will put forth themselves to such a boldness and forwardness; and in Christ's cause, the King of all kings, whose cause they should only attend upon and tender, they are so remiss, cold, and cowardly.

Bishops bolder in princes' matters than in the cause of Christ.

To these letters of the French king, the king of England sent answer again by other letters, in which he revoked and called home again bishop Bonner, giving unto him, about the same time, the bishopric of London; and sent in supply of his place sir John Wallop, a great friend to Stephen Gardiner: which was in February, about the beginning of the year of our Lord 1540. Here now followeth the oath of Bonner to the king, when he was made bishop of London.

The oath of Dr. Edmund Bonner, when he was made bishop of London, against the pope of Rome.

Ye shall never consent nor agree that the bishop of Rome shall practise, exercise, or have any manner of authority, jurisdiction, or power within this realm, or any other the king's dominion; but that you shall resist the same at all times, to the uttermost of your power: and that from henceforth ye shall accept, repute, and take the king's majesty to be the only supreme head in earth of the church of England; and that to your cunning, wit, and uttermost of your power, without guile, fraud, or other undue mean, ye shall observe, keep, maintain, and defend, the whole effects and contents of all and singular acts and statutes made, and to be made, within this realm, in derogation, extirpation, and extinguishment of the bishop of Rome, and his authority; and all other acts and statutes made, and to be made, in reformation and corroboration of the king's power of supreme head in the earth of the church of England. And this ye shall do against all manner of persons, of what estate, dignity, degree, or condition they be; and in no wise do, or attempt, or to your power suffer to be done or attempted, directly or indirectly, any thing or things, privily or apertly, to the let, hinderance, damage, or derogation thereof, or of any part thereof, by any manner of means, or for any manner of pretence. And in case any oath be made, or hath been made, by you to any person or persons in maintenance or favour of the bishop of Rome, or his authority, jurisdiction, or power, ye repute the same as vain and annihilated. So help you God, &c.

In fidem præmissorum ego Edmundus Bonner, electus et confirmatus Londinensis episcopus, huic præsenti chartæ subscripsi.

ECCLESIASTICAL MATTERS, A.D. 1538.

It will be judged, that I have lingered, peradventure, too much in these outward affairs of princes and ambassadors: wherefore, leaving these bye-matters pertaining to the civil state awhile, I mind (the Lord willing) to put my story in order again, of such occurrents as belong unto the church, first showing such injunctions and articles as were devised and set forth by the king, for the behoof of his subjects. Wherein, first, is to be understood, that the king, when he had taken the title of supremacy from the bishop of Rome, and had translated the same to himself, and was now a full prince in his own realm, although he well perceived by the wisdom and advice of the lord Cromwell and other of his council, that the corrupt state of the church

had need of reformation in many things; yet because he saw how stubborn and untoward the hearts of many papists were, to be brought from their old persuasions and customs, and what business he had with them only about the matter of the pope's title, he durst not by and by reform all at once (which notwithstanding had been to be wished), but leading them fair and softly, as he might, proceeded by little and little, to bring greater purposes to perfection (which he no doubt would have done, if the lord Cromwell had lived); and therefore first he began with a little book of articles (partly above touched), bearing this title: "Articles devised by the king's highness, to stable Christian quietness and unity among the people," &c. *Henry VIII.* A. D. 1538. The king and his council bearing with the weakness of the people.

The Contents of a Book of Articles devised by the King.

In the contents of this book, first he set forth the articles of our christian creed, which are necessarily and expressly to be believed by all men. Then, with the king's preface going before, followeth the declaration of three sacraments; to wit, of baptism, of penance, and of the sacrament of the altar; in the tractation whereof, he altereth nothing from the old trade received heretofore from the church of Rome. Of three sacraments.

Further then, proceeding to the order and cause of our justification, he declareth, that the only mercy and grace of the Father, promised *freely unto us* for his Son's sake Jesus Christ, and the merits of his passion and blood, be the only sufficient and worthy causes of our justification; yet good works, with inward contrition, hope, and charity, and all other spiritual graces and motions, be necessarily required, and must needs concur also in remission of our sins; that is, our justification: and afterwards, we, being justified, must also have good works of charity, and obedience towards God, in the observing and fulfilling outwardly of his laws and commandments, &c. Of justification.

As touching images, he willeth all bishops and preachers to teach the people in such sort as they may know how they may use them safely in churches, and not abuse them to idolatry, as thus: that they be representers of virtue and good example, and also, by occasion, may be stirrers of men's minds, and make them to remember themselves, and to lament their sins; and so far he permitteth them to stand in churches. But otherwise, for avoiding of idolatry, he chargeth all bishops and preachers diligently to instruct the people, that they commit no idolatry unto them, in censing of them, in kneeling and offering to them, with other like worshippings, which ought not to be done, but only to God. Of images.

And likewise for honouring of saints, the bishops and preachers be commanded to inform the people, how saints, hence departed, ought to be reverenced and honoured, and how not: that is, that they are to be praised and honoured as the elect servants of Christ, or rather Christ to be praised in them for their excellent virtues planted in them, and for their good example left us, teaching us to live in virtue and in goodness, and not to fear to die for Christ, as they did. And also as advancers of our prayers in that they may; but yet no confidence, nor any such honour to be given unto them, which is only due to God; and so forth: charging the said spiritual persons to teach their flock, that all grace, and remission of sins, and salvation, can no otherwise be obtained but of God only, by the mediation of our Saviour Christ, who only is a sufficient mediator for our sins; that all grace and remission of sin must proceed only by the mediation of Christ and no other. Of honouring of saints. No mediation but by Christ.

From that he cometh further to speak of rites and ceremonies in Christ's church; as in having vestments used in God's service, sprinkling of holy water, giving of holy bread, bearing of candles on Candlemas-day, taking of ashes, bearing of palms, creeping to the cross, setting up the sepulchre, hallowing of the font, with other like customs, rites, and ceremonies; all which old rites and customs the aforesaid book doth not by and by repeal, but so far admitteth them for good and laudable, as they put men in remembrance of spiritual things: but so that the people withal must be instructed, how the said ceremonies contain in them no such power to remit sin, but that to be referred unto God only, by whom only our sins be forgiven us. Of rites and ceremonies.

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And so, concluding with purgatory, he maketh an end of those articles, thus saying thereof, that because the book of Maccabees alloweth praying for souls departed, he therefore disproveth not that so laudable a custom, so long continued in the church. But because there is no certain place named, nor kind of pains expressed in Scripture, he therefore thinketh necessary such abuses clearly to be put away, which under the name of purgatory have been advanced; as to make men believe, that by the bishop of Rome's pardons, or by masses said at 'Scala Cœli,' or otherwhere, in any place, or before any image, souls might clearly be delivered out of purgatory, and from the pains thereof, to be sent straight to heaven; and such other like abuses, &c.

Of purgatory.

And these were the contents of that book of articles, devised and passed, by the king's authority, a little before the stir of Lincolnshire and Yorkshire; wherein, although there were many and great imperfections and untruths not to be permitted in any true reformed church, yet notwithstanding, the king and his council, to bear with the weaklings which were newly weaned from their mother's milk of Rome, thought it might serve somewhat for the time, instead of a little beginning till better come.

Milk for new weaklings.

Injunctions for abrogating certain holy-days.

And so consequently, not long after these articles thus set forward, certain other injunctions were also given out about the same year 1536, whereby a number of holy-days were abrogated; and especially such as fell in the harvest-time, the keeping of which redounded greatly to the hinderance of gathering in their corn, hay, fruit, and other such-like necessary commodities; the copy and tenor of which injunctions I have also hereunto annexed, as under followeth:

The King's Injunctions, restricting the Number of Holy-days.

Forasmuch as the number of holy-days is so excessively grown, and yet daily more and more, by men's devotion, yea, rather superstition, was like further to increase, that the same was, and should be, not only prejudicial to the common weal, by reason that it is occasion as well of much sloth and idleness, the very nurse of thieves, vagabonds, and of divers other unthriftiness and inconveniences, as of decay of good mysteries and arts profitable and necessary for the commonwealth, and loss of man's food (many times being clean destroyed through the superstitious observance of the said holy-days, in not taking the opportunity of good and serene weather offered upon the same in time of harvest), but also pernicious to the souls of many men, who, being enticed by the licentious vacation and liberty of those holy-days, do upon the same commonly use and practise more excess, riot, and superfluity, than upon any other days. And since the Sabbath-day was used and ordained but for man's use, all therefore ought to give place to the necessity and behoof of the same, whensoever that shall occur, much rather than any other holy-day instituted by man: it is therefore by the king's highness's authority, as supreme head in earth of the church of England, with the common assent and consent of the prelates and clergy of this his realm, in convocation lawfully assembled and congregated, amongst other things, decreed, ordained, and established:

Feasts of dedication kept all on one day.

First, that the feast of dedication of churches shall, in all places throughout this realm, be celebrated and kept on the first Sunday of the month of October, for ever, and upon none other day.

Church holy-days forbidden.

Item, that the feast of the patron of every church within this realm, called commonly the Church Holy-day, shall not from henceforth be kept and observed as a holy-day, as heretofore hath been used; but that it shall be lawful to all and singular persons resident or dwelling within this realm, to go to their work, occupation, or mystery; and the same truly to exercise and occupy upon the said feast, as upon any other work-day, except the said feast of Church Holy-day be such as must be else universally observed and kept as a holy-day by this ordinance following.

Also, that all those feasts or holy-days which shall happen to fall or occur

either in the harvest-time, which is to be counted from the 1st day of July unto the 29th day of September, or else in the term time at Westminster, shall not be kept or observed from henceforth as holy-days; but that it may be lawful for every man to go to his work or occupation upon the same, as upon any other work-day, except always the feasts of the Apostles, of the Blessed Virgin, and of St. George, and also such feasts as wherein the king's highness's judges at Westminster do not use to sit in judgment; all which shall be kept holy and solemnly of every man, as in time past hath been accustomed. Provided always, that it may be lawful unto all priests and clerks, as well secular as regular, in the aforesaid holy-days now abrogated, to sing or say their accustomed service for those holy-days, in their churches; so as they do not the same solemnly, nor do ring to the same, after the manner used in high holy-days, nor do command or indict the same to be kept or observed as holy-days.

Holy-days in the harvest time put down.

Finally, that the feasts of the Nativity of our Lord, of Easter-day, of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, and of St. Michael the Archangel, shall be from henceforth counted, accepted, and taken for the four general offering-days.

Four offering-days.

And for further declaration of the premises, be it known that Easter term beginneth always the 18th day after Easter-day, reckoning Easter-day for one, and endeth the Monday next following the Ascension-day.

Easter term.

Trinity term beginneth always the Wednesday next after the Octaves of Trinity Sunday, and endeth the 11th or 12th day of July.

Trinity term.

Michaelmas term beginneth the 9th or 10th day of October, and endeth the 28th or 29th day of November.

Michaelmas term.

Hilary term beginneth the 23d or 24th day of January, and endeth the 12th or 13th day of February.

Hilary term.

In Easter term, upon the Ascension-day; in Trinity term, upon the Nativity of St. John Baptist; in Michaelmas term, upon Allhallows-day; in Hilary term, upon Candlemas-day, the king's judges at Westminster do not use to sit in judgment, nor upon any Sunday.

After these articles and injunctions thus given out by the king and his council, then followed moreover, as time served, other injunctions besides, concerning images, relics, and blind miracles, and for abrogating of pilgrimages, devised by superstition, and maintained for lucre's sake; also for the 'Paternoster,' Creed, and God's commandments, and the Bible to be had in English, with divers other points more, necessary for religion; the words of which injunctions here also ensue.

Other Injunctions, given by the authority of the King's Highness, to the Clergy of this his Realm, designed for the Reformation of the Church.

In the name of God, Amen. In the year of our Lord God 1536, and of the most noble reign of our sovereign lord Henry the Eighth, king of England and of France, defender of the faith, lord of Ireland, and, in earth, supreme head of the church of England, the twenty-eighth year, &c. I Thomas Cromwell, knight, lord Cromwell, keeper of the privy seal of our said sovereign lord the king, and vicegerent to the same, for and concerning all his jurisdiction ecclesiastical within this realm, to the glory of Almighty God, to the king's highness's honour, the public weal of this realm, and increase of virtue in the same, have appointed and assigned these injunctions ensuing to be kept and observed of the dean, parsons, vicars, curates, and stipendiaries, resident or having cure of souls, or any other spiritual administration within this deanery, under the pains hereafter limited and appointed.

The first is, that the dean, parsons, vicars, and others having cure of soul any where within this deanery, shall faithfully keep and observe, and, as far as in them may lie, shall cause to be kept and observed of all others, all and singular laws and statutes of this realm, made for the abolishing and extirpation of the bishop of Rome's pretensed and usurped power and jurisdiction within this

Confirmation of the king's supremacy.

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realm, and for the establishment and confirmation of the king's authority and jurisdiction within the same, as of the supreme head of the church of England; and shall, to the uttermost of their wit, knowledge, and learning, purely, sincerely, and without any colour or dissimulation, declare, manifest, and open, by the space of one quarter of a year now next ensuing, once every Sunday, and afterwards at leastwise twice every quarter of a year, in their sermons and other collations, that the bishop of Rome's usurped power and jurisdiction, having no establishment nor ground by the law of God, was for most just causes taken away and abolished, and that therefore they owe unto him no manner of obedience or subjection; and that the king's power is within his dominion the highest potentate and power under God, to whom all men within the same dominion, by God's commandment, owe most loyalty and obedience afore and above all other potentates in earth.

Against the pope's primacy.

Item, whereas certain articles were lately devised and put forth by the king's highness's authority, and condescended upon by the prelates and clergy of this his realm in convocation (whereof part were necessary to be holden and believed for our salvation, and the other part do concern and touch certain laudable ceremonies, rites, and usages of the church, meet and convenient to be kept and used for a decent and politic order in the same), the said dean, parsons, vicars, and other curates, shall so open and declare, in their sermons and other collations, the said articles unto them that be under their cure, that they may plainly know and discern, which of them be necessary to be believed and observed for their salvation; and which be not necessary, but only do concern the decent and politic order of the said church, according to such commandment and admonition as have been given unto them heretofore by the authority of the king's highness in that behalf.

The king's articles to be read to the people.

Moreover, that they shall declare unto all such as be under their cure, the articles likewise devised, put forth, and authorized of late, for and concerning the abrogation of certain superstitious holy-days, according to the effect and purport of the same articles; and persuade their parishioners to keep and observe the same inviolably, as things wholesome, provided, decreed, and established by the common consent and public authority for the weal, commodity, and profit, of all this realm.

Images abolished.

Besides this, to the intent that all superstition and hypocrisy crept into divers men's hearts, may vanish away, they shall not set forth or extol any images, relics, or miracles, for any superstition or lucre, nor allure the people by any entreatments to the pilgrimages of any saints, otherwise than is permitted in the articles lately put forth by the authority of the king's majesty, and condescended upon by the prelates and clergy of this his realm in convocation, as though it were proper and peculiar to that saint to give this commodity or that; seeing all goodness, health, and grace ought to be both looked and asked for only of God, as of the very author of the same, and of none other; for without him it cannot be given: but they shall exhort as well their parishioners, as other pilgrims, that they do rather apply themselves to the keeping of God's commandments, and the fulfilling of his works of charity; persuading them that they shall please God more by the true exercising of their bodily labour, travail, or occupation, and providing for their families, than if they went about to the said pilgrimages; and it shall profit more their soul's health, if they do bestow that on the poor and needy, which they would have bestowed upon the said images or relics.

Pilgrimages forbid

Prayers in the mother-tongue.

Also, in the same their sermons and other collations, the parsons, vicars, and other curates aforesaid, shall diligently admonish the fathers and mothers, masters and governors of youth being within their cure, to teach or cause to be taught their children and servants, even from their infancy, the 'Paternoster,' the Articles of our Faith, and the Ten Commandments in their mother-tongue, and the same, so taught, shall cause the said youth oft to repeat and understand. And to the intent this may be the more easily done, the said curates, in their sermons, shall deliberately and plainly recite of the said Paternoster, Articles, or Commandments, one clause or article one day, and another another day, till the whole be taught and learned by little and little; and shall deliver the same in writing, or show where printed books containing the same be to be sold, to them that can read, or will desire the same; and thereto that the said fathers and mothers, masters and governors, do bestow their children and

vants, even from their childhood, either to learning, or to some honest exercise, occupation, or husbandry, exhorting, counselling, and by all the ways and means they may, as well in their said sermons and collations, as otherwise, the said fathers, mothers, masters, and other governors, being under their cure and charge, diligently to provide and foresee that the said youth be in no manner-wise kept or brought up in idleness; lest at any time afterwards they be driven, for lack of some mystery or occupation to live by, to fall to begging, stealing, or some other unthriftiness, forasmuch as we may daily see, through sloth and idleness, divers valiant men fall, some to begging, some to theft and murder, who, afterwards brought to calamity and misery, impute a great part thereof to their friends and governors, who suffered them to be brought up so idly in their youth; whereas, if they had been brought up and educated in some good literature, occupation, or mystery, they should (being rulers of their own family) have profited as well themselves, as divers other persons, to the great commodity and ornament of the commonwealth.

For bringing up of youth in some are or occupation.

Also, that the said parsons, vicars, and other curates, shall diligently provide, that the sacraments and sacramentals be duly and reverently ministered in their parishes. And if at any time it happen them, either in any of the cases expressed in the statutes of this realm, or of special license given by the king's majesty, to be absent from their benefices, they shall leave their cure, not to a rude and unlearned person, but to an honest, well-learned, and expert curate, that may teach the rude and unlearned of their cure wholesome doctrine, and reduce them to the right way, that they do not err: and always let them see that neither they, nor their vicars, do seek more their own profit, promotion, or advantage, than the profit of the souls that they have under their cure, or the glory of God.

Placing of good vicars and curates.

Item, That every parson or proprietary of any parish church within this realm shall, on this side the feast of St. Peter ad Vincula, next coming, provide a book of the whole Bible, both in Latin, and also in English, and lay the same in the choir, for every man that will, to look and read thereon; and shall discourage no man from the reading of any part of the Bible, either in Latin or English; but rather comfort, exhort, and admonish every man to read the same, as the very word of God, and the spiritual food of man's soul, whereby they may the better know their duties to God, to their sovereign lord the king, and their neighbour: ever gently and charitably exhorting them, that (using a sober and a modest behaviour in the reading and inquisition of the true sense of the same) they do in no wise stiffly or eagerly contend or strive one with another about the same, but refer the declaration of those places that be in controversy, to the judgment of them that be better learned.

Every parish to provide a Bible in English.

Also the said dean, parsons, vicars, curates, and other priests shall in no wise, at any unlawful time, nor for any other cause than for their honest necessity, haunt or resort to any taverns or ale-houses; and after their dinner and supper they shall not give themselves to drinking or riot, spending their time idly, by day or by night, at tables or cards playing, or any other unlawful game; but at such times as they shall have such leisure, they shall read or hear somewhat of holy Scripture, or shall occupy themselves with some honest exercise; and that they always do those things that appertain to good congruence and honesty, with profit of the commonweal, having always in mind, that they ought to excel all others in purity of life, and should be example to all others to live well and christianly.

Priests not to haunt ale-houses.

Furthermore, because the goods of the church are called the goods of the poor, and in these days nothing is less seen than the poor to be sustained with the same, all parsons, vicars, prebendaries, and other beneficed men within this deanery, not being resident upon their benefices, who may dispend yearly twenty pounds or above, either within this deanery or elsewhere, shall distribute hereafter yearly amongst their poor parishioners or other inhabitants there, in the presence of the churchwardens or some other honest men of the parish, the fortieth part of the fruits and revenues of their said benefices, lest they be worthily noted of ingratitude, who, reserving so many parts to themselves, cannot vouchsafe to impart the fortieth portion thereof amongst the poor people of that parish, that is so fruitful and profitable unto them.

Parsons not resident, to pay the fortieth part to their parishes.

And to the intent that learned men may hereafter spring the more, for the executing of the said premises, every parson, vicar, clerk, or beneficed man

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within this deanery, having yearly to spend in benefices or other promotions of the church, a hundred pounds, shall give competent exhibition to one scholar, and for as many hundred pounds more as he may dispend, to so many scholars more shall he give like exhibition in the university of Oxford or Cambridge, or some grammar-school; who, after they have profited in good learning, may be partners of their patron's cure and charge, as well in preaching, as otherwise in the execution of their offices, or may, when need shall be, otherwise profit the commonwealth with their counsel and wisdom.

Every beneficed man worth a hundred pounds to find a scholar at the university.

Also that all parsons, vicars, and clerks, having churches, chapels, or mansions within this deanery, shall bestow yearly hereafter upon the same mansions or chancels of their churches being in decay, the fifth part of those their benefices, till they shall be fully repaired; and the same so repaired they shall always keep and maintain in good estate.

Beneficed men to maintain their mansions.

All which and singular injunctions shall be inviolably observed of the said dean, parsons, vicars, curates, stipendiaries, and other clerks and beneficed men, under pain of suspension, and sequestration of the fruits of their benefices, until they have done their duties according to these injunctions.

After these injunctions and articles before expressed (which were given about A.D. 1536 and 1537), it was not above the space of a year but other injunctions also were published, to the further instruction of the people in the proceedings of religion, whereby both the parsons of churches, and the parishes together, were enjoined to provide in every church to be a Bible in English: also for every parishioner to be taught by the minister, to understand and to say the Lord's Prayer and Creed in their own vulgar tongue, with other necessary and most fruitful injunctions, the tenor whereof followeth.

Further Injunctions of the King, exhibited A.D. 1538.

In the name of God, Amen. By the authority and commission of the most excellent prince Henry, by the grace of God, king of England and of France, defender of the faith, lord of Ireland, and, in earth, supreme head under Christ of the church of England; I, Thomas lord Cromwell, lord privy seal, vicegerent to the king's said highness for all his jurisdiction ecclesiastical within this realm, do, for the advancement of the true honour of Almighty God, the increase of virtue, and the discharge of the king's majesty, give and exhibit unto you N., these injunctions following, to be kept, observed, and fulfilled, under the pain hereafter declared.

First, That ye shall truly observe and keep all and singular the king's highness's injunctions given unto you heretofore in my name by his grace's authority, not only upon the pains therein expressed, but also in your default now, after this second monition, continued, upon further punishment to be straightly extended towards you by the king's highness's arbitrement, or that of his vicegerent aforesaid.

For the Bible to be set up in churches.

Item, That ye shall provide, on this side the feast of N. next coming, one book of the whole Bible of the largest volume in English, and the same set up in some convenient place within the said church, that ye have cure of, where your parishioners may most commodiously resort to the same, and read it; the charges of which book shall be rateably borne between you, the parson and parishioners aforesaid, that is to say, the one half by you, and the other half by them.

Item, That ye shall discourage no man privily or apertly from the reading or hearing of the said Bible, but shall expressly provoke, stir, and exhort every person to read the same, as that which is the very lively word of God, that every christian person is bound to embrace, believe, and follow, if he look to be saved; admonishing them, nevertheless, to avoid all contention and altercation therein, and to use an honest sobriety in the inquisition of the true sense of the same, and to refer the explication of the obscure places, to men of higher judgment in Scripture.

Item, That ye shall, every Sunday and holy-day through the year, openly and plainly recite to your parishioners, twice or thrice together, or oftener if need require, one article or sentence of the Paternoster or Creed in English, to the intent they may learn the same by heart; and so, from day to day, to give them one like lesson or sentence of the same, till they have learned the whole Paternoster and Creed in English by rote: and as they be taught every sentence of the same by rote, ye shall expound and declare the understanding of the same unto them, exhorting all parents and householders to teach their children and servants the same, as they are bound in conscience to do: and, that done, ye shall declare unto them the Ten Commandments, one by one, every Sunday and holy-day, till they be likewise perfect in the same.

The Lord's Prayer to be learned in English.

Item, That ye shall, in confessions every Lent, examine every person that cometh to confession to you, whether they can recite the Articles of our Faith, and the Paternoster in English, and hear them say the same particularly: wherein if they be not perfect, ye shall declare to them, that every christian person ought to know the same before they should receive the blessed sacrament of the altar, and admonish them to learn the same more perfectly by the next year following: or else, like as they ought not to presume to come to God's board without perfect knowledge of the same (and if they do, it is to the great peril of their souls), so ye shall declare unto them, that ye look for other injunctions from the king's highness by that time, to stay and repel all such from God's board, as shall be found ignorant in the premises: wherefore do ye thus admonish them, to the intent they should both eschew the peril of their souls, and also the worldly rebuke that they might incur hereafter by the same.

Sermons quarterly to be made.

Item, That ye shall make, or cause to be made, in the said church, and every other cure ye have, one sermon every quarter of a year at least, wherein ye shall purely and sincerely declare the very gospel of Christ, and in the same exhort your hearers to the works of charity, mercy, and faith, specially prescribed and commanded in Scripture; and not to repose their trust or affiance in other works devised by men's fantasies besides Scripture: as in wandering to pilgrimages, offering of money, candles, or tapers to feigned relics or images, or kissing or licking the same, saying over a number of beads not understood nor minded on, or such like superstition: for the doing whereof ye not only have no promise of reward in Scripture, but, contrariwise, great threats and maledictions of God, as things tending to idolatry and superstition, which, of all other offences, God Almighty doth most detest and abhor, for that the same diminisheth most his honour and glory.

Images pulled down.

Item, That such feigned images as ye know, in any of your cures, to be so abused with pilgrimages or offerings of any thing made thereunto, ye shall, for avoiding of that most detestable offence of idolatry, forthwith take down without delay; and shall suffer from henceforth no candles, tapers, or images of wax, to be set before any images or picture, but only the light that commonly goeth about the cross of the church by the rood-loft, the light before the sacrament of the altar, and the light about the sepulchre; which, for the adorning of the church and divine service, ye shall suffer to remain still: admonishing your parishioners, that images serve for none other purpose but as the books of unlearned men that ken no letters, whereby they might be admonished of the lives and conversation of them that the said images do represent; which images if they abuse for any other intent than for such remembrances, they commit idolatry in the same, to the great danger of their souls. And therefore the king's highness, graciously tendering the weal of his subjects' souls, hath travailed in part already, and more will hereafter travail, for the abolishing of such images as might be occasion of so great offence to God, and so great danger to the souls of his loving subjects.

Good ministers to be placed.

Item, That in all such benefices or cures as ye have, whereupon you be not yourself resident, ye shall appoint such curates in your stead as both can by ability, and will also, promptly execute these injunctions, and do their duty otherwise, that ye are bound to do in every behalf accordingly; and profit their cure no less with good example of living, than with declaration of the word of God: or else their lack and defaults shall be imputed unto you, who shall straightly answer for the same, if they do otherwise.

Item, That you shall admit no man to preach within any of your benefices or cures, but such as shall appear unto you to be sufficiently licensed thereunto

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by the king's highness, or his grace's authority, or by the bishop of the diocese; and such as shall be so licensed, ye shall gladly receive, to declare the word of God without any resistance or contradiction.

Item, If ye have heretofore declared to your parishioners any thing to the extolling and setting forth of pilgrimages to feigned relics or images, or any such superstition, you shall now openly, afore the same, recant and reprove the same; showing them, as the truth is, that ye did the same upon no ground of Scripture, but as being led and seduced by a common error and abuse, crept into the church through the sufferance and avarice of such as felt profit by the same.

Pilgrimages and images abandoned.

Item, If ye do or shall know any within your parish, or elsewhere, that is a letter of the word of God to be read in English, or sincerely preached, or of the execution of these injunctions, or a fautor of the bishop of Rome's pretensed power, now by the laws of this realm justly rejected and extirped; ye shall detect the same to the king's highness, or his honourable council, or to his vicegerent aforesaid, or to the justice of peace next adjoining.

The word of God to be preached without stop or interruption.

Item, That you and every parson, vicar, or curate, within this diocese, shall, for every church, keep one book of register, wherein ye shall write the day and year of every wedding, christening, and burying, made within your parish for your time; and so for every man succeeding you likewise; and also therein set every person's name that shall be so wedded, christened or buried: and for the safe keeping of the same book, the parish shall be bound to provide, of their common charges, one sure coffer, with two locks and keys, whereof the one to remain with you, and the other with the wardens of every such parish wherein the said book shall be laid up; which book ye shall every Sunday take forth, and in the presence of the said wardens or one of them, write and record in the same, all the weddings, christenings and buryings, made the whole week before: and that done, to lay up the said book in the said coffer as before; and for every time the same shall be omitted, the party that shall be in the fault thereof, shall forfeit to the said church three shillings and four pence, to be employed on the reparation of the same church.

Register book for every parish.

Item, That ye shall, once every quarter of a year, read these and the other former injunctions given unto you by authority of the king's highness, openly and deliberately, before all your parishioners; to the intent that both you may be the better admonished of your duty, and your said parishioners the more incited to ensue the same for their part.

Item, Forasmuch as by a law established, every man is bound to pay his tithes, no man shall, by colour of duty omitted by their curates, detain their tithes, and so redouble one wrong with another, and be his own judge; but shall truly pay the same, as hath been accustomed, to their parsons and curates, without any restraint or diminution; and such lack and default as they can justly find in their parsons and curates, to call for reformation thereof at their ordinaries' and other superiors' hands, who, upon complaint and due proof thereof, shall reform the same accordingly.

Tithes to be paid.

Item, That no parson shall from henceforth alter or change the order and manner of any fasting day that is commanded and indicted by the church, or of divine prayer, or of service, otherwise than is specified in the said injunctions, until such time as the same shall be so ordered and transposed by the king's highness's authority; the evens of such saints, whose holy-days be abrogated, only excepted, which shall be declared henceforth to be no fasting days, except also the commemoration of Thomas Becket, sometime archbishop of Canterbury, which shall be clean omitted, and instead thereof the ferial service used.

Becket's day abrogated.

Item, That the knolling of the Aves after service and certain other times, which hath been brought in and begun by the pretence of the bishop of Rome's pardon, henceforth be left and omitted, lest the people do hereafter trust to have pardon for the saying of their aves between the said knolling, as they have done in times past.

Knolling of Aves forbidden.

Item, Whereas, in times past, men have used, in divers places in their processions, to sing 'Ora pro nobis,' to so many saints, that they had no time to sing the good suffrages following, as 'Parce nobis Domine,' and 'Libera nos Domine,' it must be taught and preached, that better it were to omit 'Ora pro nobis,' and to sing the other suffrages, being most necessary and effectual. All which

Suffrages of saints rejected.

and singular injunctions I minister unto you and to your parishioners, by the king's highness's authority, to be committed in this part, which I charge and command you, by the same authority, to observe and keep, upon pain of deprivation, sequestration of your fruits, or such other coercion as, to the king or his vicegerent for the time being, shall be seen convenient. *Henry VIII.* A. D. 1538.

By these articles and injunctions thus coming forth one after another, for the necessary instruction of the people, it may appear how well the king then deserved the title of his supreme government, given to him over the church of England; by which title and authority he did more good for the redressing and advancing of Christ's church and religion here in England in these three years, than the pope, the great vicar of Christ, with all his bishops and prelates, had done the space of three hundred years before. Such a vigilant care was then in the king and in his council, how by all ways and means to redress religion, to reform errors, to correct corrupt customs, to help ignorance, and to reduce the misleading of Christ's flock, drowned in blind popery, superstition, customs and idolatry, to some better form of more perfect reformation: whereunto he provided not only these articles, precepts, and injunctions above specified, to inform the rude people, but also procured the bishops to help forward, in the same cause of decayed doctrine, with their diligent preaching and teaching of the people; according as ye heard before, how that in the year 1534, during the whole time of parliament, there was appointed every Sunday a bishop to preach at Paul's cross, against the supremacy of the bishop of Rome. The king better deserving the name of supreme governor than the pope.

Amongst these bishops, John Longland, bishop of Lincoln, the king's confessor, and a great persecutor of the poor flock of Christ (as is before sufficiently recorded), made a sermon before the king, upon Good Friday, this present year 1538, at Greenwich, seriously and effectuously preaching, on the king's behalf, against the usurped supremacy of the bishop of Rome; the contents of whose sermon wholly to express, were here too long and tedious. So much as may suffice for our purpose I thought should remain to posterity, beginning at his theme, which then he took in hand to treat upon, written in Hebrews xiii., as followeth.

The Sermon of John Longland, Bishop of Lincoln, on Good Friday, before the King at Greenwich, A.D. 1538. The theme from Hebrews xiii.

The words of the apostle are these, 'Habemus altare de quo edere non habent potestatem qui tabernaculo deserviunt. Quorum enim animalium infertur sanguis pro peccato in sancta per pontificem, horum corpora cremantur extra castra. Propter quod, et Jesus extra portam passus est. Exeamus igitur ad eum extra castra, improperium ejus portantes!'

These are the words of the apostle; many things contained in few words; and the English thereof is this: We have an altar; we have an altar (saith the apostle), an altar, and a sacrifice upon this altar. And they that serve at the tabernacle may not eat of this altar, may not eat of this sacrifice that is offered upon this altar. For the apostle here, 'per metonymiam,' doth put the altar for that which is the sacrifice upon the altar. The blood of those beasts that were slain for the sacrifice, was brought into the holy, secret, high place of the temple where the ark was, between the high altar (as we will say) and the veil by the bishop, and there offered up for the sin of the people. The bodies of the beasts that were burned without the pavilions or tents, for which, 'propter

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quod,' for which; what? for the fulfilling of which mystery. Also to verify and fulfil the figure, and that the thing figured might be correspondent to the figure, Jesus suffered without the gate, to sanctify the people by his blood. Let us go out therefore, and suffer with Christ, bearing his opprobries and rebukes. These be the words of the apostle now taken.

I will, by the help of our Lord God, declare these words in order, even as they do stand. Here is an altar; here is a sacrifice; here is a bishop who did offer this sacrifice; here is a tabernacle; a serving of the tabernacle; the blood of the sacrifice which was offered by the bishop for the sins of the people, in the most holy place of the temple; and the bodies of the beasts (whose blood was offered) were burned without the tents. And this was done the tenth day of the seventh month. Ye hear now the words of the apostle, wherein appeareth the manifest figure of the passion of our Saviour Jesus Christ, which we this day do honour.

In these words the apostle toucheth the figure of the law, and bringeth it to a spiritual understanding; for it was commanded in the law, in the book of Numbers,[1] the tenth day of the seventh month, in the feast that was called the feast of the propitiation of mercy, of remission, or the feast of purgation, when the people were purged; at which time they should take a calf and a kid, and slay them; whose blood the only bishop should bring 'in sancta sanctorum,' into the most holy, solemn, and secret place of the temple, wherein the bishop never came, unless he brought with him blood to offer in sacrifice.[2] 'Almost all things after the law, or in the law, were cleansed in blood, and by blood; and without the effusion of blood was no remission,' saith the apostle: and in that place of the temple called 'sancta sanctorum,' the bishop prayed and offered for the people. The flesh and corpse of the sacrifice was burned without the tents, without their pavilions; and it was not lawful to any that did serve the tabernacle, to eat of the flesh of that sacrifice.

Here is a manifest figure (as I said) of the passion of our Saviour Christ. The altar that was consecrated and hallowed in this solemnity of the blood of the eternal testament, was that holy cross that Christ suffered on; which as on this day he did consecrate, hallow, dignify, and dedicate; and did adorn and deck the same with the members of his most precious body, more gloriously than if it had been embroidered and inserted with precious stones. For as gold, which is the most precious metal, is made more precious when it is set with precious stones, and is dignified therewith, whether it be altar, image, crown, ring or ouch; so was the altar, the holy cross, beautified, dignified, adorned, and made precious, with the members of that most precious stone Christ, which is, as Peter saith,[3] 'the lively stone which men did reprove, which God did elect for the approved stone, for a corner stone,' for the chief stone in the building of his church, for the stone that joineth the walls of the church together, for the stone whereupon the faith of Christ and his church is builded: a precious stone, a stone of price, a stone of high value, far passing in the estimation of a good christian man all other precious stones in the world. This precious stone Christ, with the members of his most precious body, did deck, adorn, and make precious this altar of the cross, when his body was by the Jews, with violence, extremely strained upon the same, that all his bones (as testifieth the prophet) might be numbered.[4] Upon this altar was the great sacrifice of the world offered, Christ himself. He was the sacrifice, and he was the priest. 'He offered up himself to God his Father, for the sin of man,' saith the apostle.[5] He offered himself a pure, clean, immaculate host to God, to redeem the world, to sanctify sinners, to justify man.

The stone Christ.

Christ the sacrifice of the world.

This Christ, the bishop of good things to come (as the apostle witnesseth), entered once into the place called 'sancta sanctorum,' not only of the temple; but 'in sancta sanctorum,' into that holy place of places, into heaven. He entered with sacrificed blood, like a bishop. 'Not with the blood of goats or calves, not with the blood of rams or bulls, but with his own precious blood.'[6] For if the blood of goats and bulls, and the ashes of the burned calf sprinkled

(1) Numb. xix.
(2) 'Quia omnia fere in sanguine secundum legem mundabantur, et sine sanguinis effusione non sit remissio.' Heb. xi.
(3) 'Lapis vivus, ab hominibus reprobatus, a Deo electus, probatus angularis et preciosus. 1 Pet. ii. (4) Psalm xxii.
(5) 'Obtulit semetipsum immaculatum Deo, ut sanctificaret inquinatos. (6) Heb. ix.

abroad, were sufficient to the making clean of the flesh, how much more then is the blood of Christ, who by the Holy Ghost did offer up himself to God, a most pure, most clean, and immaculate sacrifice, able to purge, cleanse, and make fair our consciences from the works of death, and to live in the living God?

This is our great bishop, as the apostle saith.[1] 'We have a great bishop, which did penetrate the heavens, whose name is Jesus the Son of God.' This is our great bishop, our high bishop, our universal bishop. This is the head bishop of all bishops, and of all the world, named of God (as the apostle saith[2]) to be our great bishop, properly called 'Summus Pontifex,' the highest bishop of bishops. For this is he only that is 'Summus, maximus, et universalis Pontifex.'

The pride of the pope; blasphemeth God.

The bishop of Rome therefore ought herein to be abashed, ashamed, and to abhor his own pride. For in this he outrageously doth offend God, and blasphemeth him, in that he presumeth to take this high name from our bishop, Christ; in that he taketh away, as much as lieth in him, the glory of God, the majesty appertaining unto Christ; in that he taketh upon him these names appropriate only to Christ, the highest bishop, the greatest bishop, the universal bishop,[3] the bishop of all the world. I much marvel how he dare be so bold to usurp and take these great names upon him. Greater blasphemy cannot be, than to take from God that which naturally belongeth unto him; than to take from God his glory and honour: than to vindicate and take upon him such high names, as beseemeth no Christian man to usurp. God said by his prophet, 'I will not give my glory away to any other,'[4] to any creature. He doth reserve the glory, that laud and honour that belongeth only unto him, unto himself; no man may attempt so far, no man may take so much upon him.

No greater blasphemy than in the pope.

Peter never took upon him at Rome as the pope doth.

Peter! Peter! thou wast once bishop of Rome, and the first bishop of Rome; Didst thou ever take this name upon thee, Summus, Maximus, Universalis? No, no, no. And why? For the Holy Ghost was in thee. Thou wouldest take no more upon thee, than God gave thee. Thou wast not desirous of worldly fame and glory. All that thou soughtest for, was for the glory of God; as all that will read thy sermons, thy epistles, and thy life, shall soon perceive. Look! a great number of bishops that next followed Peter in the same see; what were they? Holy martyrs, holy livers, who never attempted thus far. Let the bishop of Rome therefore acknowledge his great fault, his high folly, his unlawful usurpation, his unpriestly presumption, and humble himself to Christ and God, his great bishop. Would God he would reform himself! would God he would keep himself within that compass of his authority, and encroach no more upon other men's jurisdictions, but diligently keep and overlook his own diocese, and be content with that! would God he would look upon his predecessor St. Gregory in his register,[5] who was a bishop of Rome, a holy man. Let him learn there how he did rebuke John, at that time the bishop of Constantinople, for taking on him so highly, in such names: universal bishop, highest bishop, greatest bishop; and how he proved it to be against the law of God. He saith there, in one place, to this proud bishop John, 'What answer shalt thou make in that strait examination at that last judgment, to Christ the head of the universal holy church, that goest about to have subject unto thee all the members of Christ, by taking on thee the name of universal bishop?' In another place again in the same book he saith unto him, 'Who art thou, that dost presume to usurp a new name upon thee of universal bishop, contrary to the statutes of the gospel and decrees?'

God forbid that ever this blasphemy should come in the hearts of christian people! in which the honour of all priesthood is taken away, when a man shall rashly and arrogantly take that name upon him. Let this bishop of Rome therefore humble himself unto our great universal bishop, Christ; humble himself under the mighty hand of God; and know what the apostle doth write[6] of the honour and power of this Christ our great high bishop. He is (he saith) 'Pontifex misericors, fidelis, potens, magnus, humilis, penetrans cœlum, compatiens infirmitatibus nostris, offerens dona et sacrificia pro peccatis nostris, condolens iis qui ignorant et errant: Qui potest salvum facere a morte, offerens preces et supplicationes cum clamore valido et lachrymis, et exauditus est

(1) 'Habemus pontificem magnum qui penetravit cœlos, Jesum Filium Dei.' Levit. xvi. Heb. iv.
(2) Heb. v. (3) 'Summus pontifex, maximus pontifex, universalis pontifex.'
(4) 'Non dabo gloriam meam alteri.' Isai. xlii.
(5) Gregorius in Registro, lib. iv. indictione xxx. Epist. xxxviii.
(6) Heb. ii. iii. iv. v. vii. viii. ix.

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pro reverentia sua: Pontifex appellatus a Deo: Pontifex sanctus, innocens, impollutus, segregatus a peccatoribus, excelsior cœlis: Non habens necessitatem (quemadmodum alii) prius pro suis delictis hostias offerre, deinde pro populo: Pontifex sedens in dextris Dei interpellans pro nobis, emundans conscientias nostras ab operibus mortuis, intrans sancta sanctorum, per proprium sanguinem. Hic est Pontifex confessionis nostræ.

The titles attributed to Christ, in scripture.

Let all earthly bishops learn of this heavenly bishop Christ, some of these properties are appropriate and belong only to God, and not to man. In some we ought to follow him, in some we cannot, nor ought to do. This our high and great Bishop is 'misericors,' saith the apostle, merciful. A merciful bishop, ready to forgive, ready to remit those that have offended him. He is not cruel nor vengeable, but full of pity, full of mercy. And in this we ought to follow him.

Misericors.

Potens.

He is 'Pontifex potens,' a mighty Bishop, mighty and full of power. We be but weak and feeble bishops, not able to do any thing but by his permission and help. He is able to make sick, to make whole; to make rich, to make poor; to set up, to put down. 'Potens,' a mighty bishop, mighty and able to remit sin,[1] to forgive, to save both body and soul from damnation. 'Potens,' a mighty bishop, and full of power. No power in this world but of him: 'Omnis potestas a Domino Deo est;' all power is of him. And, as he himself witnesseth, 'All power is given unto me in heaven and in earth.'[2] 'Potens salvare a morte;' he can save the body, and save the soul: he can deliver the one and deliver the other from everlasting death. Who can forgive sin but he?[3] 'Est potens;' he is a mighty bishop! Of him and by him emperors, kings, magistrates, and potestates, bishops, priests, with all others that have power, have their power and authority. Who is able to turn the wind, to make the wind blow or cease, but he? Who is able to say and prove, I will now have it rain, now clear; the sun to shine, the water to flow, to ebb, with such other, but only he? This is our mighty Bishop.

Omnipotens.

'Pontifex potens,' mighty: yea, 'omnipotens,' almighty. He can do all; nothing is to him impossible. 'Ipse dixit, et facta sunt omnia.' Mandavit, et creata sunt universa: potens ergo est.[4] He is a mighty Bishop. We are not so.

Fidelis.

'Fidelis Pontifex.' He is a faithful Bishop: faithful. He is a faithful bishop to God, referring all lauds, all honour and glory, to his Father. In all things that he did, miracles or other, he took never the more upon himself. He was also a faithful bishop to the world; for he did all that belonged to the office of a good bishop. The very office of a bishop[5] is, prædicare, orare, et sacrificare, sive offerre: to preach, to pray, to do sacrifice, or to offer. He preached to his people; he taught the world most wholesome doctrine, whereby he called the people to God; he converted sinners; he called them to penance. He made them weep and lament their sins; they followed his person, they followed his word, they followed his ensample. They came out of all coasts to see him, to hear him, to learn of him. They forsook meat and drink, house and home; and followed him wheresoever he went, as well in wilderness as elsewhere: insomuch that after they had followed him three days, he, being moved with pity, lest they should perish for lack of food, being in the wilderness far from succour, he fed them twice miraculously. Once in the desert with five loaves and two fishes he fed five thousand men, besides women and children, and there were left twelve great baskets, twelve maunds full of brokelets and offals at that meal.[6] At another time he fed in the wilderness to the number of four thousand men, besides women and children, with seven loaves, and a few little fishes, and there were left of fragments, seven maunds full.[7]

The second office of a bishop is to pray.

The second office of a bishop he fulfilled also, for he prayed. He was most devout in prayer, so to teach all bishops and preachers not to presume on their wit or learning, neither on their capacity, memory, fair tongue or utterance; but that the preacher do studiously apply his book, with all diligence, to study how to speak, what to speak, before whom he shall speak, and to shape his sermon after the audience. The preacher ought also, besides his study and preaching, to pray: for by devout prayer he shall attain, percase, as much or more, as by study or learning, for without prayer the words will little prevail. Look in Christ's life, and thou shalt find that in every thing he went about, he

(1) Rom. xiv. (2) 'Data est mihi omnis potestas in cœlo et in terra.' Matt. xxviii.
(3) 'Quis potest dimittere peccatum nisi solus Deus?' Mark ii. (4) Psa. xxxii.
(5) 'The office of a bishop:' If he had placed here, 'administrare sacramenta,' for 'sacrificare,' his partition so might have stood. (6) Matt. xiv. (7) Matt xv.

prayed, to show the valiancy, the virtue, and strength of prayer: to show our necessities, our weakness and feebleness of nature. He prayed for his people (as Luke witnesseth)[1] the space of one whole night. And what a marvellous devout prayer made he for his people in the mount, the night afore his passion, when the chalice of death was represented unto him; when he sweat water and blood; when he cried thrice, Let this chalice,[2] let this passion and blood, let the virtue thereof, pass from me unto all mankind. Let every man have the virtue and merit thereof; let it work in all folks; let every faithful man and woman be partaker thereof; let it not be lost, but work to the world's end. This was a marvellous, devout, merciful prayer.

The cry of Christ on the cross.

And again, suffering and hanging on the cross, he offered up for his people his prayers and supplications with a huge cry, with a piteous voice, with a lamentable and deadly shriek, and with weeping tears,[3] to God his Father; he, hanging on the cross, even when the spirit should depart the body, not then forgetting his people, at the hour when all the people forget both the world and themselves. Which cry was so huge and great, so marvellous, and of that effect, that the heavens trembled thereat, the angels mourned for pity, the sun lost his light, the vail in the temple rived in two, the earth quaked, the stones rent asunder and brake in gobbets, the graves opened, the dead bodies rose to life, and appeared in the city. The centurion, and those that kept Christ, to see the execution done, cried, 'Vere, filius Dei erat iste!' 'This was the undoubted Son of God.' His prayer and weeping tears were so pleasant unto the Father that he was heard; 'Exauditus est pro reverentia sua.' He was heard, and why? For it was so entire, so devout, so reverently done, in such a manner and fashion, with such a zeal grounded upon such a charity, suffering for our guilt, and not for his own. And for that he did the very office of a bishop, so entirely to pray, and so reverently to offer up himself in sacrifice for his people, he was heard; he was heard; his prayer was heard of God. And that is the third property of a good bishop, to offer sacrifice for his people. Every bishop, every bishop, for his diocesans and for the whole universal church. In these three we ought, as much as we may, to follow Christ.

The heavens trembled, angels mourned, the sun lost his light, the vail rived, earth quaked, stones rent, graves opened, the dead rose.

Third office of a bishop.

Thus this Christ was and is 'Pontifex fidelis,' a faithful Bishop? faithful; faithful in his word, true in his promise, deceiving no man, but profiting all. In all that he did or spake, he sought nothing his own glory, but the glory of God; teaching thereby all bishops of the world, in all that they go about, to do it unto the praise and glory of God. And herein we ought also to follow him.

Magnus.

'Magnus Pontifex.' He is the great Bishop, the high bishop, the supreme bishop, the universal bishop over all the world. No great bishop but he. None high, none supreme nor universal bishop, but he.

The pope blasphemeth God.

What is blasphemy.

And herein the bishop of Rome outrageously usurpeth upon God, as he doth upon the world, to take the honour and names (only to God appropriate) to himself, and doth grievously blaspheme and offend God therein. Greater blasphemy cannot be, than to ascribe to God that which no ways belongeth unto him, or to take from God that which is unto him appropriate. It is meet therefore he do betimes, and in season, leave his unjust encroachments both against his Lord God, and also against the world, lest he do provoke God to pour out all his vials of wrath upon him: the væes, I mean the maledictions and vengeance that John speaketh of in the Apocalypse.[4] I would advise him to cease the injuries which he hath done, and daily doth, against thee, Christ, our great, high, universal Bishop, lest thou excommunicate and strike him; lest thou show thy wrath and judgment against him, and utterly extinct his pride, and ambitious pretensed authority. For thou wilt be known, thou wilt be known to be God. And thou art and wilt be our great universal and supreme Bishop, whatsoever the bishop of Rome shall attempt to the contrary; and thou wilt punish his worldly arrogancy, and strike when thou seest thy time. And though it be long ere thou strike, yet let him beware, for strike thou wilt, if thou be utterly provoked; and when thou dost strike, thy stroke is great, thy stroke is dreadful and sore. It vanquisheth the body, it slayeth the soul, it damneth both. Beware, therefore, thou bishop of Rome! and be content with thine own diocese, with thine own charge, as other bishops are with theirs: for further than thine own diocese thy jurisdiction doth not stretch.

The stroke of God is slow but sure.

The pope's power stretcheth no further than his diocese.

(1) Luke vi. (2) 'Transeat a me calix iste.' Matt. xxvi.
(3) 'Preces et supplicationes cum clamore valido et lachymis.' Heb. v. (4) Apoc. ix.

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A marvellous blindness in thee therefore, to take upon thee to answer for all the world, and art not able to answer our great bishop Christ for thyself at the dreadful day of judgment, when he shall ask but these few questions of thee? Quomodo intrasti? Quomodo rexisti? Quomodo vixisti? Quomodo pavisti? Quæ et qualia exempla dedisti? Quid ad meam gloriam fecisti? et hujusmodi.

Questions to be asked of the pope in the last judgment.

How didst thou enter into the bishopric? by me, or by the world? unlawfully or lawfully? by simony or freely? by labour, by paction, or called of God? How didst thou rule thy cure, thy diocese? Didst thou pray for thy people? Didst thou preach me to thy diocesans? Didst thou give them ghostly and bodily food? Didst thou minister spiritual and ghostly salves[1] (the sacraments I mean), to heal the sores of their souls? How didst thou live? Didst thou cast away the care, the glory and pomp of the world? Didst thou follow me in humility, in charity, in compassion, in poverty, in cleanness, and in chaste living?

The pope maketh all things a money matter.

How didst thou govern thy diocesans? Didst thou not make of all things that thou didst meddle with a money matter, in selling that which was not in thee to sell nor give, which thou calledst thy pardons, thy commissions, thy brieves, thy delegacies, reservations, exemptions, appellations, bulls, and dispensations? Didst not thou, under these pretences, and other like doings, deceive the world? What answer shalt thou make to this at that day, to our and thy great bishop Christ, when he shall visit thee and all thy diocese, me and all my diocese; yea, when he shall visit all the world? What answer shall you then make? I think verily thou shalt then have enough to do, yea, and more than thou canst wind thyself out of, to make answer for thyself, for thine own diocese, and for thine own diocesans, though thou usurp not upon other men's, as thou dost. The

Pontifex Maximus.

apostle writeth of Christ humbly, and calleth him 'Magnum Pontificem,' the great bishop. And he of Rome is not with this word contented, but will have a higher word for himself, in the superlative degree, 'Maximum Pontificem,' the greatest bishop. Oh! where is the humbleness and meekness that should be in him? Alas, he that taketh on him to teach all the world, how can he for shame suffer such blasphemous words to pass in his name, to his great shame and rebuke; to the great danger of his soul, and to the perilous ensample unto others! Oh, fie upon pride! It is a common proverb, 'Pride will have a fall.'

The pope's pride will have a fall.

Humilis.

Our bishop Christ was 'humilis;' meek, lowly, and humble in heart. He rode not upon any palfrey or courageous horse, but upon an ass; and that but once. He never was borne pompously abroad in a chair, upon men's shoulders. He never proffered his foot to any body to kiss. We read that he washed the feet of his disciples and wiped them.[2] We read that Mary Magdalen proffered to have kissed his feet, but he did prohibit her, saying, 'Noli me tangere;' 'Touch me not.' He would not suffer the woman then to touch him. He never had guard to defend him. He never followed the pomp of the world. He disdained not to go upon the ground with his bare feet.[3] What shall I say? He gave ensamples enough to the bishop of Rome, to me, and all bishops, to be meek and humble: he to know himself, and we ourselves, as, if he and we diligently look in Scripture, we shall find. And herein, in meekness, we are bound to follow him.

The humility of Christ.

Compatiens.

'Compatiens infirmitatibus.' This bishop Christ had compassion of our infirmities, of our frailties. It is impossible for a man to know the afflictions of a miserable person, that never suffered himself affliction; that never had experience of pains; that never felt what pain meant. But this bishop, Christ, had experience of our nature, how weak, how feeble the nature of man is; how weak of himself to do any good work without the help of God, how feeble to resist temptations. He suffered and felt the infirmities and pains of this natural body. He hath, therefore, compassion upon man, when he doth see him fall. He sorroweth his ruin, teaching bishops in especial, afore all others, to have compassion and pity upon the sinner, to help him spiritually, to comfort him ghostly, to help him to arise from sin, to allure him to penance, to draw him to virtue, to make him know God, to fear his justice, to love his laws; and thus to seek, all the ways that he and we can, to save the sinner's soul, for whom he shall make answer to God for his own diocesans; soul for soul, blood for blood, pain for pain, hell for hell, damnation for damnation. For which soul, our great

Christ full of compassion.

(1) Nay, rather, ghostly doctrine you should say. (2) John xiii. (3) Matt xx.

bishop, Christ (as the apostle doth witness),[1] did offer gifts and sacrifice himself, having compassion of them that by ignorance and by error did sin and offend God. Even when he was in his greatest agony upon the cross, he cried to his Father, 'Forgive them, Father, forgive them; they know not what they do:'[2] they are ignorant people; they know not what is what, or what danger they run into by thus entreating me. They know not their offences; 'forgive them, Father, forgive them.' In this compassion we ought also to follow our great bishop, Christ. *Henry VIII.* A. D. 1538.

It followeth in the former letter, 'Est Pontifex appellatus a Deo.' 'He is a bishop, and so named of God:' he is the very bishop. He offered up the very sacrifice, the sacrifice of his own most blessed body and blood, whereby the sin of the world was put away. Every bishop of the world is not named a bishop by God: for some come into that office, not by the Holy Ghost, nor elect of God (as John saith); not entering 'in ovile ovium per ostium, sed ascendens aliunde.'[3] Some there are, that enter into the fold of the sheep of God not by the door. Some there be that enter in, having charge and cure of soul, not by God, but by worldly means, by worldly labour, by importune suits and intercessions of friends, or by their own unlawful labour, by simony, and such other ways. Such are not named bishops by God. Such enter not by the door, not by him that saith,[4] 'I am the door, I am the way, I am the life, I am the truth;' I am 'pastor bonus,' the very true and good bishop, that entered by God. And all that enter otherwise than by God, Christ calleth them 'fures, et latrones;' thieves, spoilers, raveners, devourers, and deceivers of the sheep.[5] Their living shall declare the same; for such as so wilfully do enter, do study their own profits and commodities. Such receive the fruits, and do nothing for them; such suffer their sheep to perish for lack of bodily and ghostly food and sustenance, for lack of preaching, for lack of giving good counsel, for lack of good living, for lack of good ensample. And such, for the most part, live naughtily, carnally, fleshly, viciously, pompously, worldly, and not bishoply nor priestly. For they came not in by God, nor by grace. Christ saith,[6] 'Qui intrat per me salvabitur, et ingredietur, et egredietur, et pascua inveniet.' 'He that entereth by me shall be saved.' 'Et ingredietur, et egredietur;' 'And he shall go in, and he shall go out.' What is that to say, 'He shall go in, and he shall go out?' I think, he meaneth by going in, that he shall have grace to enter studiously into the holy Scripture, daily and nightly to meditate, to study, and to profit in the laws of God. 'Et egredietur:' and he shall explain and truly interpret and publish it unto the people. 'Et pascua inveniet:' and he shall find there plenty of spiritual food for himself and for his people, to edify their souls, to instruct and call them to the knowledge of God, to feed them plentifully, that they shall not lack necessaries to their souls. Let us therefore so live, that we may be called 'Pontifices appellati a Deo.'

Pontifex appellatus.

All bishops be not called of God.

This our great bishop, Christ, is also 'Pontifex sanctus, innocens, impollutus, segregatus a peccatoribus, excelsior cœlis, sedens a dextris Dei, emundans conscientias nostras a peccatis, intrans sancta sanctorum per proprium sanguinem.'[7] He is 'sanctus,' a holy bishop, and willeth us to be holy in our conversation, applying ourselves unto godliness, to the service of God, to live like bishops, like priests, pure, clean, chaste, devout, studious; faithfully labouring in his word; praying, doing sacrifice, and ever to be godly and virtuously occupied.

Sanctus.

He is 'Innocens:' an innocent. He never sinned, he never offended in word, thought, or deed. 'Innocens:' annoying no creature, profiting all folks, meekly suffering adversities, opprobries, rages, rebukes, and reproaches, without grudge or contradiction. 'Innocens et simplex; simplex, sine plica:' 'an innocent, without plait or wrinkle,' without error or doubleness, without hypocrisy or dissimulation, without flattering or glosing, without fraud or deceit; not serving the body, or the world, but God. In this we ought also to follow our heavenly Bishop.

Innocens.

Simplex.

'Impollutus:' He was undefiled. He lived clean without spot or blot, without wem[8] or stain. No 'immunditia' in him, no uncleanness nor filthiness; but all pure and clean, all chaste and immaculate, all bright and shining in grace and godliness; insomuch that he was 'segregatus a peccatoribus;' clean segregate from all kind of uncleanness, from all manner of sins, and from sinners.

Impollutus.

Segregatus a peccatoribus.

(1) Heb. v. (2) Luke xxiii. (3) John x.
(4) 'Ego sum ostium; ego sum via, veritas, et vita.' (5) John x.
(6) John xiv. (7) Heb. vii. (8) 'Wem,' a blemish in cloth.—Ed.

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Segregate from them, not from their company; for, as Matthew writeth, publicans and sinners came and ate and drank with him and his disciples in the house of Levi; and he also came as a physician, to heal the sinner. And yet he was segregate from them, as touching their ill livings, not being participant with them in sin;[1] but came only to heal them, and to rid them from sin and sores of the soul. He entered the heavens, not with the blood of kid or goat, but with his own proper blood. For which, and for his holiness and perfectness, 'Excelsior cœlis factus est;' he is extolled and exalted above all angels and beatitudes; above all the heavens, sitting on the right hand of the Father; whom all the heavenly creatures do worship, honour, and do reverence unto; where he prayeth for his people, and is Mediator in his manhood to his Father for us.

Excelsior.

This our bishop purgeth our conscience, as witnesseth the apostle; he cleanseth our souls; he maketh us inwardly beauteous and fair. The bishop of Rome lacketh many of these notable virtues. He hath few or none of these properties, few or none of these qualities. He is (as we all are sinners) a sinner: to whom this word 'magnus,' great, is not convenient, nor can be in him any ways verified; for he cannot forgive sin as our Bishop doth, nor justify as he doth, neither enter 'in sancta sanctorum,' with his own blood, as he did. How can he then be called a great bishop, who is (as we be all sinners) a sinner, a breaker of the laws of God, and who daily doth, or may, fall and sin? And for that cause, the law commanded that every bishop and priest should first offer hosts and sacrifice for his own sins, and afterwards for the sins of the people. How can he therefore be called a great bishop or priest?

Magnus.

Our Bishop, we speak of, is the very great bishop. No dole, no fraud, no guile, was ever found in his mouth. And when the prince of the world, the devil, came to him, he could find no point of sin in him. Wherefore Gabriel the archangel, showing his nativity unto Mary his mother, said, 'He shall be great, and shall be called the Son of God.'[2] And again it is written of him, 'A great prophet is risen among us.'[3] Sin maketh a man small and little; little in reputation before God and man. Virtue maketh man great, and of high reputation. Show me one place in Scripture, where you have read that a sinner was called great: I trow it shall not be found. Will you hear who were called great in Scripture? It is written of Isaac, 'He profited greatly in virtue, and was made great;'[4] great in reputation of the world. Moses was called 'magnus,'[5] *great* for his virtue: Abraham and John Baptist likewise. Now Jesus our bishop is called 'Magnus Episcopus,' 'Magnus Sacerdos;'[6] and after him never bishop is called 'magnus,' in all Scripture, neither in the reputation of man; unless it be in comparison one of another (and so saints and holy livers are called great in respect of sinners, or other mean livers). But where Christ our bishop cometh, there he, not in comparison of others, but 'simpliciter,' by his own magnitude and greatness, and of himself, ever was and is great, of whom it is written, 'A summo cœlo egressio ejus; et accursus ejus usque ad summum ejus;'[7] and as the apostle also proveth in many places, by express words. But now there is no bishop or priest in this world that may worthily of himself be called great, or who ought to take this name 'Magnus' upon him.

No sinner called great in the Scripture.

This he is therefore of whom it is written, 'The great Bishop above all others.'[8] And as he is called, and in very deed is, 'the Herdsman of herdsmen,' 'the Bishop of bishops,' 'the Prophet of prophets,' 'the Holy of holiest,' 'the Lord of lords,' 'the King of kings;'[9] even so is he called, and verily is 'Episcopus magnus.' Therefore the prophet did add, 'Magnus Sacerdos ex fratribus suis:' the great Bishop or Priest; great of himself; great in virtue and power; great of himself, and great in comparison afore all others. And therefore the apostle said, 'We have a great Bishop which did penetrate the heavens, Jesus the Son of God.'[10]

(1) 'Quantum ad participationem cum eis in peccato.' Matt. ix.
(2) 'Hic erit magnus, et Filius Altissimi vocabitur.' Luke i.
(3) 'Propheta magnus surrexit inter nos.' Luke vii.
(4) 'Quod proficiebat valde, et factus est magnus valde.' Gen. xxvi.
(5) Exod. xi. (6) Luke i. (7) Psalm xviii.
(8) 'Magnus Sacerdos ex fratribus suis.' Levit. xxi.
(9) 'Pastor pastorum,' 'Pontifex pontificum,' 'Propheta prophetarum,' 'Sanctus sanctorum,' 'Dominus dominantium,' 'Rex regum;' 'ita et Magnus magnorum est.'
(10) 'Habemus Pontificem magnum, qui penetravit cœlos, Jesum Filium Dei.'

Here may ye now see, how the bishop of Rome doth wrongfully encroach upon our great Bishop, Jesus Christ, to take from him not only this name 'Magnus;' and is not with that name yet contented, but addeth more, viz. 'Maximus,' 'Summus,' 'Sanctissimus,' 'Beatissimus,' 'Universalis,' and such other; the greatest, the highest, the holiest, the blessedest and universal, in the superlative degree; and yet there is no great bishop but Christ only, no supreme bishop but he only; none holy, none blessed, none universal bishop but only he. The bishop of Rome, and all other bishops, are but underlings and unworthy suffragans, unto this bishop, Christ. *Henry VIII.* A. D. 1538.

This our Christ (as witnesseth the apostle) is 'Pontifex nostræ confessionis;' the bishop whom we do confess to be our great bishop, our high bishop, our supreme bishop, our holy, blessed, and universal bishop; which names are reserved only unto Christ, and to no earthly bishop: not to the bishop of Rome, not to the bishop of Jerusalem, not to the bishop of Antioch, or of Constantinople, nor to any other bishop. No earthly bishop may presume to take upon him these high and holy names, only to God appropriate. The pope encroacheth upon Christ.

God! of thy goodness thou mayest, and I trust wilt, once make this vainglorious bishop of Rome first to know and acknowledge thy Son Christ to be the only supreme and universal bishop of the world: secondarily, to know himself, his weakness, his frailty, and his presumption; to know his office and bounden duty unto thee; to know his own diocese, and to usurp no further: thirdly, to have a low, humble, meek heart and stomach, to fear thee, God, and thy judgments; to acknowledge his own faults and usurpations; and to redress the same.

Now to return unto our matter, it followeth in the letter first taken; 'De quo edere non habent potestatem qui tabernaculo deserviunt,' &c.

And thus much out of John Longland's sermon against the pope.

You heard before, by the king's injunctions above expressed, and directed out A.D. 1538, how all such images and pictures as were abused with pilgrimage or offerings of any idolatry, were abolished; by virtue of which injunctions, divers idols, and especially the most notable stocks of idolatry, were taken down the same year, 1538, as the images of Walsingham, Ipswich, Worcester, the Lady of Wilsdon, Thomas Becket, with many more; having engines to make their eyes to open and roll about, and other parts of their body to stir, and many other false jugglings, as the blood of Hayles,[1] and such like, wherewith the simple people a long time had been deceived: all which were espied out, and destroyed. Images and pilgrimages destroyed.

Among divers other of these foul idols, there went also, in the same reckoning, a certain old idolatrous image in Wales, named Darvell Gatheren; which, in the month of May, in the year above mentioned, was brought up to London, and burned in Smithfield; with which idol also was burned at the same time, and hanged for treason, friar Forrest, of whom some mention was partly touched before, in the story of cardinal Wolsey. The Welsh idol of Darvell Gatheren.

Friar Forrest,[2]

EXECUTED FOR REBELLING AGAINST THE KING'S SUPREMACY.

* Forasmuch[3] as the number of years doth lead us thereunto, we will somewhat touch and speak of friar Forrest; although he be unworthy of a place, and not to be numbered, in this catalogue.*

This Forrest was an observant friar, and had secretly, in confessions, declared to many of the king's subjects, that the king was

(1) Hayles in Gloucestershire, where they pretended to show some of our Saviour's blood.—Ed.
(2) See Grafton's Chronicle, vol. ii. p. 462, Edition 1809.—Ed. (3) See Edition 1563, p. 571.—Ed.

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not supreme head; and being thereof accused and apprehended, he was examined how he could say that the king was not supreme head of the church, when he himself had sworn to the contrary? He answered, "that he took his oath with his outward man, but his inward man never consented thereunto." And being further accused of divers damnable articles, and thereupon convicted, he gladly submitted himself to abide the punishment of the church. Upon this his submission having more liberty than before he had, to talk with whom he would, he became as far from his submission as ever he was; and when his abjuration was sent him to read, he utterly refused it, and obstinately persevered in his errors: wherefore he was justly condemned, and afterwards hanged in Smithfield in chains, upon a gallows quick, by the middle and arm-holes, and fire was made under him, and so was he consumed and burned to death.

Friar Forrest burned in Smithfield.

In the place of execution, there was a scaffold prepared for the king's most honourable council, and the nobles of the realm, to sit upon, to grant him pardon, if he had any spark of repentance in him. There was also a pulpit prepared, where the right reverend father, Hugh Latimer, bishop of Worcester, declared his errors, and manifestly confuted them by the Scriptures, with many godly exhortations to move him to repentance: but he was so froward, that he neither would hear, nor speak. A little before, the aforesaid image, called 'Darvell Gatheren,' coming out of Wales, was brought to the gallows, and there also with the aforesaid friar, as is said, was set on fire; which the Welchmen much worshipped, and had a prophecy amongst them, that this image should set a whole forrest on fire: which prophecy took effect; for he set this friar Forrest on fire, and consumed him to nothing. The friar, when he saw the fire come, and that present death was at hand, caught hold upon the ladder, and would not let it go, but so impatiently took his death, as never any man that put his trust in God, at any time so ungodly or unquietly ended his life. *Upon[1] the gallows were set, in great letters, these verses following:

A Welch prophecy of Darvell Gatheren.

'David Darvell Gatheren,'
(As saith the Welshmen),
'Fetched outlaws out of hell;'
Now is he come with spear and shield,
In harness to burn in Smithfield,
For in Wales he may not dwell.

And Forrest the friar,
That obstinate liar,
That wilfully shall be dead,
In his contumacy
The gospel did deny,
And the king to be supreme head.[2]

The ruin and dissolution of abbeys and monasteries.

In the months of October and November the same year, shortly after the overthrow of these images and pilgrimages, followed also the ruin of the abbeys and religious houses, which, by the special motion of the Lord Cromwell (or, rather and principally, by the singular blessing of Almighty God), were suppressed, being given a little

(1) See Edition 1563, pp. 571, 572.—Ed.
(2) These verses form part of The Fantasy of Idolatry, which may be found on a subsequent page in this volume.—Ed.

before by act of parliament into the king's hand; whereupon not only the houses were rased, but their possessions also disparkled among the nobility, in such sort as all friars, monks, canons, nuns, and other sects of religion were then so rooted out of this realm from the very foundation, that there seemeth, by God's grace, no possibility hereafter left, for the generation of those strange weeds to grow here any more, according to the true verdict of our Lord and Saviour Christ in his gospel, saying, 'Every plantation, being not planted of my Father, shall be plucked up by the roots,' &c.[1] *Henry VIII.* A.D. 1538.

The History of the worthy Martyr of God, John Lambert, otherwise named Nicholson,

WITH HIS TROUBLES, EXAMINATIONS, AND ANSWERS, AS WELL BEFORE WARHAM, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY, AND OTHER BISHOPS, AS ALSO BEFORE KING HENRY THE EIGHTH, BY WHOM AT LENGTH HE WAS CONDEMNED TO DEATH, AND BURNED IN SMITHFIELD, IN A.D. 1538.

Immediately upon the ruin and destruction of the monasteries, the same year, and in the month of November, followed the trouble and condemnation of John Lambert, the faithful servant of Jesus Christ, and martyr of blessed memory. This Lambert, being born and brought up in Norfolk, was first converted by Bilney, and studied in the university of Cambridge; where, after he had sufficiently profited both in Latin and Greek, and had translated out of both tongues sundry things into the English tongue, being forced at last by violence of the time, he departed from thence to the parts beyond the seas, to Tyndale and Frith, and there remained the space of a year and more, being preacher and chaplain to the English House at Antwerp, till he was disturbed by sir Thomas More, and by the accusation of one Barlow, was carried from Antwerp to London; where he was brought to examination first at Lambeth, then at the bishop's house at Otford, before Warham, the archbishop of Canterbury, and other adversaries; having five and forty articles ministered against him, whereunto he rendered answer again by writing: which answers, forasmuch as they contain great learning, and may give some light to the better understanding of the common causes of religion now in controversy, I thought here to exemplify the same, as they came right happily to our hands. The copy both of the articles, and also of his answers, here in order followeth.

Lambert, preacher to the English house at Antwerp, accused by one Barlow, and brought to London.

Articles, to the number of five-and-forty, laid to Lambert.

Imprimis, Whether thou wast suspected or infamed of heresy? Heresy.

II. Whether ever thou hadst any of Luther's books, and namely, since they were condemned? and how long thou didst keep them, and whether thou hast spent any study on them?

III. Whether thou wast constituted priest, and in what diocese, and of what bishop?

IV. Whether it be lawful for a priest to marry a wife, and whether a priest in some case be bound by the law of God to marry a wife? Priests' marriages.

V. Whether thou believest that whatsoever is done of man, whether it be good or ill, cometh of necessity? Necessity.

(1) Matt. xv.

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VI. Whether the sacrament of the altar be a sacrament necessary unto salvation? and whether after the consecration of the bread and wine done by the priest, as by the minister of God, there is the very body and blood of Christ, in likeness of bread and wine?

The sacrament of the altar.

VII. Item, What opinion thou holdest touching the sacrament of baptism? whether thou dost believe that it is a sacrament of the church, and a necessary sacrament unto salvation, and that a priest may baptize; and that the order of baptizing ordained by the church, is necessary and wholesome?

Baptism.

Matrimony.

VIII. Item, Whether thou believest that matrimony be a sacrament of the church necessary to be observed in the church, and that the order appointed by the church for the solemnizing thereof, is allowable and to be holden?

Sacrament of orders.

IX. Item, Whether thou dost believe orders to be a sacrament of the church, and that saying of mass, ordained by the church, is to be observed of priests? whether it be deadly sin or not, if it be omitted or contemned; and whether the order of priesthood were invented by man's imagination, or ordained by God?

Sacrament of penance.

X. Item, Whether penance be a sacrament of the church, and necessary unto salvation; and whether auricular confession is to be made unto the priest. or is necessary unto salvation? and whether thou believest that a Christian is bound, besides contrition of heart, having the free use of an apt or free priest, under necessity of salvation, to be confessed unto a priest, and not unto any layman, be he ever so good and devout; and whether thou believest that a priest, in cases permitted to him, may absolve a sinner (being contrite and confessed) from his sins, and enjoin him wholesome penance?

Sacrament of confession.

Confirmation and extreme unction.

XI. Item, Whether thou dost believe and hold, that the sacrament of confirmation and extreme unction be sacraments of the church, and whether they do profit the souls of them that receive them: and whether thou believest the aforesaid seven sacraments to give grace unto them that do duly receive them?

Unwritten verities.

XII. Whether all things necessary unto salvation are put in holy Scripture, and whether things only there put be sufficient? and whether some things upon necessity of salvation are to be believed and observed, which are not expressed in Scripture?

Purgatory.

XIII. Whether thou believest that purgatory is, and whether that souls departed be therein tormented and purged?

Praying to saints.

XIV. Whether holy martyrs, apostles, and confessors departed from this world, ought to be honoured and called upon, and prayed unto?

Mediators.

XV. Whether the saints in heaven, as mediators, pray for us?

Pilgrimage.

XVI. Whether thou believest that oblations and pilgrimages may be devoutly and meritoriously done to the sepulchres and relics of saints?

Lent-fast.

XVII. Whether the fast in Lent, and others appointed by the canon law, and received in common usage of christian people (unless necessity otherwise requireth), are to be observed?

Worshipping to images.

XVIII. Whether it be laudable and profitable, that worshipful images be set in churches for the remembrance of Christ and his saints?

Praying for souls departed.

XIX. Whether thou believest that prayers of men living, do profit souls departed, and being in purgatory?

Merits.

XX. Whether men may merit and deserve, both by their fastings and also by their other deeds of devotion?

Preaching without license.

XXI. Whether thou dost believe that men, prohibited of bishops to preach, as suspected of heresy, ought to cease from preaching and teaching, until they have purged themselves of suspicion before a higher judge?

XXII. Whether thou believest that it is lawful for all priests freely to preach the word of God, or no?

Laymen to preach.

XXIII. Whether thou believest that it is lawful for laymen of both kinds, that is to wit, both men and women, to sacrifice and preach the word of God?

The pope's excommunication

XXIV. Whether excommunication, denounced by the pope against all heretics, doth oblige and bind them before God?

Saying of matins.

XXV. Whether every priest is bound to say daily his matins and even-song, according as it is ordained by the church; or whether he may leave them unsaid without offence or deadly sin?

Scripture in the mother-tongue.

XXVI. Whether thou believest that the heads or rulers, by necessity of salvation, are bound to give unto the people holy Scripture in their mother-language?

XXVII. Whether is it lawful for the rulers, for some cause, upon their

reasonable advisement, to ordain that the Scripture should not be delivered unto the people in the vulgar language?

XXVIII. Whether thou believest that consecrations, hallowings, and blessings used in the church, are to be praised?

XXIX. Whether thou believest that the pope may make laws and statutes, to bind all christian men to the observance of the same, under pain of deadly sin, so that such laws and statutes be not contrary to the law of God? Making of laws.

XXX. Whether thou believest that the pope and other prelates, and their deputies in spiritual things, have power to excommunicate priests and lay-people, that are inobedient and sturdy, from entering into the church, and so suspend or let them from administration of the sacraments of the same? Excommunication.

XXXI. Whether faith only, without good works, may suffice unto a man fallen into sin after his baptism, for his salvation and justifying? Justification.

XXXII. Whether a priest, marrying a wife, and that without the dispensation of the pope, and begetting also children of her without slander-giving, do sin deadly?

XXXIII. Item, whether a Latin priest, after he hath taken the order of priesthood, being sore troubled and stirred with pricking of lust and lechery, and therefore marrying a wife for remedy of the same, do sin deadly? Difference between a Latin and a Greek priest.

XXXIV. Item, whether thou dost ever pray for John Wickliff, John Huss, or Jerome of Prague, condemned of heresy in the Council of Constance, or for any of them, since they died? or whether thou hast done openly or secretly any deeds of charity for them, affirming them to be in bliss, and saved? Praying for Wickliff, Huss, and Jerome of Prague.

XXXV. Item, whether thou hast accounted them, or any of them, to be saints, and worshipped them as saints?

XXXVI. Item, whether thou dost believe, hold, and affirm, that every general council, and the Council of Constance also, doth represent the universal congregation or church? General councils.

XXXVII. Item, whether thou dost believe the same things which the Council of Constance, representing the universal church, hath approved and doth approve, for the maintenance of faith, and soul's health, and that the same is to be approved and holden of all Christians? Council of Constance.

XXXVIII. Whether the condemnations of John Wickliff, John Huss, and Jerome of Prague, done upon their persons, books, and documents, by the whole general council of Constance, were duly and rightly done, and so, for such, by every catholic person they are to be holden?

XXXIX. Whether thou believest that John Wickliff of England, John Huss of Bohemia, and Jerome of Prague, were heretics, and for heretics are to be named, and that their books and doctrines have been, and now be, perverse; for which books, and pertinacy of their persons, they are condemned by the holy council of Constance for heretics? Whether Wickliff, Huss, and Jerome were heretics.

XL. Item, whether thou believest or affirmest, that it is not lawful in any case to swear? Oaths.

XLI. Whether thou believest that it is lawful, at the commandment of a judge, to make an oath to say the truth, or any other oath in case convenient, and that also for purgation of infamy?

XLII. Item, whether a christian person, despising the receipt of the sacraments of confirmation, extreme unction, or solemnizing of matrimony, doth sin deadly? The number of sacraments.

XLIII. Item, whether thou believest that St. Peter, as Christ's vicar, hath power upon earth to bind and loose? Power of Peter.

XLIV. Item, whether the pope, ordinarily chosen for a time, his proper name being expressed, be the successor of St. Peter? Power of the pope.

XLV. Item, whether thou hast ever promised, at any time, by an oath, or made any confederacy or league with any person or persons, that you would always hold and defend certain conclusions or articles, seeming to you and your accomplices, right and consonant unto the faith; and that you certify us touching the order and tenor of the said opinions and conclusions, and of the names and surnames of them that were your adherents, and promised to be adherent unto you in this behalf?

Henry VIII. A.D. 1538.

The Answers of John Lambert to the Forty-five Articles.

Unto your first demand, wherein you do ask whether I was suspected of or infamed of heresy, I answer, that I am not certain what all persons at all seasons have deemed or suspected of me; peradventure some better, some worse; like as the opinion of the people was never one, but thought diversely of all the famous prophets, and of the apostles, yea, and of Christ himself: as appeareth in St. John,[1] how, when he came into Jerusalem in the feast called 'Scenopegia,' anon there arose upon him a great noise, some saying that he was a very good man; others said nay, and called him a seducer, because he led the people from the right ways of Moses's law into error. Seeing therefore that all men could not say well by Christ, who is the author of verity and truth, yea the very truth itself, and likewise of his best servants; what should I need to regard if at some time some person, for a like cause, should suspect of me amiss, and evil report of me? seeing moreover, it is said in the gospel,[2] 'Woe be to you, when all men speak well of you; for so did their fathers to the false prophets.' If therefore at any season such infamy was put upon me, I am glad that I have so little regarded the same, that now I have forgotten it. And though I did remember any such, yet were I more than twice a fool to show you thereof; for it is written in your own law, 'No man is bound to bewray himself.'[3] But this I insure you: I was never so charged with suspicion or infamy of this crime, that I was therefore at any time convented and reproved before any judge before that I was troubled for these causes, for which I was at the first put into your hands: and of them, seeing you could not prove me faulty, I wonder why you would never yet pronounce me quit and innocent, according as I have even lowly desired of you, and required full instantly the same. But letting those things pass, you have imagined new matters to charge me with, wherein I think certainly, that you could no more have proved me culpable, than you did in the first; that is to wit, no whit culpable in either, had it not been that by long imprisonment you forced me to tell what I thought in them, which I have and will freely do; and that, indifferently considered, I suppose shall not deserve any sore punishment, unless you will beard the truth, whereunto I hope it shall not disagree.

The speech of people diverse and inconstant.

Praise of the world not to be regarded.

No man bound to bewray himself.

To your second demand, where you do inquire whether I had ever any of Luther's books, and namely, since they were condemned, and how long I kept them, and whether ever I have spent any study in them; I say that indeed I have had of them, and that both before they were condemned and also since; but I neither will nor can tell you how long I kept them. But truth it is, that I have studied upon them, and I thank God that ever I so did; for by them hath God showed unto me, and also to a huge multitude of others, such light as the deceivable darkness of them (I beseech God amend it) that name themselves, but amiss, to be the holy church, cannot abide. And that appeareth evidently, for they dare not stand to any trial. He coveteth above all things, as all his adversaries do well know, that all his writings, and the writings of all his adversaries, might be translated into all languages, to the intent that all people might see and know what is said of every part; whereby men should the better judge what the truth is. And in this methinketh he requireth nothing but equity; for the law would have no man condemned, nor justified, until his cause were heard and known.

The profit of Luther's books.

But the contrary part, I mean our over-rich prelacy, who are so drowned in voluptuous living that they cannot attend to study God's Scripture, nor preach the same, which should be the principal part of their office, abhor this fashion (albeit it is right indifferent and full of equity) no less than they do abhor death.[4] And no marvel, for doubtless, if it so could be obtained that the writings of all parties might be openly seen and conferred, we should soon see their sleightly dealing, and facing doctrine, with all other cloked abusion, lightly overthrown, as appeareth well in Almain: for there, be the books of every party seen openly, and translated into the vulgar language, that all people may see and read upon them; and so, upon the sight of the books, they lightly

Over-rich prelates.

Facing doctrine of the papists.

(1) John vii.
(2) 'Væ vobis, cum laudaverint vos omnes homines,' &c. Luke vi.
(3) 'Nemo tenetur prodere seipsum.'
(4) Popish doctrine will abide no trial.

"follow the true light of God's word, refusing the horror of darkness and false doctrine, whereby, before, they have been seduced from the right teaching and way showed in the Bible. And this is done, not by a hundred, nor by a thousand; but generally by whole cities and countries, both high and low; few or none excepted.

Trial and reading of books free in Germany.

But our prelates, seeing this, and that their dealing should, if this light were set up, soon be detected and discovered, have sent out commandments, that if any person should adventure to keep any such books, they shall, for so doing, be excommunicated from God, and all his saints, and cursed as black as pitch, whether the books be in Latin, English, French, Dutch, or any other tongue; as indeed men, seeing the fruit contained in them, have set them forth in all languages. But this ought not christian men to think any novelty; for so did their forefathers, the prelates in Christ's time and afterwards, to the apostles; yea, and if it were well tried, I think it should be soon found out, that they have so dealt ever since unto this day. For when Christ went about preaching, the Scribes and Pharisees, who were bishops then and prelates, gave a general commandment, 'that whosoever confessed him to be Christ should be accursed, and put out of the synagogue,' that we call the church; and so they were.

Why Luther's books be restrained of popish prelates.

The time of popes and of the Pharisees compared.

Look in the Acts of the Apostles, and you shall find how they were in like manner served; yea, look in the Old Testament, and you shall find (as I remember) how they procured of one that was a temporal ruler at that season, to have the prophecy of Jeremy (for he of all others is most vehement against the dissimulation of priests) to be burned. Why then should we eschew them, or their works (unless we knew a better cause why), whom our prelates reject and cast away, seeing they render no reasonable cause of their enterprise? but, presuming of their power, without any due authority that I can find, granted unto them so to do, will, because they so command, so have all done? according to the tyrannical saying, as I trow, of Sardanapalus, 'Sic volo, sic jubeo; stat pro ratione voluntas,' That is to say, 'So will I, so do I command; and let my will for reason stand.'

The papists render no reason of their doings.

Their proud proceedings only upon will, without all reason.

But I would to God that such knew what spirit they have in them; for if they had indeed the spirit which they claim and pretend to have, I mean the Spirit of Christ, I dare say it should soon alter them from such haughty language and doting, and cause them to turn a new leaf; for that Spirit is full of softness and lenity, lowliness and humility, patience and temperancy; void of all wilfulness and tyranny: yea, it should cause them not to prevent, but easily to follow, the counsel and doctrine of Christ's apostles and holy saints, that be their interpreters. As St. Paul, who, writing unto the Thessalonians,[1] would have them all to prove all things, and to retain or hold that only which is good; refraining from all that hath semblance of evil. And St. John would have christian people to try the spirit of them that should speak; whether they were of God or no.[2] Also, writing in another Epistle unto a noble woman, and unto her children, he saith, 'If any person shall come unto you, bringing with them the doctrine that is not of Christ, receive him not into your house, nor make him any cheer.'[3] So that in this he would have women to know the doctrine of Christ, and to love that, refusing to give credence unto foreign teaching; not favouring the same.

The Spirit of Christ, and the spirit of the papists, far unlike.

Christians bidden to try spirits.

In the First Epistle also to the Corinthians,[4] St. Paul, writing in general to all the inhabitants of that city, saith, 'Brethren, be ye not children in wit and understanding; but as concerning maliciousness, be you children. In wit I would have you perfect.' And why? Verily for no other cause, but that we should (as he writeth unto the Hebrews) have discretion to judge the good from ill, and the ill from the good, and so to be like men differing from beasts, according unto the saying of the prophet, 'See that ye be not like unto a horse or a mule, which lack understanding.'[5] And we should pray with him in another Psalm, 'O Lord! teach me the way that I should walk in, for I lift up my soul unto thee.'[6]

St. Chrysostome,[7] according unto this, in a certain book of his Commentaries upon Matthew (the book is called 'Opus Imperfectum'), writeth after this

(1) 1 Thess. v. (2) 1 John iv. (3) 2 John i.
(4) 1 Cor. xiv. (5) Psalm xxxii. (6) Psalm cxliii.
(7) Chrysost. in Opere Imperfecto. [These Commentaries accompany the Editions of St. Chrysostome, but are not considered his. The passage quoted is in Hom. 44, vol. vi. p. 928. Edit. Paris. 1836.—Ed.]

Henry VIII. A.D. 1538.

fashion, as near as my remembrance doth serve, and certain I am that I shall not mis-report him, and in that I will be tried whensoever it shall please you to bring the book. 'The priests that were Pharisees in the time,' saith he, 'of Christ, made an ordinance, that whosoever should acknowledge Jesus to be Christ, should be accursed and excommunicated. If then the Pharisees or priests that now do occupy their rooms should make a like ordinance, because they would not have Christ's doctrine to be professed for hindering of their lucre, should we therefore give in all points credence unto them, and leave off to seek after the knowledge of Christ's doctrine? Nay truly. Why,' quoth he, 'shall we not be excused herein by ignorance, seeing we be forefended by the rulers to have knowledge?' He answereth, 'No verily; for if,' saith he, 'when thou desirest to buy cloth, thou wilt not be content to see one merchant's ware, but go from the first to the second, from the second to the third, and so further, to know where is the best cloth, and best cheap, thou, using such careful diligence for a temporal profit, art well worthy great reproach, who wilt be more remiss and negligent for thy soul's health. Seek therefore about from one doctor or teacher unto another, that thou mayest know who doth most duly and truly teach Christ, and him follow; according to the saying of the apostle, Prove all, and hold the good;[1] and as it is said in the gospel, that thou mayest know[2] 'who be true or lawful changers or coiners, and who be not.'

Authority of rulers will not discharge our ignorance.

He also addeth another similitude or parable.[3] 'When thou goest,' quoth he, 'a journey, not knowing perfectly the way, thou wilt, lest thou shouldst fail of the right way, inquire of one man, and after of another; and if thou shouldst chance to go somewhat wide, yet thou wilt not so leave off thy journey undone, but make inquisition again to come where thou wouldst rest. So likewise,' saith he, 'ought we to seek about intentively for the wealth of our soul, who are the right key-bearers, and who not;[4]' meaning there by the key-bearers, Christ's apostles, and the bearers of his testimony or message. Which saying, although it were written of no authentical author (howbeit it is written even of him whom I showed you in the said work), but uttered of one that were in little estimation, every indifferent person having wit and reason would answer I doubt not, that it is full true.

The same author also, in an epistle which you shall find in a work called 'Psegmata Chrysostomi,' showeth, as I remember, how certain men deemed ill of him, because he did study Origen's works, who before was condemned for a heretic: but he maketh an apology to the same, showing, that christian men ought not to be reprehended for so doing; in which apology he bringeth for his defence the saying of Paul above rehearsed, 'Prove all things,' &c. Likewise did St. Jerome, I wot not well in what place of his works, but you shall find it in a Treatise called 'Unio Dissidentium,' where he treateth 'De mandatis hominum.' When it was objected against him that he retained by him the works of Eusebius and of Origen, studying upon them, he bringeth for him, that it was so lawful, the said place of the apostle, making therewith an assent, worthy to be greatly noted.

Lawful to read and try all books.

The same is also reported in the Book called 'Ecclesiastica Historia,' or else 'Historia Tripartita,' I wot not now precisely whether. So that these and other authorities of the Scripture, and semblable ensamples of holy interpreters shall prove, that I and others may safely (no good law inhibiting, unless constitutions pharisaical) read and search the works not only of Luther, but also of all others, be they ever so ill or good; namely, seeing I am a priest: whom the bishop of Norwich ought not to have admitted into orders, unless he had seen me to have had judgment to discern good from ill; neither ought any of you to give orders to any such, in whom ye do not find like ability to judge the light from darkness, and the truth from falsehood: and therefore, if for this you would punish me, I cannot see but you shall condemn yourselves, judging rather of sensual pleasure than of equity, which, in men of your order, were a great shame, and much uncomely.

Unto your third demand, wherein you do ask whether I was constituted a priest, and in what diocese, and by what bishop; I say that I was made a priest in Norwich, and by the bishop's suffragan of the same diocese.

(1) 1 Thess. i. (2) 'Qui sunt probati nummularii, et qui non.' Matt. xxv.
(3) Chrys. Ibid. (4) 'Qui sunt probi clavigeri, et qui non.'

'Unto the fourth, wherein you do demand whether it be lawful for a priest to marry a wife, and whether a priest in some case be bound by the law of God to marry a wife; I say that it is lawful, yea and necessary, for all men that have not given to them of God the gift of chastity, to marry a wife; and that show both Christ and St. Paul. In Matthew xix. Christ, speaking unto the Pharisees that came to tempt him, in the conclusion, saith in this wise, 'Whosoever shall forsake his wife, except it be for fornication, and marrieth another, committeth adultery; and whosoever marrieth her so forsaken, committeth adultery.'[1]

Marriage of priests, whether lawful.

With that say his disciples, 'If thus the case stand betwixt a man and his wife, it shall be hurtful, and not expedient to contract matrimony.' He made answer, 'Every man cannot away with that saying, but they unto whom it is given of God;'[2] meaning, that every man could not abide single or unmarried, but such unto whom was given of God a special grace so to continue. And if, with your better advice, I might herein be somewhat bold, I would suppose that where he doth say, 'Non omnes sunt capaces hujus dicti' (Every man cannot away with that saying), this word 'non omnes' ought to be here taken as it is in many other places of Scripture;[3] as where, in the Psalm, it is said, 'Non justificabitur in conspectu tuo omnis vivens,' it is meant that no person living shall be justified before God. And in the Epistle to the Galatians,[4] and to the Romans,[5] where it is said, 'Ex operibus non legis justificabitur omnis caro;' (By the works of the law no flesh shall be justified in his sight), it is meant thereby *nulla caro:* so that, 'non omnis,' after the rule of equipollence, should be taken for as much as 'nullus,' and then the sense should be thus, '*Nulli* sunt capaces hujus dicti nisi hi quibus datum sit.' No man can be 'capax' of this saying, or can so pass his life without marriage, except those who have it given them, by a singular grace of God, to live chaste.

Chastity is a gift only of God.

Then he proceeded further, saying, 'There be eunuchs that so were born from the mother's womb; and there be some eunuchs that have been so made by men; and there be eunuchs that have so made themselves, for love of the kingdom of heaven.'[6] In conclusion he saith, 'Who, that receiveth this saying,' (thinketh that it should be inexpedient for him to marry, and that he may live chaste through the gift given him of God); 'let him take it and so live.' So he leaveth singleness of life to all men's election, without any compelling them thereto.

Singleness not to be compelled.

Hereunto assenteth St. Paul: when that by many reasons he had persuaded the Corinthians to single life, finally he concludeth thus, 'This,' quoth he, 'say I unto you, willing that which should be for your profit, but not to bring you in bondage.' And a little before, 'I would,' quoth he, 'that all men were even as myself am. But every one hath a several gift of God, one onewise, another otherwise:' showing thereby, that unto some it is given of God to live continently, and to others to engender and procreate children, and therefore his will cannot come to effect. Which thing you may easily perceive in this, that after he had showed forth his good wish and desire, saying, 'I would that all men were even as I am,'[7] he putteth a conjunction adversative, that declareth an obstacle or stop, saying, 'But every man hath his proper gift of God.'[8] Upon this he proceedeth further, whereby you may apertly see, that he would have all men, none except, to marry, wanting the gift of continency. 'This,' quoth he, 'I say to the unmarried and widows; expedient it were for them to remain as I do: but if they cannot live continent, let them contract marriage; for better is it to marry than to burn.' This proveth well, that all priests, wanting continency of heart, had need to marry to avoid burning lust, unless they be inobedient to the mind of Christ that spake in Paul, in observing the traditions of men. In the beginning of the same chapter also he saith, 'It is good that a man should not deal with a woman: notwithstanding, for avoiding fornication,' quoth he, 'let every man have his wife, and every woman have her husband.' He saith here, 'quisque et quæque,' every man and every woman; and not quidam nec quædam, some man or some woman. He excepteth neither priest

Marriage necessary for all who lack continency.

Quisque quæque, not quidam quædam.

(1) Matt. xix. (2) Ibid. (3) 'Non omnes,' must be taken universally in Scripture.
(4) Gal. ii. (5) Rom. ix. (6) Eunuchs three ways to be taken in Scripture. Matt. xix.
(7) 'Velim omnes homines,' &c. 1 Cor. vii.
(8) 'Sed unusquisque proprium donum habet,' &c.

Henry VIII. nor nun, but every one, both man and woman, is bound, for avoiding of burning and fornication, to marry, not having the gift given of chastity.

A. D. 1538. The same also confirmeth your own law, where it is written thus, 'If any man do hold that a priest, being married, in that respect that he is married, ought not to minister in his function, be he accursed.'[1] And, 'If any man shall find fault with matrimony, and detest a faithful and devout woman lying with her husband, and think her culpable, as one that could not therefore enter into the kingdom of God, be he accursed.'[2] And everywhere else such-like are to be seen.

Marriage left free by the pope's law.

Marriage permitted free by the council of Nice. Moreover, in 'Historia Tripartita' it is written, that a noble martyr of Christ called Paphnutius, in the Nicene Council, when all other bishops were purposed to have enacted there, that priests should live unmarried, this holy man resisted them so mightily both with reasons, and also with authority of Scripture, that then their purpose altered, and their first device could not pass. And one authority I remember was this, which he borrowed of Paul in the Second Epistle to Timothy: 'Your devise,' quoth he, 'may have a semblance of holiness, but indeed, it shall be the destruction and undoing of the same.'

Moreover, in one of the principal histories of France, called 'Les Illustrations de Galles,' whosoever please may there read it as it standeth, within six leaves afore the end of the same; how the author with deep sorrow lamenteth the ordinance that first decreed priests to live unmarried, showing, and that amply, the miseries that have ensued in France thereby, imputing it unto Calixtus the pope, of whom he maketh a doleful mention in metre, whereof the first I yet remember, and it is thus: 'O sancte Calixte! totus mundus odit te;' &c. 'O holy Calixtus! all the world hateth thee;' which followeth in writing, to all that lust to behold therein. But what need I to make longer treatise hereof, forasmuch as you do daily both hear and see, what foul abomination ariseth in every corner, of this piteous law, made by men that would presume to be wiser than God; thinking (as we ever do) that either he would not, or else for lack of wisdom he could not, show us a sufficient law or way, to direct our life and conversation to come to the joy and resting-place by him promised, and so by us longed and looked for; whereby both we be far unreasonable in so deeming of him after our unwise wit, and he much dishonoured. The which I beseech him to help. Amen.

Men will be wiser than God.

Free-will to deserve joy or pain. Unto the fifth, where ye do ask, whether I believe that whatsoever is done of man, whether it be good or ill, cometh of necessity; that is (as you construe) to wit, whether man hath free will, so that he may deserve joy or pain: I say (as I said at the beginning), that unto the first part of your riddle, I neither can nor will give any definitive answer, forasmuch as it surmounteth my capacity; trusting that God shall send hereafter others that shall be of better learning and wit than I, to indite it. As concerning the second part, where you do interpret; that is to say, whether man hath free will or no, so that he may deserve joy or pain: as for our deserving specially of joy, I think it very slender or none, even when we do the very commandments and law of God. And that I am taught by our Saviour in St. Luke, where he saith thus, 'Which of you,' quoth he, 'having a servant that hath eared your land, or fed your beasts, will say unto him, when he cometh home out of the field, Go thy way quickly, and sit down to thy meat; and rather will not say unto him, Make ready my supper; serving thereat till I have made an end thereof, and afterwards take thyself meat and drink? Think you that he is bound to thank his servant which thus shall do his commandment? I trow,' saith he, 'nay.' 'Even so you,' saith he, 'when you have done all things to you commanded, say yet you be unprofitable servants, and have done that which you were bound to do.'

Merits not to be esteemed. In which words you may clearly see, that he would not have us greatly esteem our merits, when we have done what is commanded by God, but rather, reckon ourselves to be but servants unprofitable to God, forasmuch as he hath no need of our well-doing for his own advancement, but only that he loveth to see us do well for our own behoof: and moreover, that when we have done his

(1) 'Si quis discernit presbyterum conjugatum, tanquam occasione nuptiarum, quod offerre non debeat, anathema sit.' Distinct. 29.

(2) 'Si quis vituperat nuptias, et dormientem cum viro suo fidelem ac religiosam detestatur aut culpabilem æstimat, velut quæ regnum Dei introire non possit, anathema sit.' Dist. 31.

bidding, we ought not so to magnify, either ourself, or our own free will, but laud him with a meek heart, through whose benefit we have done (if at any time we do it) his liking and pleasure; not regarding our merit, but his grace and benefit, whereby only is done all that in any wise is to him acceptable. And thus, if we ought not to attend our merits in doing the commandment of God, much less should we look for merit for observing of our own inventions or traditions of men, unto which there is no benefit in all Scripture (which Paul calleth the word of truth and of faith) promised.

Observing of God's works, no merit. Ergo much less men's traditions.

But here may be objected against me, that the reward is promised in many places to them that do observe the precepts of God. That I affirm to be very sooth. Notwithstanding such reward shall never be attained of us, except by the grace and benefit of Him who worketh all things in all creatures. And this affirmeth well St. Augustine, with St. Ambrose, Fulgentius, and others, as you may see everywhere in their works, and especially in the treatise called 'Unio Dissidentium,' wherein Jerome treateth 'De Gratia et Meritis.' And of St. Augustine I remember two or three right notable sentences, concerning the same. One is in the ninth book of his Confessions, in this form;[1] 'Woe be to the life of men, be they ever so holy, if Thou shalt examine them, setting thy mercy aside. Because thou dost not exactly examine the faults of men, therefore we have a vehement hope and trust to find some place of mercy with thee. And whosoever recounteth unto thee his merits, what other thing doth he recount but thy benefits? O would to God all men would see and know themselves, and that he who glorieth, would glory in the Lord.' Again, in the first book,[2] he saith thus unto God: 'Doth any man give what he oweth not unto thee, that thou shouldest be in his debt? and hath any man aught that is not thine? Thou renderest debt, and yet owest to no man. Thou forgivest debts, and yet losest nothing.' And therefore his usual prayer was this:[3] 'Lord give that thou commandest, and command what thou wilt.'

Reward, how it is promised to works.

Also in the book called 'Manuale Augustini,' or 'De Contemplatione Christi.'[4] he saith in this wise, 'All my hope is in the Lord's death. His death is my merit, my refuge, my health, and my resurrection. My merit is the mercy of the Lord. I am not without merit, so long as the Lord of mercy shall continue; and if the mercies of the Lord be great and rich, then am I also great and rich in merits.'

And to conclude, they be Christ's own merits and good works (as saith St. Ambrose well nigh everywhere) that he worketh in us, which he doth reward and crown; and not ours, if one should look narrowly upon the thing, and speak properly. Howbeit, they yet nevertheless are ours by him, forasmuch as his merciful bounty imputeth his goods to be ours; so that in this, I wot not how others do mean, who lust to sell their merits unto their neighbours, who haply have scarcely enough for themselves: but I do wholly deem and believe, according as the Scriptures, with these holy doctors and such other, do teach, wishing that men ever, for good doing, should not so much (as the common people do) regard their merit or reward, for that is not the thing that engendereth the love of God in us, but rather maketh men to honour God in a servile fashion; and for the love of themselves, in doing works for love of reward, or for dread of pain, more than because it so pleaseth God, and liketh him: whereas, if we regarded first, yea and altogether, that it is our duty to do well (which is the keeping of his commandments), and that so we should content his pleasure, reward should undoubtedly ensue good deeds, although we minded no whit the same, as heat followeth evermore the fire unseparate therefrom. And thus, we should serve God with hearty love as children, and not for meed or dread, as unloving thralls and servants.

Good works, how they be God's, and how ours.

To walk vilely is to work for merit. Reward followeth good works; good works not done for reward.

Concerning free-will, I mean altogether as doth St. Augustine, that of our-

(1) 'Væ etiam laudabili vitæ hominum, si remota misericordia discutias eam. Quia vere non exquiris delicta vehementer, fiducialiter speramus aliquem locum apud te invenire indulgentiæ. Quisquis autem tibi enumerat vera merita sua, quid tibi enumerat nisi munera tua? O si cognoscerent se omnes, et qui gloriatur in Domino gloriaretur.' August. Confess. lib. ix.

(2) 'Nunquid inops es et gaudes lucris? Nunquid avarus et usuras exigis? Supererogatur tibi ut debeas? et quis habet quicquam non tuum? Reddis debita, nulli debens, donas debita nihil perdens.' Confess. v. lib. i.

(3) 'Domine, da quod jubes, et jube quod vis.'

(4) 'Tota spes mea est in morte Domini. Mors ejus meritum meum, refugium meum, salus vitæ, et resurrectio mea. Meritum meum, miseratio Domini. Non sum meriti inops quamdiu ille misericordiarum Dominus non defuerit. Et si misericordiæ Domini multæ, multus ego sum in meritis.'

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selves we have no liberty nor ability to do the will of God, but are subject unto sin and thralls of the same, 'shut up and sold under sin,'[1] as witness both Isaiah and also Paul: but, by the grace of God, we are rid and set at liberty, according to the portion that every man hath taken of the same, some more, some less.

The sacrament of the body and blood of the Lord.

Whereas, in your sixth demand, you do inquire whether the sacrament of the altar be a sacrament necessary unto salvation, and whether after the consecration of the bread and wine done by the priest, as by the minister of God, there is the very body and blood of Christ in likeness of bread and wine,' I neither can nor will answer one word otherwise than I have told since I was delivered into your hands. Neither would I have answered one whit thereunto, knowing so much at the first as now I do, till you had brought forth some that would have accused me to have trespassed in the same; which I am certain you cannot do, bringing any that is honest and credible.

Answer to the seventh article.

As concerning the other six sacraments, I make you that same answer that I have done to the sacrament of the altar, and no other; that is, I will say nothing until some men appear to accuse me in the same, unless I know a more reasonable cause than I have yet heard, why I so ought to do. But as touching the form and fashion, I shall answer willingly so far forth as my rudeness will serve. I hold well that such as be duly elected ministers in the church, ought to baptize, except necessity require otherwise; and that the form used in the church is, in mine opinion, not uncommendable. Nevertheless it should edify much more, if it were uttered in the vulgar language, and cause people, in the baptism of children, more effectuously to thank God for his institution, and the high benefit thereby represented.

Baptism to be in the vulgar tongue.

Answer to the eighth article.

In like condition do I also deem of ministration in all the others, that it should be expedient to have them ministered openly in the vulgar language, for the edifying of the people. As concerning the form used in matrimony, I like it right well, and think it commendable, saving in all countries lightly Judas hath set in his foot over far, and taketh in hand to sell his master, accompanied with Simon Magus, saying, 'What will you give me, if I deliver unto you Christ?' This is the saying of all them that require, without any lawful authority, in some places twelvepence, in some sixpence, in some more, in some less, but in every place lightly some money, when a couple should be married: and this they call 'The Church's Right.' Moreover, that they will not suffer marriage to be solemnized at all times of the year, I think it standeth not with Christ's rule, but rather is against the same, and that they will not suffer the bans upon all holy days to be proclaimed, unless a dispensation for money be purchased there-for. All this God forbiddeth. Finally, like as no money ought to be given for this, no more should any be taken for any other. But the contrary is seen, which is great pity; yea, even at the receiving of the sacrament of the altar, priests everywhere use to claim somewhat, and in some parts of the west country, no less than twopence, of every poll.

Matrimony ought freely to be ministered and without money.

Answer to the ninth article.

As touching priesthood in the primitive church, when virtue bare (as ancient doctors do deem, and Scripture, in mine opinion, recordeth the same) most room, there were no more officers in the church of God, than bishops and deacons; that is to say, ministers: as witnesseth, besides Scripture fully apertly, Jerome, in his Commentaries upon the Epistles of Paul, where he saith, that those whom we call priests, were all one and none other but bishops; and the bishops none other but priests; men ancient both in age and learning, so near as they could be chosen. Neither were they instituted and chosen, as they be now-a-days, with small regard by a bishop or his officer, only opposing them if they can construe a collect; but they were chosen not only by the bishop, but also with the consent of the people among whom they should have their living, as showeth St. Cyprian; and the people (as he saith) ought to have power to choose priests that be men of good learning, of good and honest report. But, alack for pity! such elections are now banished, and new fashions brought in; which if we should confer with the form of the election showed of Christ by his apostle Paul, we should find no small diversity, but all turned

Bishops and priests, all one in old time.

The order and state of priests.

Election of ministers, with the assent of the people.

(1) 'Conclusi sub peccato, et vænundati sub eodem.' Rom. vii. 11.

upside down. To conclude, I say, the order or state of priests and deacons was ordained by God; but subdeacons and conjurers, otherwise called 'Exorcistæ' and 'Accolitæ,' which we call 'Benet' and 'Collet,' were instituted by the invention of men. And this you may find in the law, Dist. 21, and in other places where it is written, 'Subdeaconship, in the time of the apostles, was no holy order.'[1]

Answer to the tenth article.

As touching ear-confession, I say that the common fashion now used, was never ordained by Christ's law, that is, written in the Bible; neither can you prove by any authority of the same, that we ought to confess all our offences particularly, with the circumstances of all and of every such, to any man. Again, for the maintenance of this which I have said, you shall know that Chrysostome standeth stiffly with me, in his Commentaries upon the Epistle to the Hebrews; in a homily also that he maketh upon the Psalm 'Miserere;' and moreover in a sermon that he maketh, 'De Pœnitentia,' besides many other treatises, wherein he continueth ever one, testifying in semblable wise.

Auricular confession not ordained by God.

In like manner doth one of your principal doctors,[2] writing upon your Canon law, named Panormitane, testify that it is made by the law of man, and not of God, in cap. 'Omnis utriusque sexus.' In the book also called 'Historia Tripartita,' you shall find how it was first instituted (as I remember), and afterwards undone again, because of a huge villany committed with a woman by a minister of the church, through confession.

The Greek church allowed no confession auricular.

Also it is mentioned in the end of the first Distinction 'De Pœnitentia,' how the Greek church, whom I think you do not note to be heretics, will not yet hitherto allow it. There are also many reasons brought forth, both to prove that confession made to a priest should not be necessary, and also that confession made unto God should suffice, concluding in this wise, 'Quibus authoritatibus,' &c. I could bring forth others that be yet living, men of surmounting and excellent literature, who exactly, by many and mighty both authorities and reasons, do show and confirm this my saying to be just: but I keep silence, and will not name them, lest I should bring them into hatred. Notwithstanding, I never said, nor will say, but that men feeling themselves aggrieved in conscience with some great temptation, had need to go unto such whom they know and trust to be of steadfast credence, and to have good skill in the law of God, opening their grief unto them, to the intent they may know, through counsel, some ease and remedy thereof.

Asking counsel in the church is good, but is not tied to any person.

But in this I mean not that they ought to go unto their curate, or to any other priest, whose credence they deem not all trusty, or their counsel not sage, but to any other whatsoever he be, whom they know most sufficient in properties above-showed, when their curate doth lack them. And this thing is most behoveable, when men, needing counsel, be so void of knowledge in Christ's law, that they cannot find therein remedy themselves. For the doctrine of Christ, if it were well known, containeth remedies for all infirmities and maladies of the mind, so that men, by spiritual knowledge, might ease themselves.

The second part of the question whether a priest looseth a sinner?

To the other part of your question, where you do ask whether a priest, in cases unto him limited, may loose a sinner confessed and contrite for his sin, enjoining him wholesome penance; I say that only Christ looseth a sinner who is contrite, by his word and promise, and the priest doth nothing but show and declare the word: neither doth declaration or ministry of the priest any whit avail for to loose any person, unless he that should be loosed give credence unto the word ministered and showed by the priest, which word or promise of Christ is called 'the word of reconciliation or atonement making betwixt God and man.' And this testified St. Paul, in the Corinthians, where he saith in this wise, 'God hath reconciled us unto him through Jesus Christ.[3] See how it is God that looseth us from sin, who is to make reconciliation or atonement betwixt us and him, and that through Christ, whom he caused to die for the same purpose. 'And he,' quoth St. Paul, 'hath ordained us ministers of the said atonement.' See how Christ's apostles called not themselves 'the authors of binding and loosing,' but 'ministers;' 'For he,' that is to wit God, 'reconciled the world unto him, forgiving their sins' (where you may know what recon-

Christ only looseth us from sin.

The apostles not the authors of loosing.

(1) 'Subdiaconatus tempore apostolorum non fuit sacer.'
(2) Panormitanus Abbas in cap. 'Omnis utriusque sexus.'
(3) 2 Cor. v.

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ciling is); 'and hath committed,' saith Paul, 'unto us, to be messengers of the same word, or tidings of atonement or reconciling.'

Also, that the power whereby men are loosed from sin is not the priest's power, you may know by the vulgar saying, which is right true; yea, and with leisure, I doubt not but that I can show the same in the Decrees, which is thus, 'Only God forgiveth and pardoneth us of our sins.'[1] And this was preached at Paul's Cross the Sunday next after the Epiphany last, the bishop of London sitting by; the preacher speaking after this form, treating of this text, 'Behold the Lamb of God, which taketh away the sins of the world.'[2] 'In that,' said the preacher, 'testimony is given of Christ to be a lamb, it is showed that he was an innocent man. But in that it is said, that he 'taketh away the sins of the world,' is showed that he was God;' alleging there, for the confirmation of this part of his purpose, the vulgar saying above said by me, 'Solus Deus remittit peccata.' And the same proposition, or another equal with the same, useth St. Chrysostome, in a homily that is made upon this text of St. Matthew, 'His name shall be called Jesus, for he shall save his people from their sins.'[3] Also St. Chrysostome, in Opus Imperfectum, upon this text, 'Woe be unto you, scribes and Pharisees! because ye shut up the kingdom of heaven before men,' &c.[4] As near as my remembrance doth serve me, or else in some other place, but in the same book (as I suppose), he affirmeth that the keys of heaven are the word and doctrine of God. This witnesseth moreover St. Gregory, I trow, in his book called 'Pastoralia,'[5] or else it is an epistle that he writeth to the bishop of Constantinople, in these words: 'The key of loosing is the word of the corrector, who, rebuking, doth disclose the fault, which many times he knoweth not, that committeth the same.'[6]

The keys of binding and loosing answer to the word of God.

St. Ambrose, agreeing to the same, saith, 'The word of God forgiveth sin.'[7] But shall we then say that God's ministers do not bind and loose? I say, No, not as the authors of so doing; but they do loose and bind in like manner as it is said of Paul in the Acts of the Apostles, where our Saviour spake unto him in this manner: 'I shall,' said our Saviour, 'deliver thee from the people and nations unto whom I send thee, that thou shouldest open their eyes, that they may be converted from darkness to light.'[8] Here Paul is said to open the eyes of men's hearts, albeit to speak properly, it is God that so doth; and therefore David prayeth unto him, 'Open mine eyes, O Lord.'[9] And in like manner it is spoken of John Baptist, that he should go before Christ 'in the spirit and power of Elias, and turn the hearts of the fathers to their children, and the unbelievers to the wisdom of the righteous:'[10] albeit, to turn men's hearts, and to work in them, belongeth to God; but so use we to speak 'metonymice.'[11] As, if your lordship had defined to me to be excommunicated, and thereupon should send a commandment to the parson of Knoll, to declare the same, the people would say, that the parson of Knoll, proclaiming your commandment, had accursed me; but yet doth *he* not properly curse me, but *you* rather, when he, in pronouncing the same, doth your act and commandment, rather than his own.

How ministers bind and loose.

Power in binding and loosing, not limited, etc.

Touching cases limited to priests and ministers, for loosing from sin, or binding in the same, I do know no such things showed in Scripture, which is the perfect way of our life: neither can any man, I suppose, show by authority thereof, that one should have more or less limited him than another. And if you can or will thereby teach it me, I shall thank you for your doing, and pray God to requite you.

Enjoining of penance.

Concerning enjoining of penance, I know of none that men need to admit, nor you to put or enjoin the same, except it be renovation of living in casting apart old vice, and taking them unto new virtue, which every true penitent intendeth, or ought to intend, verily by the grace and assistance of our Saviour Christ, to show and perform.

(1) 'Solus Deus remittit peccata:' this saying is taken out of Peter Lombard, and cited in the Decrees.
(2) 'Ecce Agnus Dei qui tollit peccata mundi.' (3) 'Vocabitur nomen ejus Jesus,' &c. Mat. i.
(4) 'Væ vobis scribæ et Pharisæi, qui clauditis regnum cœlorum,' &c. Matt. xxiii.
(5) Greg. in Pastoral.
(5) 'Clavis apertionis est sermo correctoris, qui increpando culpam detegit, quam sæpe nescit qui perpetravit.'
(6) 'Verbum Dei dimittit peccata.' (8) Acts xxvi. (9) 'Revela oculos meos.' Ps. cxix. (10) Luke i.
(11) Metonymia is a figure, when the name that properly belongeth to one, is improperly transferred to another thing.

Unto the eleventh article I say, that grace is given unto them that duly receive the sacraments of Christ and his church; but whether by them or no, that I cannot define; for God sendeth his grace where he pleaseth, either with them, or without them, and when he pleaseth: so that it is at his arbitrement, how and when. Moreover, many a lewd person receiveth the sacraments, who is destitute of grace, to his confusion. So that I cannot affirm that the sacraments give grace; yet, in due receipt of the sacraments, I suppose and think, that God giveth unto them grace that so take them, as he doth unto all good, even without them also.

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Sacraments, whether they give grace or no.

Whereas in your twelfth article you do ask, whether all things necessary unto salvation are put in holy Scripture, and whether things only there put be sufficient, and whether some things, upon necessity of salvation, are to be believed and observed, which are not expressed in Scripture: this is the question, as great learned men have showed me, whom I do count my friends, since the time I appeared at your lordship's assignment before Master doctor Lesse, and Master Melling, with others, in your chapel of Lambeth, when these questions were first propounded: this, I say, is the question, which, as they told me, is the head and whole content of all others objected against me. Yea, this is both the helm and stern of all together, and that which they contended right sorely to impugn: but love of the truth (wherewith in this point I reckoned me well fenced) would not suffer me to apply and yield to their will, thinking[1] 'that the truth ought to be preferred before all friendship and amity;' and also,[2] 'If thy right hand offend, it ought to be cut off, and cast away.'

Truth to be preferred before friendship.

But touching an answer unto this question, I suppose verily, that if I had St. Cyril's works by me, I should not need to show any other answer in this, than he hath showed beforetime, writing upon this saying of St. John,[3] 'There are many things more which Jesus did.' Notwithstanding, forasmuch as every man at all seasons cannot have what he would, and therefore must make other shift, such as he may, I say, that I suppose the first part of your question to be very true, and therefore to be affirmed, that is to wit, that all things needful for man's salvation be mentioned and showed in holy Scripture, and that the things only there put be sufficient for the regiment of spiritual living, and man's soul's health. And in this shall you find both the ancient doctors standing with me; and moreover, the suffrage of holy writ, whose authority is of most sovereign and infallible steadfastness.

All things necessary to salvation contained in Scripture.

Look what St. Jerome saith upon this verse,[4] 'The Lord shall rehearse it, when he writeth up the people.' St. Ambrose also, in a treatise, 'De Paradiso,' doth show likewise, where he bringeth this text of Paul, written in 2 Cor. xi., 'I am afraid lest it may, by some means, be brought to pass, that as the serpent deceived Eve through wiliness, so your minds may be corrupted from the simple verity that is in Christ.' And also in his Commentaries upon the Epistle to the Colossians, upon this text, 'In Christ Jesus is all treasure of wisdom;' and in divers other places of the same work.

St. Chrysostome also, in his Commentaries upon Paul, declaring this saying,[5] 'The whole Scripture given by inspiration of God,' &c. And in his book called 'Opus imperfectum,' I wot not precisely upon what text, but there you shall find, that he would have a true preacher of God's law not swerving therefrom, neither on the right hand, neither on the left, but keeping thereafter, according to the teaching of Solomon: for he that should thereunto add or withdraw, should enterprise, as saith St. Chrysostome, to be wiser than God. These, or else such like words, doth he say. I will be deemed by the book brought forth, because my remembrance cannot retain perfectly all such things.

The preachor must not swerve from the express word of God.

St. Cyprian maintaineth well the same in an epistle that he writeth, 'Ad Cecilium Fratrem,' which I would to God were in English, that all men might learn the devout goodness in it contained. In the same he teacheth clearly, how we ought to hear Christ only, and his learning, not regarding or attending to the traditions of men; like as he doth also in many other places. And this agreeth well with Scripture, which is called the word of salvation; the admi-

(1) 'Quod sanctum est veritatem præferre amicitiæ.
(2) 'Si dextra manus scandalizet, deberet præscindi et abjici.'
(3) 'Sunt et alia multa quæ fecit Jesus.' John xxi.
(4) 'Dominus narrabit in scripturis populorum.' Psalm lxxxvii.
(5) 'Omnis scriptura divinitus inspirata,' etc. 2 Tim. iii.

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nistration of righteousness; the word of truth, yea and the truth itself; the rod of direction; our spiritual food; the spiritual sword that we ought to fight with against all temptations and assaults of our ghostly enemies; the seed of God, the kingdom of heaven, and the keys of the same; the power of God; the light of the world, which whoso followeth shall not be overcome with darkness; the law of God; his wisdom and testament. Of which words, and such like, every one will give matter of substantial argument, that we, following the same doctrine only, shall have sufficient safe-conduct to come unto the inheritance promised, albeit none other ways or means were annexed with the same. And certain I am, that in this blessed doctrine of Christ is taught how we ought to do truth and mercy, which is all that we need to do, as testifieth the Psalm, in these words,[1] 'All the ways of the Lord are mercy and truth.' And again, the prophet, willing us to do as he did, saith in this manner,[2] 'I have cleaved to thy testimonies, O Lord; confound me not.' In like manner the said whole Psalm warneth us; yea, all the Scripture biddeth us stick fast to the steady and true word of God, saying, that[3] 'he is true, and all his ways are truth; but all men are vain and liars.' For that is the sure foundation which cannot fail them that ground thereupon, as reporteth Christ: 'Every one,' saith he, 'that heareth my words, and doth them, is like to a wise man that buildeth upon a sure foundation.' And there ought to be none other foundation to christian men, but only the undoubted truth of Jesus to build our faith upon, and direct our living thereafter, as showeth St. Paul, saying,[4] 'Other foundation can no man lay, than that which is laid, which is Jesus Christ.' And likewise in the Epistle unto the Ephesians, where he saith,[5] 'Now ye are no more strangers and foreigners, but citizens with the saints, and of the household of God.' And in the same Epistle, St. Paul, dilating of Christ's beneficence,[6] showeth how that he ordained in the church divers officers, to the edifying of christian people, that he calleth Christ's body, until all we may come unto the unity of faith; which cometh by following of one doctrine, which is Christ's, whereby we may grow to be perfect men; and that we should not be here like to children, carried about with every wind of doctrine, by deceit and wiliness of men that study to deceive us.

Names of Scripture.

God sufficient for all our direction without any addition.

Inconstancy and variableness of men's constitutions.

In like form doth he warn us, in the Epistle to the Hebrews,[7] that we should not be carried about as the wind, with divers and strange doctrines, but continue in that which ever continueth like and all one, agreeable for all men in all parts, and that at all times; not being changeable, as men's constitutions be, whereof look what one doth counsel or ordain to be of effect, another annuls the same, according as men's minds do always alter, and are full unsteady. Neither do such pertain unto all men; for the Greeks, with others (whom neither the pope, nor any of his people will yet deny to be of Christ's church), will in no condition admit such, neither for men to live after them, nor to believe them as pertaining to their faith. But they allow well the doctrine that persevereth ever one, and is immutable, as showeth St. Paul, saying, 'Jesus Christ yesterday and to day is all one, and so ever shall be.'[8] He is white bread, without any sour leaven of pharisaical traditions; verity without guile; light without any darkness; the very straight way that hath neither hook nor crook. From this ought we not to turn, neither upon one hand nor the other, unless we will go from him that is our felicity and anchor of safety.

The pope's laws were never wholly received by all men.

But what should I more entreat of this, except I would recite all Scripture, which in every part is full of admonitions, exhorting and warning us to cleave fast unto this way, which is the doctrine of the gospel, which God, I beseech him, grant us all both to know and love, taking heed that in no wise we be seduced therefrom by laws and doctrines of men. Look also into Colossians ii., and into the Epistles to Timothy and Titus. So that I conclude that in holy Scripture is contained sufficiently enough of doctrine for the regiment and salvation of our souls; and because learned men do call this the head article laid against me, I would that all men should well note it, and record my saying therein hereafter, whatsoever shall betide of me; for the truth is so indeed, that hereupon hangeth the sum of all. Therefore I shall recite it once again.

The chief article objected against John Lambert.

(1) 'Universæ viæ Domini misericordia et veritas,' etc. Psalm xxv.
(2) 'Adhæsi testimoniis tuis, Domine; noli me confundere.'
(3) 'Verax, et viæ ejus veritas: omnis autem homo vanitas et mendax.' Psalm cxviii.
(4) 'Fundamentum aliud nemo,' etc. 1 Cor. iii.
(5) 'Jam non estis hospites et advenæ, sed concives sanctorum, et domestici Dei,' etc. Eph. ii.
(6) Eph. iv. (7) Heb. xiii. (8) Ibid.

'I say, that in holy Scripture the doctrine there only contained, is sufficient for the salvation of christian men's souls: God give us grace that we may know it, to build our faith steadfastly upon the same, in working thereafter!

As touching the latter part of your question, I say that there are many things both to be observed, and to be believed, that are not expressed in Scripture; as the civil laws of princes and commonalties, ordained for civil regiment of the body, and all others, so that they be not hurtful to faith or charity, but helpful to the same: I reckon that we ought to keep them, not only for fear of punishment, but also for conscience' sake, although such ordinances be not expressly and particularly in Scripture expressed; for they are generally therein contained and spoken of. Unwritten verities.

Moreover, if you mean by this word 'expressed,' that which in Scripture is clearly showed out, and appeareth evidently to every reader or hearer that hath but a mean understanding, so do I affirm that there are some things which a man ought to believe, although they be not by him expressly understood: as I have ever believed that the Virgin Mary was, and is, a perpetual virgin, and that the same might be gathered by the Scripture. But if, by this word 'expressed,' you mean comprehended or contained (as methinks the mind of him that wrote the demand should be), so that he meaneth by this question thus: whether any thing ought to be observed and believed, which is not contained in Scripture, and that, upon necessity of salvation; then I say, that there is nothing either to be observed, or to be believed upon necessity of salvation, which is not contained in Scripture, and mentioned in the same either generally or specially. Yet do I not deny but other things are to be believed, as I believed that Dr. Warham was archbishop of Canterbury, ere ever I saw your lordship, and I believe that I knew verily who was my father and mother, albeit I had no intelligence when they begot me, and such like: and yet in such points, although a man have not a steady belief, he may be saved.

To the thirteenth article, where you do ask, whether I believe that purgatory is, and whether that souls departed be therein tormented and purged? I say that there is a purgatory in this world, and that doth the Scripture, and also do the holy doctors, call the fire of tribulation, through which all Christians shall pass, as testifieth St. Paul to Timothy,[1] whose testimony is full notable and true, albeit that few do know it, and fewer, peradventure, will believe it. Mark you the words, good people! and know, that they be his, and not mine. They be thus, 'All that will live godly in Jesus Christ, shall suffer persecution.' In this purgatory do I now reckon myself to stand; God send me well to persevere unto his honour! Of this speaketh also St. Peter in these words, which pertain to the instruction of all christian people:[2] 'Ye,' quoth he, 'are preserved through the power of God, by faith, unto salvation, which is prepared to be revealed in the last time; wherein ye now rejoice, though for a season (if need require) ye are sundry ways afflicted and tormented; that the trial of your faith, being much more precious than gold that perisheth, though it be tried with fire, might be found unto laud, glory, and honour, at the appearing of Jesu Christ,' &c. Other purgatory know I none, that you can prove by Scripture, unless it be by one place of the same, which, well examined, I trow, shall make but little against me, for the maintenance of any other than I have showed. A purgatory in this world. The purgatory of Christians.

But whatsoever be brought against me, I trust that holy doctors shall, by their interpretation, sustain the part which I do take upon me, making answer for me sufficient; so that you shall say, it is no new thing which I have or shall speak. Yet, that you should see even now somewhat written of ancient doctors concerning the same, I shall show you what I have read in St. Augustine; first, in a sermon that he maketh 'De Ebrietate,' in this wise saying,[3] 'Brethren! let no man deceive himself, for there be two places, and the third is not known. He that with Christ hath not deserved to reign,[4] shall without No third place by Augustine.

(1) 2 Tim. ii.

(2) 'Virtute Dei custodimini per fidem ad salutem, quæ in hoc parata est ut patefiat in tempore supremo, in quo exultatis nunc, ad breve tempus afflicti in variis experimentis si opus sit, quo exploratio fidei vestræ multo pretiosior auro quod perit, et tamen per ignem probatur, reperiatur in gloriam et honorem.' 1 Pet. iii.

(3) 'Nemo se decipiat, fratres; duo enim loca sunt, et tertius non est visus. Qui cum Christo regnare non meruit, cum diabolo absque ulla dubitatione peribit.'

(4) What our deserving is, he declareth before, in the fifth article.

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doubt perish with the devil.' In another also that he maketh, 'De Vanitate hujus Seculi,' it is said thus:[1] 'Know you, that when the soul is departed from the body, it is incontinent, for its good deeds, put in paradise, or else thrown headlong into the dungeon of hell for its sins. Choose ye now which ye list, and purpose, while ye be here in this life, either to joy perpetually with the saints, or else to be tormented without end among wicked sinners.' Thus saith holy Augustine.

No purgatory.

To make an end, I hope surely, that by the aid of our Saviour, I shall come to heaven, and reign with Christ, ere that I shall feel any purgatory beside that I have, and shall sustain, in this life. And he that believeth not steadfastly any other to be, shall yet be saved as well (and God wotteth whether better or no, but I think no whit less) as such as teach the people, or suffer them to be taught, that in going from this station to that, from one altar to another, they shall cause souls to be delivered: yea, and as well as such as say, that a man, being buried in a grey friar's frock, shall so have remission of the third part of his sins (as is granted in a bull unto the said religion), and such like. For St. Augustine shall make with me in his book called 'Enchiridion,' after he hath confuted the opinion of some that in the church of Christ, living in mischief, ungraciously, taking thereof no repentance, did yet falsely deem that they should be saved through the cleansing of purgatory, where he concludeth thus: 'Such a thing after this life to be,' saith he, 'is not incredible; but whether it be so or no, a doubt may be thereof moved, or a question demanded.' The same words doth he again recite in a book called 'Quæstiones ad Dulcium,' or 'Dulcitium,' I wot not whether it is called, and there he treateth of the same more copiously; and would I might see the place once again.

The third part of sins forgiven them that be buried in a grey friar's weed.

To this agreeth St. Paul, writing thus to the Corinthians,[2] 'For we must all appear before the judgment-seat of Christ, that every man may receive the things which are done in his body, according to that he hath done, whether it be good or evil.' And again, where he writeth unto the Hebrews, I trow it be said in this wise:[3] 'Remember them that are in bonds, even as though you were bound with them; be mindful of them which are in affliction, as if ye were also afflicted in the body.'

Praying to saints.

To the fourteenth article, where you ask whether holy martyrs, apostles, and confessors, departed from this world, ought to be honoured, called upon, and prayed unto? I answer, as touching the honouring of them, with the very words of St. Augustine, in his book 'De vera Religione,'[4] in his last leaf, where he saith thus: 'Non sit nobis religio cultus hominum mortuorum: quia si pie vixerunt, non sic habentur, ut tales quærant honores, sed illum a nobis coli volunt, quo illuminante lætantur meriti sui nos esse consortes;[5] honorandi sunt ergo propter imitationem non adorandi propter religionem. Si autem male vixerunt, ubicunque sunt, non sunt colendi.' Again, a little after the same, he saith, 'Nam id ipsum actum est temporali dispensatione ad salutem nostram, ut naturam humanam ipsa Dei virtus, et Dei sapientia incommutabilis, et consubstantialis Patri et cœternus suscipere dignaretur, per quam nos doceret, id esse homini colendum, quod ab omni creatura intellectuali et rationali colendum est: hoc est, ipsos optimos angelos, et excellentissima Dei ministeria velle credamus, ut unum cum ipsis colamus Deum, cujus contemplatione beati sunt; neque enim et nos videndo angelum beati sumus, sed videndo veritatem, qua ipsos etiam diligimus angelos et his congratulamur.

Angels would have no temples builded to them.

'Nec invidemus quod ea paratiores, vel nullis molestiis interpedientibus perfruuntur, sed magis eos diligimus, quoniam et nos tale aliquid sperare a communi Domino jussi sumus. Quare honoramus eos charitate, non servitute; nec eis templa construimus. Nolunt enim se sic honorari a nobis, quia nos ipsi cum boni sumus, templa summi Dei esse noverunt. Recte itaque scribitur, hominem

(1) 'Scitote vos, quod cum anima a corpore avellitur, statim in Paradiso pro meritis bonis collocatur, aut certe pro peccatis, in inferni tartara præcipitatur. Eligito modo quod vultis, aut perpetualiter gaudere cum sanctis, aut sine fine cruciari cum impiis.' Fol. 1005.

(2) 'Omnes nos manifestari oportet coram tribunali Christi, ut reportet quisque ea quæ fiun per corpus, juxta id quod fecit, sive bonum, sive malum.' 2 Cor. v.

(3) 'Memores sitis vinctorum, tanquam una cum illis vincti: eorum qui affliguntur veluti ipsi quoque versantes in corpore.' Heb. xiii.

(4) Cap. lv. fol. 107, vol. i. Edit. Benedict.—Ed.

(5) 'Id est, ejusdem meriti cujus ipsi sunt participes.'

'' ab angelo prohibitum ne se adoraret, sed unum Deum, sub quo ille esset et conservus.'

Thus saith St. Augustine, handling the same matter a little after more at large.

The contents of this unto you I expound, that know no Latin; for I covet that all persons should know both my thought in this and all manner of doing, to the intent that of all persons I would have true report and testimony, whatsoever shall betide me. St. Augustine, in these words, would have that we should worship no men departed, be they ever so good and holy (for they seek no such honour), but would have us to worship God alone; no, nor yet any angel, nor honour the same, but only in imitation of them, following their good acts in our living, as they followed our most merciful God while they were alive; not building churches in the name or honour of them, for they would have no such honour done unto them: it is to them no pleasure, but contrariwise. No, the angels will not that we should build any churches in reverence of them; but would that with them we should honour the original Maker and Performer of all. They refuse all honour, saving that which is called 'honor charitatis,' which is nothing else but to be loved. Thus saith St. Augustine. Which love we shall testify in following their good acts, by helping the poor or helpless with alms and mercy, and dealing truly in word and deed, according to our state and calling, both towards God and man; which is no light matter to them that do consider the thing well. But whosoever shall truly and duly follow that trade, shall feel it, I dare say, as the burden of Christ's cross was unto him, right weighty and grievous when he bare it to Calvary; saving that we need not fear, for he hath promised to be with us in tribulation, to rid us from the same. For the prophet David saith,[1] 'When a just person beginneth to fall, he shall not be borne flat down to be broken, for the Lord shall put his hand under him to rear him up again.' And in the Gospel he biddeth,[2] 'Come you unto me all that do travail and are sore charged, and I shall comfort or refresh you. Take my yoke upon you, learning of me that am soft and meek-minded, and you shall find ease thereby in your souls, for my yoke is easy, and my burthen light.' See you here how he is ever ready to support them that for truth shall sustain the chargeable and sore vexations put upon them by the world, which cannot endure the truth to prevail, and the untruth to be disclosed.

Men departed are not to be worshipped.

The best worshipping of saints, is in following their good acts.

As touching invocation, that is, to wit, calling upon them, we have in Scripture, how we should call upon Almighty God in all necessities or tribulations. As in the Psalms everywhere; as in this, 'Call upon me in time of your tribulation, and I shall deliver you.'[3] Mark how he saith here, 'Call upon me,' appointing neither St. Thomas, nor Master John Shorn. Also in another place, 'The Lord is nigh unto them that call upon him, that call upon him truly;'[4] and with that he showeth who calleth truly upon him, saying thus: 'He shall do the will or desire of them that reverence him, and shall hear graciously their prayer, and make them safe; for the Lord loveth all that love him, and all sinners shall be destroyed.' And thus used the holy prophets, patriarchs, apostles, and other good faithful people in old time, in all tribulation and anguish, to resort unto the head fountain, which is of grace infinite, as is showed in other places in this wise: 'In my trouble I called upon the Lord,' saith David, 'and he heard me graciously.'[5] 'When I was troubled, I cried unto the Lord, and he mercifully heard me.'[6] Also, 'I lift mine eyes unto the mountains. But from whence shall help come unto me? Mine help,' quoth he, 'shall come from the Lord, that made both heaven and earth.'[7] I read the first of these verses in form of interrogation, following St. Augustine, who, as I remember, interpreteth it in this wise. If I recite not authorities in all places in the most perfect form, I would pray you somewhat to pardon me, for you know that I lack books, and have not them lying by me. Notwithstanding, I am certain, I shall not decline much from him. The hills toward which David did lift up his eyes, were saints and holy men, by whom when he could not have his mind satisfied, he turned another way, saying, 'From whence shall help come unto me?' Anon, remembering himself better, he sued unto God himself, of whom

Invocation.

God only to be exalted. To call truly upon God.

(1) 'Cum ceciderit justus non collidetur, quia Dominus supponit manum suam.' Psalm xxxv.
(2) 'Venite ad me, omnes qui laboratis et onerati estis, et ego reficiam vos.' Mat. xi.
(3) Psalm l. (4) Psalm cxlv. (5) Psalm iv. (6) Psalm xviii. (7) Psalm cxxvii.

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incontinent he obtained the accomplishment of his wish, and so witnessed the same for our instruction, saying, 'Mine help is of the Lord,' or cometh from the Lord, 'which made heaven and earth.' This interpretation, as near as I remember, is after the mind of St. Augustine; and I suppose verily, that it is not contrary unto the mind of God, nor disagreeing with the sequel of Scripture. Also, in this wise it is reported in the New Testament, by authority deduced out of the Old,[1] where it is written, 'Every one that calleth upon the name of the Lord, shall be saved.'[2] And mark how *cum energia*,[3] it is said, 'upon the name of the Lord;' without any sending us either to St. Christopher (though he be painted ever so stout), or to St. Patrick's purgatory in Ireland, or to St. James in Galicia, in the year of grace, or yet to any other saint or place; but he would have us that we should call upon Almighty God, and upon his name, for the love that he beareth to Christ, who is alway our advocate before our Father, to purchase mercy for our sins; 'and not for our sins only,' quoth St. John (who is the writer of this saying and testimony), 'but also for the sins of all the world.'[4] St. Augustine upon the same, noteth that St. John, in that place, saith, 'We have an advocate,' and that Christ is advocate for him, like as he is for all others, to purchase mercy for him, like as he doth for all others that shall be saved; and that St. John will not be known for our advocate, but that Christ should be taken for advocate of all. St. Bede (as I remember) upon the same, maketh as much for this purpose as doth St. Augustine, or well more; so that by course of Scripture we are taught to resort for all aid and relief (as I have said) unto the head-spring and fountain of all comfort and mercy, as St. Paul calleth him, 'the Father of mercies and of all comfort, who is ready to comfort us in all tribulation:' 'which,' as the Psalm reporteth, 'healeth all our infirmities, and taketh mercy upon all our iniquities.' 'For he is sweet,' as is said in another place, 'and gentle, and many mercies are laid up for all those that call upon him.' Yet he showeth us nowhere, I trow, of benefits that we shall purchase by praying unto saints departed; and if any person can or will vouchsafe to teach me that, by some authority of Scripture, I would think myself highly beholden to him, whatsoever he were, either great or small, young or old: but I ween it cannot be. I have made truly long search, yet could I never find any such substantial teaching; howbeit, I offer myself ever to learn, and know that my rude wit, foolish youth, inexpert experience, and feeble discretion, had need of good instruction as much as any other. Howbeit I see (thanked be God) that sometimes he showeth some sparkle of light and wisdom to children, hiding the same from others that are reputed of higher prudence; so that the world thereby many times is brought into admiration, seeing such facts done by God before their face, and laugh thereat sometimes with indignation, as the Pharisees did at the blind man whom Christ had restored to sight, where they said to him, 'Thou, caitiff! wast born blind for thy sins, and wilt thou teach us, that are a great multitude of high officers of the temple, and doctors to teach the law?'[5] As who would say, It becometh thee full ill. Yet we ought not to marvel greatly at such doing, forasmuch as St. Paul, in his First Epistle to the Corinthians,[6] showeth of the like practice done in his time, and that he writeth for the instruction of all ages after ensuing; so that it pertaineth (like as all the holy Scripture doth) as well to our time, as it did to that it was first written in. 'The doctrine of Christ's cross,' that is, to wit, of the New Testament, 'is to them that perish, folly,' saith he; 'but to us that obtain thereby salvation,' meaning thereby to such as believe, 'it is the might or power of God; for it is written,' saith he, 'by the prophet Isaiah, that God aforetime said, he would destroy the wisdom of the wise, and the understanding or learning of the learned would he throw away and despise.'[7]

God the giver of help; and not the saints.

Christ is advocate as well for saints and apostles, as for us.

This prophecy alleged, Paul thought to be authority sufficient to dissuade the Corinthians from the foolish affiance, vain-glory or opinion, that they had in men, whom they peradventure over-highly esteemed for their offices or solemn titles. So that he proceedeth forth in the same: 'Where are ye now,' quoth he, 'the worldly wise, the scribes,' that is to say, doctors, and such other like officers: 'Hath not God showed the wisdom of the world to be foolish and unsavoury? For after that by the wisdom of God,' which is showed in Scripture,

The wisdom of this world confounded.

(1) Joel ii. (2) Mark xiii.
(3) That is, with a special efficacy for us to mark more attentively.
(4) 1 John iii. (5) John ix. (6) 1 Cor. i. (7) Ibid.

I suppose, 'the world hath not studied to know God, by wisdom it hath pleased God now to save them that believe through the foolishness of preaching.' He calleth the word of God 'foolish preaching,' not because it was foolish, for afore he called it godly wisdom, but he spake after the opinion of them that set little or nought thereby, esteeming it as Æsop's cock did the precious stone, and as swine do pearls.

After long process in the same matter, he concludeth thus: 'Brethren,' saith he, 'you see your calling, how that not many wise men after the flesh are called to the belief of the gospel, nor many mighty men, nor many of noble parentage; but those that be fools after the estimation of the world, hath God chosen to confound the wise,' &c.

Therefore I say, as I said afore, that, thanks be to God, albeit I am, as I showed before, void of such great prudency as others be well endued with, yet I see partly how their great reasons be not very substantial, whereby they contend by the treaty of reason, when authority faileth them, to show that we ought to pray to saints departed, to be mediators for us to Christ. And amongst others, this is one that they lean much upon, bringing it forth so usually, that common people well nigh altogether harp upon the same; some favouring it, others, contrariwise, esteeming it of no value.

Objection to prove invocation of saints taken out of reason.

The reason is this: If, when one should desire to come to the speech of our sovereign, to obtain some boon of him, need it were, first to purchase the favour of his chamberlains, or some other like officers, to bring him to the king's presence, for else he may watch long in vain, until he be full cold ere that he shall speak with his grace, and much less is he like to obtain his petition. In like wise it fareth (as they say) betwixt God and us; of whom, if we would purchase any benefit, we must first break it unto the saints departed, making them our friends to go betwixt God and us, as mediators and intercessors.

Answer to the objection.

But such (with their leave I would speak it) I think are deceived, in that they resemble God and the king together. For though the king be a full gracious prince (as I hear by common report he is), yet is he not in graciousness to be conferred with God; and though he were as gracious as might be, yet hath he not the knowledge that is in God, for God knew of all things before the beginning of the world, and is everywhere, to see not only our outward dealing, but also all secret thoughts of all men's hearts; so that he needeth no mediators to inform him of our desires, as the king doth need. And he is so full of infinite mercy, that I may as lightly, or as soon, obtain of him that which is for my behoof, as I should win by praying holy saints to be intercessors to him for me.

No comparison between God and an earthly king.

Therefore, passing such apparent reasons, I take me to the ensample of antiquity, I mean of the patriarchs, prophets, and the apostles, and the authority o Scripture, which teach that we need not to fear, but may boldly resort unto Christ himself, and his holy Father, forasmuch as he bids us in these words and others like, so to do; saying, 'Come unto me all ye that travail, are vexed, and sore charged; and I will refresh and ease you.'[1] Mark how he biddeth us to resort unto himself, and that without fear. For he and his Father, who are all one, giveth abundantly of all goodness unto all men, and upbraideth nobody for his unworthiness. But if we intend to obtain of Him, we must, all doubtfulness (as I said before) put apart, with a sure confidence of his mercy, ask of him what we would have; so that I leave unto others what they list to do, praying Jesus, that we all may lust for that which is most pleasing to him.

The Lord only, to be sought unto with prayer.

But I think, concerning myself, that according to Christ's own commandment I may, without any doubt casting, resort in all incumbrances, to seek ease thereof, even unto himself and to his blessed Father. Therefore he biddeth us, when we should pray, to say after this fashion, 'Our Father which art in heaven,' &c. For there is no creature, nor creatures, that ever were or be, that have more, or so much, either of might, whereby cometh ability to give help; or of mercy and tenderness, which should make them willing in proportion agreeable with ability; or of knowledge, that should teach to minister both the other, as is our Lord God, who not only is almighty, all-merciful, and all-wise, but also infinite in all these glorious properties; so that undoubtedly he can, will, and best knoweth how, to relieve and succour us in all necessity and anguish. To whom be honour without end for ever, Amen.

God in might, mercy, and knowledge incomparable.

One thing yet I will show you in this case, of which I was once advertised

(l) Matt. xi.

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by a great learned man, who (as I suppose) is now living. I will not name him, lest I should perhaps cause any displeasure to be conceived against him through my relation. The thing was this: 'I will,' quoth he, 'pray unto saints; but that shall be when I think, that God either cannot or will not give me my petition. But that (as I showed in the Convocation-house) shall never be, I hope. And therefore it is to me needless to seek any further about, standing in such trust and belief as, I hope, I have found upon God's sure promise.'

The saying of a learned man.

To the fifteenth article, where you do demand whether the saints in heaven, as mediators, pray for us, I say, that I believe saints in heaven do pray for us; for I suppose they know that all men generally living upon earth, be wrapped in manifold miseries, like as they also were, their souls being imprisoned within their bodies, being mortal. Albeit I think they know not what particular miseries men upon earth be entangled and clogged with, as showeth Augustine, or else some other (as I think rather) under his name, in a certain work, saying in this wise: 'Ibi sunt spiritus defunctorum, ubi non vident quæcunque aguntur aut eveniunt in ista vita hominum. Quomodo ergo vident tumulos suos, aut corpora sua, utrum objecta jaceant an sepulta? Quomodo intersunt miseriæ vivorum? cum vel sua ipsi mala patiantur si talia merita contraxerunt, vel in pace requiescant, ubi mala nulla nec patiendo nec compatiendo sustineant, liberati ab omnibus malis quæ patiendo et compatiendo cum hic viverent, sustinebant.' The sum whereof is, that souls departed neither feel, nor know of any particular miseries sustained by men living in this world, whereby they should need to take either patience, or else compassion after their decease. Yet, forasmuch as they know in general, that all men living are clad with frailty, and that their charity is not minished after they be hence departed, but increased; therefore I believe verily, that they do pray for us as petitioners; but not as mediators, so far forth as I can see. For Scripture useth to speak but of one Mediator, which I think signifieth a maker of peace or atonement betwixt God the Father, and man. Record I take of Paul, who, in the Epistle to Timothy, saith,[1] 'There is one God, and one mediator or peacemaker betwixt God and man, the man called Christ Jesus, which gave himself for the redemption of all.'

Saints know no particular miseries on earth.

Whether they pray for us.

One mediator, and what a mediator is.

Thus, I say, I believe saints in heaven do pray for us as petitioners, but not as mediators. Yea, all the saints, I ween, do pray, and long that the day of judgment may soon come, according to the saying of St. Paul,[2] 'The fervent desire of the creature waiteth when the sons of God shall be revealed.' And again,[3] 'Every creature groaneth with us, and travaileth in pain together unto this present;' which shall be for the accomplishment of glory, both to them and all others elect of God to be his children, and co-inheritors with Christ.

Pilgrimages and oblations.

In the sixteenth article, where you demand, whether I believe that oblations and pilgrimages may be devoutly and meritoriously done to the sepulchres and relics of saints, I say, that what they may be, I cannot perfectly tell; for God can so work, that unto those whom he hath chosen to be inheritors with him, all things shall turn to a good conclusion, as saith St. Paul to the Romans,[4] in this wise: 'Unto those that love God, all things shall well succeed, and work together for their furtherance in goodness:' of whom it is written in the Psalm,[5] 'Blessed is that nation that hath the Lord for their God, the people whom he hath chosen to be his inheritors:' yea, their evil deeds shall not hurt them, but come well to pass for the increase of virtue.[6] For as it is said in the Gospel, 'To whom less is forgiven, he loveth less.'[7] And again, it hurted not Onesimus, that he ran away from his master Philemon, but God wrought, that by occasion thereof he met with Paul, who converted him to the faith of the gospel, who before was without belief. Therefore, whether they may be done meritoriously or no, I will not define; God wotteth. But this I say, that God did never institute any such thing in the New Testament, which is the verity and rule of all christian people to follow and believe: yea, that only is of perfect surety,

All things work to the best to the godly.

(1) 'Unus est Deus, unus est et mediator Dei et hominum, homo Christus Jesus, qui dedit semetipsum redemptionem pro omnibus.' Erasmus translateth it, 'conciliator Dei et hominum.' 1 Tim. ii.

(2) 'Solicita creaturæ expectatio revelationem filiorum Dei expectat.' Rom. viii.

(3) 'Omnis creatura congemiscit, et nobiscum parturit usque ad hoc tempus.'

(4) Rom. viii (5) Psalm xxxiii. (6) Ezek. xxxiii.

(7) 'Cui minus remittitur, minus diligit.' Luke vii.

and none other, but as it is agreeable to, and hath ground of the same. And like as we have no certain doctrine instituted by Christ, or his disciples, teaching us thus to do; no more is there any merit appointed by him therefore, as I showed before, where I told my mind of our merits.

Moreover, where ye put 'piè,' which I call 'devoutly,' very true devotion (that is called in Latin, 'pietas') is that which hath annexed therewith divine promises for this present life, and for that which is to come, as witnesseth Paul,[1] which is nothing else but the observation of Christ's law, that, in the Psalm, for the pureness thereof, is called[2] 'Silver fined often and many times through the fire.' It hath no chaff in it, as have men's traditions; but is pure and clean wheat, as showeth Jeremy, writing in this wise,[3] 'What is the chaff to the wheat? Therefore behold, I will come against the prophets,' saith the Lord 'that steal my word every one from his neighbour, and deceive my people in their lies and in their errors.' And this devotion is that which St. James calleth the pure religion of Christ, saying, 'Pure and immaculate religion before God the Father is, to visit fatherless children and widows in their vexation;'[4] whereby he meaneth all needy people that are succourless and helpless, with our counsel and other alms, according to our ability, whensoever we see them in need and distress.

Piè, pietas, defined.

True devotion or pure religion, what it is.

Pure religion.

The other part of this religion showed by St. James, is, That a man should keep himself clean from the world; and that do they who be not so affectionate unto any thing therein, but that they have the things of the world, or occupy the same by true dealing, so that they can find in their heart to depart from them, when God shall please, or charity so requireth.

Thus doing, we shall follow the exhortation of blessed Paul, who, writing to the Corinthians,[5] saith thus, 'Brethren, the time is short: this remaineth, that they which have wives, should be as they had them not; and those that weep, should be as they wept not; and those that buy, as if they were without possession; and they that occupy this world, as though they occupied it not: for the fashion of this world passeth away.' And this meaneth none other thing, but that we should neither love nor dread any worldly thing passing measure, or inordinately, but God above all things, and all other things in him or for him; and he that thus doth, fulfilleth the commandment of Christ spoken to the rich man in the Gospel, where he saith, 'Go and sell all that ever thou hast, and come follow me.'[6] For he hath sold away all that ever he had, that surely intendeth for the love of Christ, to help the poor with all that he may. 'The will is accepted for the deed,'[7] as is commonly said. And this saying both of James, and also of the Evangelist, I think verily belongeth to all christian men that they should perform it, none except, neither lay man nor woman (as we use to say), but to them, as well as to any whom we call religious.

What it is to sell away all for the gospel.

As concerning the relics and tombs of saints, I have said to your lordship before, what I do think of the milk of our lady, the blood which they say is at Hayles, Norwich, and other places, with such others, whereof I trust you do know what ought to be done. And I beseech God you may do therein as your office doth require, so showing example to other prelates to follow your lordship in good doing, as is comely for a primate to do; remembering always, as Paul saith, 'the time is short,' and therefore it were good to set to hand in time.

Relics and tombs of saints.

Finally, holy Moses, when he died, would be so buried that no man should know which was his grave, as it is witnessed in the book of Deuteronomy; and that (as the expositors testify) was, because the Jews, who were prone to new fangled worshipping, should not fall into idolatry, worshipping him as God, for the great and manifold miracles that were wrought by him while he was alive.

Moses' tomb unknown.

To conclude, I say, it is no point of my belief, to think that oblations and pilgrimages at saints' graves and relics, are meritorious works, nor yet that there is any devotion in so doing. That is godly which is instituted by Scripture. If you think contrary, I would desire to know, for mine instruction, what part of Scripture should make therefore against me.

Pilgrimage.

In the seventeenth article, where you do ask, whether the fast in Lent,

(1) 1 Tim. iv. (2) 'Argentum igne examinatum, purgatum septuplum.' Psalm xi.
(3) 'Quid paleis ad triticum? Propter hoc ego ad prophetas, dicit Dominus, qui furantur verba mea unusquisque a proximo suo, et seducunt populum meum in mendaciis suis, et in erroribus suis.' Jer. xxiii. (4) James i. (5) 1 Cor. vii.
(6) Matt. xix. (7) 'Voluntas reputatur pro facto.'

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and others appointed by the common law, and received in common usage of christian people (unless necessity otherwise requireth) are to be observed, I say that, in mine opinion, they are to be observed, and fasting discreetly done is commendable, for so shall a man avoid sloth, and be the more ready to serve God, and also his neighbours, and thereby tame the rebellion of carnal concupiscence, according to the saying of the poet,[1] 'Without wine and good fare, lust waxeth cold.' And as St. Jerome,[2] 'The body inflamed with wine, bursteth out into lust.'

The saying of Jerome.

Fast broken is of itself no sin.

No law without Scripture bindeth any.

How to fast truly.

Yet shall not the breaking of these fasts make a man to do deadly sin, except in his mind be some other malicious affection therewith annexed, as rashness of mind, despite, or such like; forasmuch as no positive law of man, made without foundation of Scripture, may bind any person, so that in breaking of such, he shall therefore sin deadly. And of this sort made by man, are the fast of Lent and other days ordained in your laws without authority of Scripture, which willeth us to fast perpetually, eating and drinking but when need requireth (not for any voluptuousness, as many, that recount themselves great fasters, I fear have done); yea, and that sparely, foreseeing always that our stomachs be never cloyed with drunkenness or surfeiting (as is commanded by our Saviour in Luke); but contrariwise, after the fashion rather of a certain prince that is mentioned, I trow, in Valerius Maximus, that never rose from his meal's meat with a full stomach, but rather somewhat empty, or hungry; which, as the story testifieth, caused him to live so wonderfully a long season, that a man could scarcely think it possible for one's life to be so prolonged, had not such a notable author reported it.

Rather to be persuaded than enforced.

And, to tell the truth, I suppose the prelates should better have persuaded the people to pure fasting by instant preaching of the word of God, and fatherly exhortations, than by ordaining of so sore a multitude of laws and constitutions; for the nature of man is well described by Horace, saying,[3] 'Look, what is forbid, that we most desire, and always covet the things that be denied us.' And in another proverb,[4] 'The rope, by overmuch straining, bursteth asunder.' According to this said a good old father in Cambridge. I remember his saying well yet: he was an old doctor of divinity. When a legate came into England at a time, and he, with certain bishops, had ordained, that the dedication of all churches through England (as I remember) should be kept holy and solemnized upon one day, and priests should have their gowns made close before, with such other like ordinances, he resisted, not condescending to have them put in execution, when his diocesan required him; declaring how this multitude of laws pleased him not; for we had enough and abundantly before. Adding this reason, 'Adam, being in paradise, had but one law to observe, and yet he brake it: What other thing then shall this multitude do,' quoth he, 'but multiply transgression? for when a faggot is bound over strait, the bond must break.'

Church holy days solemnized in England.

Gowns sewed before.

Multitude of laws unprofitable.

God therefore, I beseech him, send us of the sweet dew of his heavenly doctrine, to moisten and supple the earthly ground of our hearts, that we may grow like fashioned unto him; putting apart our old Adam, with all his dissimulation and painted show, that is much caused by human laws and constitutions; and do upon us Christ, that is the very truth, and the way directing men to the same, Amen.

Against images.

Unto the eighteenth article, where you ask, whether it be laudable and profitable that worshipful images be set in churches for the remembrance of Christ and his saints, I say, that I know of no images that ought to be worshipped, specially made by the hand of men: for the Psalm saith,[5] 'Confusion or shame be upon them that worship and make obeisance unto carved images, and that glory in their pictures.' Moreover St. Augustine, in his book 'De Vera Religione,' saith thus: 'Let us not have devotion in worshipping the works of men.' Or else thus: 'Let us not be bound to worship the works of men; for the workmen are more excellent than the things which they make, whom notwithstanding we ought not to worship.'[6] Lactantius also maketh strongly with the same: I cannot without book recite his saying, for he teacheth largely of

Images not to be worshipped.

(1) 'Sine Cerere et Baccho friget Venus.' (2) 'Venter mero æstuans spumat in libidinem.'
(3) 'Nitimur in vetitum semper, cupimusque negata.'
(4) 'Funis plus æquo tensus rumpitur.' (5) Psalm xcvii.
(6) The Latin is thus, 'Non sit nobis religio humanorum operum cultus, meliores enim sunt ipsi artifices qui talia fabricantur; quos tamen colere non debemus.'

the same matter. Origen also, writing against Celsus, I trow, will likewise testify; where, as I remember, he concludeth, saying, that he would have no goldsmiths nor gravers in a commonalty; for they do but little profit or none thereto. And St. Gregory that was chief, either inventor that images should be set in churches, or else maintainer thereof, would not, as I have read (I trow, it is in an epistle which he writeth to Servus), have them worshipped.

And as concerning the exciting of men's memory, I would suppose that if Christ's doctrine were so showed and opened, that people might clearly understand it (and that is the principal office of prelates and curates to do, by diligent teaching thereof), I think verily we should have little need of any other images than that which should, by wholesome doctrine, be showed unto us by word of mouth and writing:[1] 'Nothing is so effectual, to exercise the remembrance of disciples, as the lively voice of good teachers;' as it is testified both by common report, and also by the sentence of learned men.

The Word puts us in remembrance, not images.

So that I suppose, if this lively doctrine of God had aforetime been apertly and diligently opened unto the people, as curates ought to have done, we should have such profit thereby, that we should not need to contend for setting up, or taking down, of other dumb stocks, and lifeless stones, carved or made by men; and if prelates would begin to set up Christ's word (which, alas for pity! is not looked upon, but rather trodden down and despised; so that many are not ashamed to say, 'I will have no more learning in Christ's law than my predecessors, for they that magnify it must be sore punished, and taken for heretics,' with such other grievous words): if this doctrine were yet set up in churches (I say), and truly opened, that all men might have their judgment thereby reformed and made clear, I think we should not greatly need the profit that cometh by images made of men, to excite our remembrance to live christianly.

The image of God, in his Word and his works.

For that word which came from the breast of Christ himself, and was written of others that wrote and spake by the suggestion of his Spirit, the Holy Ghost, showeth full perfectly his blessed will, which is the true and certain image of his mind and device. If this, therefore, were diligently inculcated, I think we should be transformed anew, according to the mind of Paul, who, writing to the Colossians,[2] saith thus: 'See that you lie not one to another, after that now you have put off the old man with his works, and have put upon you the new man, which is transformed and renovated after the knowledge and image of Him that made us.' Yea, thus should we all be 'docti a Deo,' 'taught of God,' as is said in John;[3] and all should know God, both small and great, according to the promise recited in the Hebrews:[4] yea, thus should we be restored to goodness, that we should have the image of God carved in our hearts full expressly. For every man is transformed into the fashion of virtuous things, that he is accustomed to read and hear. And, therefore, it were a great grace, if we might have the word of God diligently and often spoken and sung unto us in such wise that the people might understand it. Yea, then it should come to pass, that craftsmen should sing spiritual psalms sitting at their works, and the husbandman at his plough, as wisheth St. Jerome.

As a man readeth, so is he fashioned.

The best image of God, is his word.

Yea, this holy image of Christ, I mean his blessed doctrine, doth appoint us also to consider the works made by the hand of God, such as no man can make like, whereby, as saith St. Paul, writing to the Romans,[5] 'The invisible power and divinity of God is known and seen by the creation of the world,' of such as will consider his works that are therein by him made. Look in the Psalms,[6] 'Praise ye the Lord from heaven.' 'The heavens declare the glory of God,' with others.[7] And these two images, God's works and his doctrine, have, ere any images made by men were set up in churches, well and sufficiently instructed the primitive church: and should yet instruct us well, if they were well considered, so that we should not need so sorely to contend for setting up of others made by men. Whereby I have perceived much harm to arise, and no great profit; nor the Scripture maketh not for them but rather contrary; as concerning which matter, I would your lordship would please to read the Epistle of Baruch once again, writing of the same matter.

God's works and word, be the right images of God.

Unto the nineteenth article where you ask, whether I believe that prayers of

(1) 'Quoniam nihil tam efficax ad commonefaciendum discipulos, quam viva vox.'
(2) Col. iii. (3) John vi. (4) Heb. viii. (5) Rom. i.
(6) 'Laudate Dominum de cœlis, cœli enarrant,' &c. Psalm cxlix. (7) Psal. xix. &c.

Henry VIII. men living, do profit souls departed and being in purgatory, I made answer in the thirteenth article.

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Truth taken for heresy, and heresy for truth.

In the one and twentieth, where you do ask, whether I do believe that men, prohibited by bishops to preach, as suspected of heresy, ought to cease from preaching and teaching until they have purged themselves of suspicion, before a higher judge? I say that men may be wrongfully suspected of heresy, either because they never thought to believe such errors as men, by false suspicion, do deem them to favour; or else, when men, as well of high estate as of low, by sinister judgment may think that to be error, which is the very truth. And of this speaketh Isaiah,[1] 'Wo be to them,' quoth he, 'that call the light darkness, and the darkness light; the truth falsehood, and the falsehood truth.' As the bishops and the priests, with their orator Tertullus, called Paul, saying thus, before a judge called Felix, unto whose court they brought him to be condemned to death: 'We have,' quoth they, 'gotten here a pestilent fellow, a sower of sedition or discord among all the Jews of the world, and a bringer-up of the sect of the Nazarenes; which was also minded to have polluted our temple,' &c.[2] This is to call, by perverse judgment, truth falsehood. And thus did their predecessors speak of the prophets, yea, and of Christ himself, calling him a seducer and preacher of heresy: which is written for our instruction. And men being thus suspected (as I would none were), ought in no wise, therefore, to cease either from preaching, or teaching.

Whether men prohibited, ought to cease from preaching.

Ensample of this we have in the Acts of the Apostles,[3] where is showed that when Peter and John had done a miracle upon a man that had been lame from his nativity (whom by the power of Christ they healed, and caused to go where he pleased), the people, hearing of this, came running about Peter and John. Peter, seeing this, did exhort the people in a sermon, that they should not think him and his fellow St. John, to have done this wonderful thing by their own power or holiness, but by the virtue of Christ, whom they and their head-rulers had slain.

While they were thus speaking with the people, there came upon them the priests and officers of the temple, accompanied with the Sadducees, being sore displeased that they should enterprise to teach the people, and preach that men should arise from death by the name of Christ, whom they had caused to be crucified; and therewith they laid hands upon them, and put them in ward until next day. The next day they sent for the apostles before them, demanding by what power, and in whose name they did this miracle? Peter made answer, 'If you,' quoth he, 'that are head-rulers over the people, lust by examination to know by what means we did it, we would you should all know, that we did it through the name of Christ Jesus of Nazareth, whom you did crucify: but God did cause him to arise again. In the virtue of his name doth this man, that afore was lame, now stand afore you here both whole and sound. For Christ is that head corner-stone, whom you cast away, which should have builded the people's faith upon him, neither is there any salvation without him.'[4]

These great men, seeing that Peter spake so freely, and that he, with his fellow John, were simple men, without any pompous apparel, or great guard of servants, being like idiots and men unlearned, wondered thereat. At last they did command them to depart out of their council-house, while they should commune more largely of the matter. Afterwards they called the apostles before them again, commanding them that they should no more preach, nor teach in the name of Jesus. But the apostles answered, saying, 'I beseech you, judge better. Ought we to obey you more than God, or no? for certainly we must needs testify of those things which we have both heard and seen.'[5] Then the head priests, threatening them sore, did give them strait charge not to break their precept; and so did let them go, not knowing any cause why they might punish them; for they feared lest the people would have taken part with the apostles, for the people gave glory unto God for the miracle showed by them.

Peter and the apostles prohibited to preach.

(1) Isa. v. (2) Acts xxiv. (3) Acts iv. v. vi. (4) Acts iv. (5) Ibid.

Notwithstanding all these great threats, Peter wrought miracles still amongst the people, doing them to know that glory therefore ought to be given to Jesus, by whose power and name they were done; wherewith the hearts of the people melted for joy, so that they followed after the apostles whithersoever lightly they went.

The primate of the priests, hearing of this, and all that were about him, replete with indignation, laid hands upon the apostles, putting them in the common prison. But the angel of God, in the night, opened the prison-doors, and brought them out, saying, 'Go you into the temple, and stand there preaching unto the people all the words of life;' that is to say, Christ's doctrine: and so they did early in the morning. Then came forth the chief priest, and they whom he used to have about him, and called a council, in which were all the priests of Israel, or ancients of Israel. So they sent unto the prison-house to have the apostles brought forth before them. When their servants came to the prison-house, and found the apostles gone thence, they returned to their masters, saying, 'We found the prison fast shut round about in every part, and the keepers watching at the doors without, full diligently. But when we had opened the prison, we could find nobody within.'

Peter disobeyed.

Peter delivered out of prison.

Then, as the high priests and officers of the temple heard this, they were in a great perplexity, doubting what would thereof come. Then came one unto them and showed them, saying, 'Behold the men that ye put in prison are standing in the temple, preaching unto the people.' Then went they thither, and brought the apostles with them without any violence; but they were afraid lest the people would have beaten them down with stones.

Then they caused the apostles to be brought into their council-house, the high priest beginning his proposition against the apostles in this form: 'Have we not straitly commanded you,' said he, 'that you should not preach in the name of Christ? and see, you have filled all Jerusalem with your doctrine. Will you bring this man's blood upon us, that we should unrighteously have caused him to suffer death?' Then answered Peter and the other apostles, saying, 'We ought to obey God more than any man. The God of our fathers hath raised Jesu from death, whom you did slay, hanging on a tree. Him notwithstanding hath God raised, and by his power advanced to be our King and Saviour: by whom shall be given to all Israel, that will take repentance, forgiveness of sin.'[1]

God to be obeyed more than men.

These great rulers hearing this, their hearts were therewith cloven asunder, and they consulted together to slay the apostles. But one good man among their multitude advised them otherwise, whose advice they did approve. Then they called the apostles again before them, causing them to be scourged, and charged them no more to preach in the name of Jesus; and so did let them depart.

The counsel of Gamaliel.

Then went they away out of the council, rejoicing that God had made them worthy to suffer such rebukes for his name's sake. But yet they never ceased to teach and preach of Jesus Christ every day in the temple, and in all houses that they came into. This is written in the fourth, fifth, and sixth of the Acts of the Apostles, and for our instruction, doubt you not: for such practice is showed in all ages. So that hereby you may see, when men be wrongfully suspected or infamed of heresy, and so prohibited by bishops to preach the word of God, that they ought for no man's commandment to leave or stop, though they do never purge themselves before them: for such will admit no just purgation many times, but judge in their own causes, and that as they lust, which methinketh not at all comely. Therefore, in the old law, the priests and other judges do sit together, hearing of matters that were in controversy.

Wrongful prohibition, not to stop God's word.

Popish prelates judges in their own causes.

Yet this I think reasonable, that a man justly and not causelessly suspected, and namely if he be so found faulty of heresy, ought to cease from preaching, after he is inhibited, until he have made his purgation before some judge. But, in my rude opinion, it were necessary and convenient that our heads should not be over ready of suspicion, and so inhibiting men approved from preaching, especially in this session, when the people do suspect them to do it more for love of themselves, and maintaining of their private lucre or honour, than to do it for love of God, or maintenance of his honour.

Swiftness of suspicion reproved.

In the two and twentieth article, where you demand whether I believe that it is lawful for all priests freely to preach the word of God or no, and that in all

(1) Acts v.

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places, at all seasons, and to all persons to whom they shall please, although they be not sent: I say, that priests are called in Scripture by two distinct words, that is to wit, 'presbyteri,' and 'sacerdotes.' The first is to say, ancient men, seniors, or elders, and by that word or vocable are the secular judges, or such like head officers, sometimes also signified; as we read in Daniel, that they were so called who defamed and wrongfully accused Susanna: that this is seldom, and nothing so customable as for those to be called 'presbyteri,' who are set to be prelates in the church, to guide the same by the word of God and his blessed doctrine, that is the rod of direction, and the foundation of Christ's faith. And priests thus called 'presbyteri,' in the primitive church (what time there were but few traditions and ordinances to let us from the strait trade or institution made by Christ and his apostles), were the very same and none other but bishops; as I showed you in the first part of mine answer, by the authority of St. Jerome.

Priests. whether they ought to preach unsent.

Episcopi and presbyteri all one.

Paul, also, recordeth the same right evidently in the First to Titus; in this form: 'I left thee Titus,' quoth blessed Paul, 'behind me in Crete, that thou shouldest set in due order such things as lack, or be not else perfectly framed; and that thou shouldest set priests in every town, like as I did appoint thee, if any be without reproach or blameless, the husband of one wife, having faithful children, not given to riot, or that be not unruly. For so ought a bishop to be,' &c. These are not my words, but St. Paul's in the Epistle to Titus. Where you may see that a priest called 'presbyter,' should be the same that we call a bishop, whom he requireth, a little after, to be able, by wholesome doctrine of God's Scripture, to exhort the good to follow the same doctrine; and if any shall speak against it, to reprove them thereby. And mark ye how he would have a bishop (otherwise called an ancient man or a priest) to make exhortation by holy Scripture, and thereby to reprove them that shall speak against the truth, and not to condemn them by might or authority only, or else by traditions of men made in general councils. And as many as are in this wise priests, who are commonly called 'presbyteri' (otherwise bishops),—such as in the church are set to take cure of souls, and to be spiritual pastors, ought to preach freely the word of God in all places and times convenient, and to whomsoever it shall please them, if they suppose and see that their preaching should edify and profit.

Priests have two names in Scripture.

Description of a true priest.

How gainsayers of truth are to be reproved.

What ministers be sent.

And whereas you add this particle, 'though they were not sent;' I say, that all such are chosen to be preachers, and therefore sent. For of this speaketh St. Gregory in his Pastorals, in this wise:[1] 'Whosoever taketh priesthood upon him, taketh also upon him the office of preaching.' Yea, your law reporteth in like manner, Distinction 43, where it is thus said, 'A priest ought to be honest, that he may show honesty both in words and conditions.' Wherefore it is said in the Canticles, 'The cheeks of the spouse,' that is, to wit, of preachers, 'are to be compared to a turtle dove.' Where is moreover added, he must also have the gift of teaching, because (as saith St. Jerome) innocent conversation, without speech or preaching, how much it is available by example-giving, so much doth it hurt again by silence-keeping: for wolves must be driven away by barking of dogs, and by the shepherd's staff, which (as the Gloss showeth) signifieth preaching, and sharp words of the priest. And this I understand of such as should be priests elect both by God and men, in God's church; whose office is to preach.

Multitude serveth for authority.

And though many of them who now do minister in the church, and are elected by bishops, otherwise than after the manner of Christ's institution, and the form of the primitive church, neither do nor can preach; yet ought not the multitude of such to be laid for an authority against me or others, that are compelled to show the truth and right ordinances of the apostles, that were used aforetime in the primitive church: God bring it in again! Neither ought we, for the negligence of bishops, who have chosen such an ignorant multitude, whereby the principal duty of priests is grown out of knowledge, when we do show you thereof, to be so enforced by a book-oath, and therefore noted as heretics, imprisoned and burned.

Other be called priests in the New Testament, by this word 'sacerdotes,' that is to say, I think, sacrificers. And thus as Christ was called 'Rex et Sacerdos,' king and priest, so be all christian men in the New Testament (as is

(1) 'Prædicationis quippe officium suscipit, quisquis ad sacerdotium accedit.'

testified Apoc. i.) by Christ made kings and priests. The words in the Apocalypse be thus: 'To Jesu Christ, which hath loved us, and washed us from our sins through his blood, and made us kings and priests unto God, even his Father, unto him be glory and rule for ever and ever. Amen.' Thus saith St. John, speaking of all christian people. In like manner it is said, by St. Peter, where he writeth unto all christian men, 'You,' quoth he, 'be a chosen generation, a regal priesthood, an holy people.'[1] St. Bede, expounding the same (as my remembrance doth serve), shall testify plainly with me. And St. Augustine, I wot well, in divers places recordeth that all christian men be so called, 'regale sacerdotium;' and likewise doth Faber, in his Commentaries upon the same place. Whosoever looketh upon the treatise called 'Unio Dissidentium,' shall find a multitude of ancient fathers' sayings, declaring the same.

How all men are priests.

But this may yet seem a strange thing and a new, that all persons should be called priests, and that, in Scripture, which cannot lie. Truth it is indeed, it may seem strange to divers, as it did to me and many others, when we read it first; because we never read nor heard of the same before, and so did Christ's doctrine (and his apostles') seem new to his audience, when he himself preached. Albeit he yet proved his doings and sayings by authority of the law and prophets, as is showed in Romans i., where Paul reporteth, 'that he was chosen apart, to be a minister of the gospel that was promised before by the prophets.' And our Saviour testifieth the same in St. John,[2] saying to the Jews, 'Think you not,' quoth he, 'that I shall accuse you before my Father. There is one to accuse you, which is Moses, in whom ye do trust. But if you believed Moses, you should certainly believe me, for he writeth of me,' &c. Likewise a little above, he biddeth them search the Scriptures, for they make report of him.

The saying of a doctor preaching at Paul's.

But although these sayings do seem new, for lack that we have not had old familiarity with Scripture, and usage in reading the same (God amend and help it, when it shall please him!), yet truly so standeth it written as I have said, and so it is interpreted by the doctors above named, and so was it preached of a certain doctor also of divinity in London, the second day of Advent last past, in this sentence. I wot not whether these were the self words or no: 'The church,' quoth the doctor, 'is nothing else but the congregation of faithful people: and you all,' quoth he to the people, 'are of the church, as well as I, or any others, if you be of God. And likewise we and all men are priests, but yet are not all alike ordained ministers,' said he, 'to consecrate the body of Christ in the church.' Thus said the preacher; whom, when I see opportunity, I dare be bold to name. And these, I say, ought not all to preach openly in general conventions or assemblies, neither can they, but they rather should come to learn: yet privately are they bound, for instruction of their servants, children, kinsfolk, and such like, to speak what should be for the destruction of vice, and for the increase or upholding of virtue, whensoever time and place so behoveth; as showeth St. Paul, saying in this wise: 'You that are fathers, provoke not your children to wrath or anger; but bring them up in the doctrine and discipline of the Lord.'[3]

Every man minister of good instruction in his own house.

In the three and twentieth article, where you do ask, whether I believe that it is lawful for lay people of both kinds (that is to wit, both men and women) to sacrifice and preach the word of God: I say, that it is meet for none, in mine opinion, to preach openly the word of God, except they be chosen and elected to the same, either by God, or solemnly by men, or else by both; and therefore St. Paul calleth himself, in all his epistles, an apostle of God, that is to wit, a messenger of God. And to the Galatians he writeth thus,[4] 'Paul an apostle; not sent of men, nor by man, but by Jesus Christ.' Also to the Romans,[5] 'How shall men preach truly,' quoth he, 'except they be sent?'

No man to preach openly, except he be chosen.

In time of great necessity, lay-people, man or woman, may preach.

Notwithstanding, I say this, both by supportation of God's law, and also of laws written in the Decrees, that in time of great necessity lay people may preach; and that of both kinds, both men and women; as you may see in the Epistle to the Corinthians,[6] where he saith that 'it is a shame for a woman to speak in a multitude or congregation.' Yet in another place he saith that

(1) 1 Pet. ii. (2) John v. (3) Ephes. vi.
(4) Gal. i. (5) Rom. v. (6) 1 Cor. xiv.

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'every woman praying or prophesying, having nothing upon her head, doth dishonour her head.'[1]

To this accordeth the prophecy of Joel,[2] recited in the Acts,[3] where, in the person of God, it is said thus, 'I shall pour out of my Spirit upon all flesh, and both your sons and your daughters shall prophesy.' Thus did Anna the prophetess, daughter of Phanuel, give praise unto Christ in the temple, and spake of him to all men of Jerusalem, that looked after the redemption of Israel.[4]

Women that prophesied.

This also doth the Virgin Mary yet speak unto us in the Scripture, by the song which she made, that is daily recited in the church, called 'Magnificat.' Yea Stephen also, being no priest, but a deacon, made a wonderful good sermon.[5] This also willeth your Decrees, Dist. 9. 'De Consecratione,' where it is thus said: 'A woman, although she is learned and holy, may not presume to teach men in the congregation, nor baptize, except necessity requireth. So that, where need is, I shall add this, but not without the mind of him that wrote the law, like as a woman may baptize, so may she teach the word of God, or preach, as is declared more plainly, Cap. 16. Quest. 1. et in Glossa. 11. Cap. 'Adjicimus.' Dist. 18. And I beseech God, that, for lack of true and well learned officers, such necessity do not now come upon us, that such shall need to take upon them to preach.

There is a learned man, who in a dialogue[6] that he maketh betwixt a rude abbot and a gentlewoman having skill in learning, jesteth, but with pretty earnest (as his manner is), and giveth a watch-word touching somewhat my purpose. It is in the end of the dialogue. The gentlewoman answering the abbot, for that he had partly checked her because she was quick in utterance of learning, 'Sir,' quoth she, 'if you continue therein so dull as you have done, and daily do, the world perceiving it (as they begin fast to grow quick in sight), it is to be feared lest they will set you beside the saddle, and put us in your room.'

Sacrifice in offering our bodies.

As concerning sacrifice-doing (so do I understand by the word which you do use, 'libare,' not knowing else what it should mean), I say that it is lawful for all men and women to do sacrifice, of what sort soever they be: but I mean not by sacrifice-doing, to say mass as priests used to do, thereunto appointed; but like as christian people be 'sacerdotes.' that is to say, sacrificers, as is showed before, so ought they to offer, and do offer, spiritual sacrifices, as writeth St. Paul to the Romans, saying, 'I beseech you, brethren, for the love of God's mercy, that you will give your body a living sacrifice, holy and acceptable to God, being a reasonable worshipping.'[7] In that he saith our body should be a sacrifice, he would have it slain: for that was the manner, that all beasts that were wont to be sacrificed, should be first slain. But he joineth therewith, 'living;' saying, 'Give your body to be a living sacrifice.' So that he would we should continue to live in this body to God's pleasure, but fleeing the evil lusts and appetites thereof, and so shall our worshipping be reasonable, if we do not give unto our reason overmuch of the bridle whereby it may run at riot, in following fleshly concupiscence, and wicked vanity or arrogancy: as when men will take in hand to devise, by their own wit, a more godly way of living than is instituted by Christ (who is the wisdom of his heavenly Father), saying that his is not sufficient enough for us to follow; of whom it is said by the prophet Isaiah in these words: 'This people approach near unto me, and honour me with their lips, but their heart is far from me; but they do worship me in vain, teaching doctrines that are laws or precepts of men.'[8]

Sacrifice true and lively.

Then Paul proceedeth, showing of this christian sacrifice, saying, 'And apply not yourselves unto the fashion of this world, but be you transformed, by renovation of your mind; that you may know what is the will of God, what is good, acceptable, and rightful before him.'[9] See how he would have us do this sacrifice, and mortify our lusts, in refusing the corrupt fashion and behaviour of the world, altering our minds by a new way, by knowing the will of God, and following after the same.

Sacrifice of praise.

Another manner of sacrifice which he requireth, is, that we should alway offer unto God the sacrifice of praise, that is to wit, the fruits of our lips, that Hosea calleth 'vitulos labiorum,'[10] giving laud unto his name; and that we

(1) 1 Cor. xi. (2) Joel ii. (3) Acts ii. (4) Luke ii. (5) Acts vii.
(6) He meaneth the dialogue of Erasmus, entitled, 'Abbas et Erudita.'
(7) Rom. xii. (8) Isa. xxix. (9) Rom. xii. (10) Hosea xiv.

should not forget to do good, and to be beneficial to our neighbours: 'For in such sacrifice,' saith he, 'God hath delight.'[1] *Henry VIII.* A. D. 1538.

Thus I say that by plain suffrage of your law in the Decrees, and also of Scripture, lay persons, in necessity and in time of need, may lawfully preach or show the word of God, and also do sacrifice: but I think, except great need require, they ought not so to do.

Thus have you herein my mind, which if it be not firm and substantial, I will yet reform it when any better is showed; as I will also do in all other things; for I am not in this yet fully certified. Albeit methinketh the decrees do pass evidently with me.

In the twenty-fourth article, where you do ask, whether excommunication, denounced by the pope against all heretics, do oblige and bind them before God: I say, that it bindeth them before God, if it be lawfully denounced, that is, if they be in very deed, as they be named; and if he denounceth them so to be, not out of his own proper head or affection only, but with the consent of others gathered with him in Christ's name, for the behoof of Christ's church: for so used St. Paul, when he did excommunicate the man of Corinth, who had full horribly defiled his mother-in-law, as appeareth in 1 Cor. v. Excommunication requireth consent of others.

And the same form declareth the gospel,[2] in these words: 'If thy brother hath trespassed against thee, go and reprove him betwixt thee and him alone. If he will hear thee, thou hast so won thy brother. If he will not hear thee, take one or two with thee, that in the report of two or three, every thing may be assured. If he will not hear them, show it unto the congregation. If he will not follow the mind of the congregation, let him be unto thee as a paynim, or a notable sinner. For verily I say unto you, whatsoever you shall bind upon earth, shall be bound in heaven.' So that such excommunication ought to be done (as methinketh) by the congregation assembled together with their pastor, whose advice they ought principally to esteem and follow, if it be virtuous and godly.

And thus is it convenient to be done: for the pope is made of flesh, as well as other men; and therefore he may sometimes judge awry, cursing the blessed, and blessing the cursed. And likewise may other prelates, judging the christian to be heretics, and heretics christian: of whom it is also written in the prophecy of Ezekiel,[3] 'They slew the souls of them that should not die, and gave life to the souls that should not live;' as did the Pharisees when they did cast Christ out of the vineyard, which signifieth the church;[4] and as our Saviour prophesied,[5] saying unto his disciples, 'There shall be,' quoth he, 'some that shall excommunicate you: yea, and the time shall come, that whosoever shall slay you, shall think to do honour to God And this shall they do unto you, because they do neither know my Father nor me.' These words be written in the gospel of John; whereby you see, that for lack of knowledge of God, which is taught and seen by the light of Scripture, Christ prophesied how lewd men should lewdly excommunicate the good, yea and slay his true servants, thinking, through such facts, to please God, and to do him good service. The pope may err.

Wherefore send, O Lord! I beseech thee, the knowledge of thee to be dilated upon earth (which Hosea[6] bewaileth sore, seeing it absent), whereby men's judgments may be rectified; and so do accordingly to the leading of the same!

In the twenty-fifth article, where you do ask, whether every priest is bound to say daily his matins and even-song, according as it is ordained by the church, or whether he may leave them unsaid, without offence or deadly sin: I say that prayer in Scripture is much commended, and many great and immeasurable benefits are showed to ensue thereupon, that men should the more lustily give themselves thereto. With prayer doth St. Paul bid us to fight in divers places, continuing in the same against our ghostly enemies. A figure of this is read in Exodus,[7] when the Israelites fought in battle against a nation of infidels: I trow their captain was called Amalek. Moses stood upon a mountain to behold what should be the conclusion, and, lifting up his hands, prayed that it might well succeed with the Israelites: but in long holding them up, at The virtue of prayer.

(1) Heb. xiii. (2) Matt. xviii.
(3) 'Mortificabant animas quæ non moriuntur, et vivificabant animas quæ non vivunt. Ezek. xiii. (4) Matt. xxi. (5) John xix. (6) Hos. iv. (7) Exod. xvii.

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last his fervour began to grow cold and faint, and his hands sagged downwards. And ever as his hands grew heavy (which signifieth that his affection in praying abated and waxed cold), the infidels prevailed; but as he kept them heaved upward (whereby was meant intentive prayer of a devout mind), he purchased victory to the Israelites. Aaron and Hur, who indited the law to the people, and were thereof the interpreters, stood with Moses; who always, as they did see his arms to faint, did uphold them, so that finally the victory came unto Israel.

Devotion and knowledge to be joined together.

By 'Moses' is signified, as show great clerks, devotion; 'by Aaron and Hur,' the knowledge of God's doctrine: which two things (devotion, I mean, and knowledge) all men had need to have present with them: for devotion doth elevate the mind to God, but knowledge doth sustain or uphold the same, that it may with courage continue, not falling down; but so alway doth it incense and kindle it, that it mounteth up into the presence of our heavenly Father; where they savour together far more sweetly than any fumigation either of juniper, incense, or whatsoever else, be they ever so pleasant, do savour in any man's nose.

Therefore St. Paul, seeing how necessary the knot of these two, devotion and knowledge of God's will, was (which is showed in Scripture, as teacheth St. Cyprian in these words: 'The will of God,' saith he, 'is that which Christ hath taught and wrought'): Paul, I say, seeing this, wished to be excommunicated and separated from God, to have the Jews come to the knowledge of Christ's church, which is the only right way to salvation; for whom he prayed right studiously, as appeareth a little after,[1] saying, 'I bear them record, that they have a zeal and devotion to God, but not according to the knowledge of Christ's doctrine,' &c. Where you may clearly see how the Jews (as St. Paul, who is no liar, recordeth here) had a zeal and devotion to God, but they lacked knowledge therewith. 'Moses' was amongst them, but 'Aaron' was away; whose absence pained Paul so sore, that he, ravished with exceeding charity, wished no small harm unto himself, upon condition that the multitude of them might be holpen, and have better judgment, even to be separated from God. It must needs be then greatly hurtful, albeit men have devotion, to be without the knowledge of God and his law, signified by 'Aaron.'

'Moses' not to be without 'Aaron.'

Devotion without knowledge hurtful.

St. Paul also, before that he came to knowledge, had such like devotion himself, as he reporteth in these words:[2] 'All the Jews,' quoth he, 'have known my living, that I have led since I entered into man's age' (which time, as I remember, is accounted from the sixteenth or eighteenth year of a man's life; in Latin he calleth it 'adolescentia'), 'which, from the beginning thereof, was,' saith he, 'at Jerusalem, among mine own nation, that did know me afore also from the beginning, if they would say the truth, and that I lived after the most strait order or sect of our religion, being a Pharisee.' 'And I,' quoth Paul a little after, 'thought to do many things in fighting against the name of Jesus Christ, yea and did also, being at Jerusalem; and I thrust many saints or holy men into prison, having power given me thereto of the high priests; and, when they should be put to death, I gave sentence: and I,' quoth he, 'was commonly in all synagogues, punishing them, and compelling them to blaspheme' (as men are fain now-a-days, when the bishops make them to abjure and to deny the truth of the gospel); 'yea moreover did I,' quoth Paul, 'rage against them, pursuing after them into strange lands.'

The zeal of Saul without devotion.

Zeal without knowledge.

See what zeal Paul had to God before he was instructed in the doctrine of Christ. He thought to have pleased God highly in persecuting his servants, of whom one was St. Stephen. He was then sore blinded, through ignorance, and wanted the assistance of 'Aaron:' but anon, as Christ who is the true Aaron, had appeared unto him, asking him, and saying, in a lamentable form, 'O Saul! Saul! why dost thou persecute me,'[3] in troubling and striking my servants, the members of mine own body? of whom it is said, 'He that smiteth you, shall smite the tender ball of mine eye:'[4] his heart fell, I dare say, as low as his body, that is, even down to the earth, repenting himself full sore, being ready to amend and follow after a new way; as appeareth by his answer, where he saith, 'O Lord! what wilt thou have me to do?' As though one would say, 'Now I see all that I thought to have done before of good intention, and good purpose or devotion, hath deceived me. I find it otherwise. That which

(1) Rom. x. (2) Acts xxvi. (3) Acts ii. (4) Zech. ii.

'I esteemed good, in very deed is and was naught. 'Teach me therefore, good Lord!' quoth he, 'a better way, and amend my judgment, that mine own will or intention forsaken, I may now follow thine to please thee, and to do thy will.' And so, as he came to Ananias, by the assignment of Christ, the thick filthiness of his old wayward judgment fell away, as appeareth by the dross or rubbish that came from his eyes, even like scales, as the Scripture maketh relation, and he put upon him a new judgment, which is directed after the straight rule of the gospel: whereby you may see that men's devotion may oft beguile and seduce them, except knowledge do assist the same, to sustain and direct it; which, knit together, shall much strengthen men in all trouble and temptations.' So that it is much expedient for all men, as nigh as they may, to have prayer annexed with knowledge: and that showeth full notably Erasmus, in the second passage of Enchiridion, where he testifieth but of easy liking that he hath, in saying of matins, yea rather contrariwise he showeth disliking; and so he doth also in his exposition of the first Psalm, 'Beatus vir,' where the text maketh agreeably for the same. It is written in this wise: 'Blessed is the man that hath not gone after the counsel of the wicked, and hath not stood in the way of sinners, nor sat in the chair of pestilence; but hath his will in the law of God, and shall muse or be occupied in it both day and night.'

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Devotion a deceivable thing.

Saying matins.

See how the prophet (who, I doubt not but he knew as perfectly that will and pleasure of God, as ever did any pope or general council, or whatsoever they were besides, that ordained long service to be said of priests) testifieth them to be blessed, that study and are exercised in the law of God both day and night; that is, to wit, always. A great promise put of God to such blessed exercise, which we may call right devotion, or true godliness. For Paul, defining godliness, saith thus: 'Godliness is profitable unto all things; for that hath annexed thereto promises of this life present, and of the life to come.'[1]

What is true godliness, or piety.

But no such promise is made of God, I am certain, to them that say daily matins; neither are we certain by the word of God, that we shall therefore be blessed of him, no more than we are certain, that for saying over the fifteen 'Ooes,' every day once through a whole year, we shall apertly see our Lady to aid us before our death, as it is testified in the scripture of the Primer, but not by scripture of the Bible; or that we shall have a like benefit for saying of her Psalter upon the ten beads that come from the crossed friars, or upon the five beads hallowed at the Charter-house, or for fasting 'the Lady's fast,' as men call it; or for fasting on the Wednesday, as is showed by a book that is allowed to be printed and read of all men that lust; for it is neither the New Testament nor the Old.

No promise of God for saying of matins.

Our Lady's Psalter.

Our Lady's fast.

They are condemned, you wot well (and I perhaps shall have a little less favour because I tell the truth freely, for such things are called offensive). But would God, that all persons, so thinking, would remember what answer Christ made unto his disciples, when they came to him, and warned him to beware, saying, 'You know that the Pharisees are offended, hearing such words spoken.'[2] I will leave out Christ's answer, lest I should be thought over free and plain in tarrying or uttering of abusions, and speak no further.

A like demand, with answer thereunto annexed, shall you find in Luke,[3] where Christ would not refrain to speak any deal more easily. Therefore I beseech them that deem me (God wotteth whether righteously or no) slanderously, to revise the said places, and then counsel me to do what shall be most expedient to follow, if their charity will so require. Yet would I that all people should know that I do not reprove that saying of the fifteen 'Ooes,' which (so far forth as my remembrance doth serve) is a very good prayer, or such like prayers; nor would I that any person should think me to disallow any secret fastings; for such, not only present with you, but even from hence absent, have I commended in earnest speaking, and so intend to do, by the assistance of God's grace. Nevertheless such vain promises I do abhor, as be with them annexed, with the upholders of the same: for such do cause vain confidence in the people, withdrawing and seducing them from the right belief of the gospel (which christian men ought only to build their faith upon), unto new inventions of vanity. St. Paul calleth such, 'old women's tales,' where he writeth unto Timothy, bidding him to beware of them, and to throw them away.

Fasting commended.

(1) 'Pietas ad omnia utilis est, ut quæ promissiones habeat præsentis vitæ et futuræ.' 1 Tim. iv.
(2) Matt. xv. (3) Luke xi.

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The prophet David, likewise, doth accord thereunto, saying, 'Blessed,' quoth he, 'is the man that hath in the name of God his affiance or hope; and hath not looked back to vanities and false dotages or madness.'[1] And this I say again, that the matins-saying hath no more promise of God made to the sayers, than hath the other above named; for they were instituted by the fantasy or mind of men, and not by the rule of Scripture. Neither do I think that the priests who will truly follow the rule of God written in the Bible, ought so to be charged or encumbered with saying of them, that they thereby should be hindered from the study of that, which to know, belongeth principally both to their own soul's salvation, and also to the discharge of their duty, and which God most highly of priests doth require, (I mean the study of his gospel), whereby they themselves should be spiritually nourished, and thereafter should feed Christ's flock, the congregation of his people, according to the saying of our Saviour: 'I am the door,' quoth he; 'whosoever shall come in by me, shall both come in and go out, and find good pasture or feeding:'[2] that is to say, whosoever shall enter to be a pastor or minister in Christ's church or congregation by Christ, shall both enter into contemplation of God's glory, declared abundantly in Scripture, and after go forth and show the same abroad to others, for their wealth and edifying.

To this accordeth what is written in Luke, where our Saviour speaketh to all his church signified in the person of St. Peter. 'Peter!' quoth he, 'I have prayed that thy faith should not fail; and thou, being converted, go then about to confirm thy brethren.'[3] So that he would have Peter established first in the faith of his sure doctrine, and then to go forth as he did, to teach others to be grounded in the same likewise. And thus ought all priests to be called 'presbyteri,' who will be ministers in the church; for so biddeth St. Peter, saying thus: 'I beseech the priests,' quoth he, 'that are among you, I myself being a priest and a witness-bearer of Christ's afflictions, and also a partaker of the glory which shall be revealed; see that you with all diligence do feed the flock of Christ, taking care of the same, not as enforced thereto, but willingly, not desiring filthy lucre, but with a loving mind; neither as men exercising dominion over the children or inheritors of God, but so that you be patterns or ensample-givers to the flock.'[4] See how he requireth of priests, that they should spend all their diligence to feed Christ's flock, and to show good ensample of living, making no mention of long matins-saying, which then was not mentioned nor spoken of.

Ignorance mother of error.

According to this, it is written in your Decrees after this form: 'Ignorance, saith the law,' mark it well I beseech you all, 'is the mother of all errors; which ought to be eschewed especially of priests, who, among the people of God, have taken upon them the office of preaching. Priests are commanded to read the holy Scriptures, as saith Paul the apostle to Timothy: 'Give heed to reading, exhortation, and teaching; and continue always in the same.'[5] Let priests therefore know holy Scripture, and let all their labour be in preaching and teaching, and let them edify all men both in knowledge of faith, and in discipline of good works.' These be the words of the law in the Decrees, Dist. 38; wherefore you see how the law lamenteth ignorance in all persons; for it is the original of all errors. God send us therefore the knowledge of his true gospel! It biddeth that ignorance should be utterly eschewed, and principally by priests, whose labour and diligence should all be bestowed in reading of Scripture, and preaching the same; bringing in for the same purpose the saying of the apostle, which willeth it in like manner.

Priests to give themselves rather to study than to saying of matins.

What priests ought to study.

Moreover, it requireth that priests should give all their study to edify others in faith and virtuous living; whereof I do gather both by the saying of the prophet, that willeth us to be studious in the law of God day and night, and by the saying of the apostle, who would have Timothy to be occupied ever in reading and teaching, and by the report of your own law, which likewise saith, that a priest ought to bestow all his labour in reading and preaching: so that a priest, set thus truly to study, that he may establish himself in the faith of Christ's doctrine, intending afterwards to help others with true preaching of the same, or doing other like deeds of charity assigned in the law of God, shall not

(1) 'Beatus vir cujus est nomen Domini spes ejus, et non respexit in vanitates et insanias falsas.' Ps. xl.
(2) John x. (3) Luke xxii. (4) 1 Pet. v. (5) 2 Tim. iv.

offend deadly, if, so spending his time, he omitteth to say matins, which is an ordinance of men. *Henry VIII.*

Nevertheless, concerning the huge multitude of such as be now made priests by negligent admission of bishops, and their own presumption, that labour to be made priests before they be any clerks, and, ere ever they know what is the very office of a priest, do not fear to take upon them, if they may attain thereto, to be curates, they reck not of how many, so they may get a good lump of money, never minding, after that, the study of Scripture, after they are come to 'Dominus vobiscum:' for such I do think long matins to be needful, to restrain them from other enormities that they should else run into; of which you may be weary to see the experience thereof daily arising. Yea, and if such would be content to admit it, I would every one matin were as long to them as five, except they could bestow their time better. A. D. 1538. Negligence of bishops in making priests.

In the six and twentieth article, where you do ask, whether I believe that the heads or rulers, by necessity of salvation, are bound to give unto the people holy Scripture in their mother language: I say that I think they are bound to see that the people may truly know holy Scripture, and I do not know how that may be done so well, as by giving it to them truly translated in the mother tongue, that they may have it by them at all times, to pass the time godly, whensoever they have leisure thereto, like as they have in France under the French king's privilege, and also the privilege of the emperor; and so do I know that they have had it these fifty-four years in France at least, and it was translated at the request of a king called, I trow, Louis, as appeareth by the privilege put in the beginning of the book.[1] Scripture in the vulgar tongue.

In like manner have they it in Flanders, printed with the privilege of the emperor: in Almain also, and Italy, and I suppose through all the nations of Christendom. Likewise hath it been in England, as you may find it in the English story called 'Polychronicon.'[2] There it is showed, how when the Saxons did inhabit the land, the king at that time, who was a Saxon, did himself translate the Psalter into the language that then was generally used. Yea I have seen a book at Crowland Abbey, which is kept there for a relic; the book is called St. Guthlake's Psalter; and I ween verily it is a copy of the same that the king did translate, for it is neither English, Latin, Greek, Hebrew, nor Dutch, but somewhat sounding to our English; and, as I have perceived since the time I was last there, being at Antwerp, the Saxon tongue doth sound likewise after ours, and it is to ours partly agreeable. In the same story of Polychronicon is also showed, how that St. Bede did translate the Gospel of John into English, and the author of the same book promised that he would translate into English all the Bible; yea and perhaps he did so, but (I wot not how it cometh to pass) all such things be kept away; they may not come to light: for there are some walking privily in darkness, that will not have their doings known. It is no lie that is spoken in the Gospel of John, 'All that do naughtily, hate the light, and will not have their doings known.'[3] And therefore they keep down the light strongly; for that opened and generally known, all wrongful conveyance should anon be disclosed and reproved, yea and all men should see anon, whether those that hold against unrighteousness, being there-for sometimes horribly infamed and slandered, named heretics and schismatics, were indeed as they be called, or no. Bede translated the gospel of St. John into English. Causes why Scripture is not suffered to come to light.

Yea moreover, I did once see a book of the New Testament, which was not unwritten by my estimation this hundred years, and in my mind right well translated after the example of that which is read in the church in Latin. But he that showed it me said, he durst not be known to have it by him, for many had been punished aforetime for keeping of such, and were convicted therefore of heresy. Divers such Testaments are yet to be seen.

Moreover I was at Paul's cross, when the New Testament, imprinted of late beyond the sea, was first forefended; and truly my heart lamented greatly to hear a great man preaching against it, who showed forth certain things that he noted for hideous errors to be in it, that I, yea and not only I, but likewise did Errors found where none were.

(1) The French Bible was translated into the French tongue, with the king's privilege, about fifty years before Lambert's time.
(2) The Psalter translated by the king of England into the Saxon tongue. Read before.
(3) 'Omnis qui male agit, odit lucem.' John iii.

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many others, think verily to be none. But (alack for pity!) malice cannot say well. God help us all, and amend it.

So that to conclude, I think verily it were profitable and expedient, that the holy Scriptures were delivered, by authority of the head-rulers, unto the people, truly translated in the vulgar tongue, in like manner as it is in all other countries. And whereas you add, whether they be bound by necessity of salvation to deliver it to the people: I will not so narrowly touch that point now; but I say, that they are bound by right and equity to cause it to be delivered unto the people in the vulgar tongue, for their edifying, and the consolation which the people, by God's grace, should gather thereof; which now it is like they want, and are destitute of.

Whether the Scripture may be restrained from the people.

In the twenty-seventh article, where you do demand, whether it be lawful for the rulers, for some cause, upon their reasonable advisement, to ordain that the Scripture should not be delivered unto the people in the vulgar language: all men may here see, that whosoever devised these questions, thought not contrary (whatsoever they will yet say) but that it is good for the people to have the Scripture in the vulgar tongue, and that they thought that I, so saying, could not be well reproved; and therefore are laid out all these additions, as it were to snare and trap me in: Whether the heads be bound, and that by necessity of salvation, to deliver it to the people: and whether, for opportunity of time, they may ordain to restrain it for some cause, and by some reasonable advisement of them taken: 'But without cause you spread the net before the eyes of the birds or fowls.'[1] I show you plainly, that notwithstanding all these things, in mine opinion it was not well done to inhibit it, and worse, that the bishops have not since amended it, if so be they could, that the people might have it to use and occupy virtuously.

Reason why it ought not.

And here I will add one reason: The Scripture is the spiritual food and sustenance of man's soul. This is showed to be true in many places of Scripture; like as other corporal meat is the food of the body. Then if he be an unkind father, that keepeth bodily meat away the space of a week or a month from his children; it should seem that our bishops be no gentle pastors or fathers, that keep away the food of men's souls from them (specially when others do offer the same) both months, years, and ages: neither do I see any opportunity of time, or reasonable advisement, that should cause it to be withdrawn and taken away; but the contrary rather, for it is reason, convenient and needful for men, to eat their meat ever when they are right hungry; and blessed are they that hunger and thirst after the word of God, which teacheth to know him and to do his pleasure at all times; for that we do crave every day in our Pater Noster, saying, 'Give us Lord our heavenly bread.'[2]

In the twenty-eighth article, where you do ask, whether I believe that consecrations, hallowings, and blessings used in the church are to be praised? I say that I know not of all, and therefore I will not dispraise them; neither can I therefore overmuch speak of them all, seeing I know them not: such as are the hallowing of bells, the hallowing of pilgrims when they should go to Rome, the hallowing of beads, and such like. But those which I am advised of, and do remember, be in mine opinion good; such as is this: when the priest hath consecrated holy bread, he saith, 'Lord, bless this creature of bread, as thou didst bless the five loaves in the desert, that all persons tasting thereof may receive health,' &c.: which I would every man might say in English, when he should go to meat, I like it so well.

Hallowings and blessiggs some allowed and some not.

Blessing of him that goeth to read the gospel.

Also this is a right good one, that is said over him that shall read the gospel: 'The Lord be in your heart, and in your mind and mouth, to pronounce and show forth his blessed gospel;' which is also spoken over a preacher taking benediction when he shall go into a pulpit. All such good things I like very well, and think them commendable, wishing therefore that all people might know what they mean, that they with rejoicing of heart might pray joyfully with us, and delight in all goodness; which should be, if they were uttered in English, according to the mind of St. Paul,[3] where he wisheth, 'rather to speak five words in the church heartily with understanding, whereby others might have instruction, than ten thousand words in a tongue unknown:' yea, to say truth, (and

(1) 'Sed frustra jacitur rete ante oculos pennatorum.' Prov. i. (2) Matt. v. (3) 1 Cor. ix.

truth it is indeed that I shall say), a good thing, the further and the more largely or apertly it is known, the further the virtue thereof spreadeth, and rooteth in men's hearts and remembrance. God send therefore the blind to see, and the ignorant to have knowledge of all good things! *Henry VIII.* A. D. 1538.

Thus I conclude, that consecrations, hallowings, and blessings used in the church (so far forth as I remember and know) be commendable. Of others I can give no sentence, wishing, even as I trust men shall once see it come to pass, that all good things may be sung and spoken in our vulgar tongue.

Laws of the pope, whether they bind men.

In the twenty-ninth article, where you do ask, whether I believe that the pope may make laws and statutes to bind all christian men to the observance of the same, under the pain of deadly sin, so that such laws and statutes be not contrary to the law of God: I say, that if that be true which is written in the Decrees, that is to wit, that laws be never confirmed, until they be approved by common manners of them that shall use them, then cannot the pope's laws bind all christian men; for the Greeks and the Bohemians will (as you do know full well) never admit them, but do refuse them utterly, so that I do not find that his laws may bind all christian men.

The pope's, not received of all.

No power to make laws, binding under deadly sin.

Finally, I cannot see that he hath authority to make laws, binding men to the observance of them under pain of deadly sin, more than hath the king, or the emperor. And, to say sooth, I say (as I have said before), I think verily that the church was more full of virtue before the decrees or decretals were made (which is not very long ago, but in the time of Constantine, if that be true which is reported in the Decrees,)[1] than it hath been since. God repair it, and restore it again to the ancient purity and perfection!'

Power of the pope to excommunicate.

In the thirtieth article, where you do ask, whether I believe that the pope and other prelates, and their deputies in spiritual things, have power to excommunicate priests and lay people, that are inobedient and sturdy, from entering into the church, and to suspend or let them from ministration of the sacraments of the same: I think that the pope and other prelates have power to excommunicate both priests and laymen, such as be rebellious against the ordinance of God, and disobedient to his law: for such are sundered from God, before the prelates do give sentence, by reason of their sin and contumacy, according as it is said in Isaiah by Almighty God: 'Your sins,' quoth he, 'do make division betwixt you and me.'[2] And the prelates, by right judgment, should pronounce of sinners as they do find them, and that is to pronounce such to be excommunicated of God, and unworthy to minister any sacraments, or to be conversant with christian folk that will not amend. For thus biddeth Paul,[3] 'If any amongst you, called a brother, shall be a whoremonger, a covetous person, or a worshipper of images or idols, or a railer, or a drunkard, or an extortioner, see that with such you eat no meat.' Such ought to be put out of the church, and not be suffered to come within it.

A doubt whether prelates have any such power.

I am not certain that prelates have any such power: and though they had, I doubt whether charity would permit them to show it forth and execute it without singular discretion. For in churches ought the word of God to be declared and preached, through which the sturdy, coming thither and hearing it, might soon be smitten with compunction and repentance, and thereupon come to amendment. This confirmeth well a law made in the council of Carthage, which is this: 'A bishop ought to prohibit no person to come into the church, and to hear the word of God, whether he be Gentile, or Jew, or heretic, until the mass time of them that are called Catechumeni.'[4]

Bishops' deputies not behovable.

Moreover, where you speak of prelates' deputies, I think such be but little behovable to Christ's flock. It were necessary and right, that as the prelates themselves will have the revenues, tithes, and oblations of their benefices, they themselves should labour and teach diligently the Word of God therefore, and not to shift the labour from one unto another till all be left (pity it is!) undone. Such doth St. John call 'fures et latrones,' 'thieves and murderers,' although they make ever so goodly a worldly show outward, and bear a stout port.

This I say, that the pope and other prelates have power to excommunicate

(1) Dist. 15. cap. 'Canones generalium.' (2) Isaiah lix. (3) 1 Cor. v.
(4) 'De Conse.' Distinct. 1.

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rebels against God's ordinances, and to suspend them from receiving or ministering the sacrament: but I am not sure, that they have power to forefend them from out of churches, especially when God's word is there preached, unless the sinners be so sore desperate that they scorn the same. And I would that every prelate, receiving his living of benefices, should himself work in the same, especially in true preaching of Christ's doctrine, without winding his own neck out of the yoke, and charging therewith others, called deputies or vicars, curates, and such like. For God would have every man to get his living by the sweat of his own face; that is to say, by his labour, according to his estate and calling. And like as every workman is worthy his meat, so contrariwise, they that labour not, unles they be let by impotency, are worthy to have no meat, and much less to take of those, to whom they do no service, fifty or forty pounds a year, for waiting after none other thing than the moon shining in the water. The canon law maketh clearly with the same. Look in the Decrees,[1] and you shall find plainly as I say.

Every prelate to discharge his cure, without deputy.

Faith only justifieth.

In the thirty-first article, where you ask, whether faith only, without good works, may suffice unto a man fallen into sin after his baptism, for his salvation and justifying? I say, that it is the usage of Scripture to say, faith only doth justify, and work salvation, before a man do any other good works; and that is showed by many authorities, both of Scripture and also of many holy fathers, in a treatise called, 'Unio Dissidentium,' which I would to Christ, as it is in French, and other languages, we had it truly translated into English. And truly I do think in this matter (like as is showed by many authorities of holy fathers), that a man fallen into sin after baptism, shall be saved through faith, and have forgiveness by Christ's passion, although he doth no more good deeds thereafter: as when a man, having short life, lacketh leisure to exercise other deeds of mercy. Notwithstanding, true faith is of such virtue and nature, that when opportunity cometh, it cannot but work plenteously deeds of charity, which are a testimony and witness-bearer of man's true faith. This declareth St. Augustine upon John; I trow it is where he expoundeth this text:[2] 'If ye love me, keep my commandments:' where, within a little after, he speaketh in this wise:[3] 'Good works make not a just or a righteous man; but a man once justified, doeth good works.'

Works make not a man justified, but a justified man maketh good works.

In the thirty-second article, where you ask, whether a priest marrying a wife, and that without the dispensation of the pope, begetting also children of her without slander-giving, do sin deadly: I say, that he doth not so much offend as those who in Wales (as I have heard say), and also in many parts beyond the sea, or rather in all places, do give openly, for money, dispensations to priests to take concubines: neither doth he offend so much as the purchasers of such dispensations; for they, on every hand, do clearly commit fornication and adultery, utterly forbidden by God's law; and the priest, of whom speaketh your demand, offendeth but man's law, if he do that. For in the Decrees it is written; I ween it be in a gloss, and certainly I wot not whether it be in the text or no, I can lightly turn to it having a book: the sentence is thus:[4] 'A priest doing fornication, ought to be punished more than one who hath married a wife.' Finally, I think such a priest as before is named in your demand, sinneth not deadly.

Priests punished for sin.

In the thirty-third article, where you ask, whether a Latin priest, after he hath taken the order of priesthood, being sore and oft troubled and stirred with prickings of lust or lechery, and therefore marrying a wife for a remedy of the same, do sin deadly: I say, that a Latin priest, and a Greek priest, are all one before God, if they follow both one rule of Christ, left to us in holy Scripture; neither doth Christ put any such difference, but the one hath by that rule the same liberty as another, and no more nor less; for there is the same God in Greece, that is here, and hath left one way for us to live after, both here and there. And, therefore, I cannot see by his law, but that a Latin priest may

Marriage of priests, as well Latin as Greek, permitted.

(1) Cap. 21. quæst. 2. cap. 'Præcip.'
(2) 'Si diligitis me, præcepta mea servate.' Aug. in Johan.
(3) 'Opera bona non faciunt justum, sed justificatus facit bona opera.'
(4) 'Presbyter fornicans est plus puniendus quam uxorem ducens.'

marry, as well as they do. And if the Greeks should not follow Christ's law in believing the same, and living thereafter, you would call them heretics. But that will not the pope have done. Wherefore, seeing they do let priests marry, affirming it may so be done by the law of God, and yet are not reputed heretics, why should other men, that say the same, be called heretics, or be therefore burned? Therefore, following the law of God, I make the same answer of a Latin priest, that I made before of all priests: that a priest, not having the gift of chastity, is bound to marry, for avoiding fornication.

The Greek churches suffer priests to marry.

In the thirty-fourth article, where you ask, whether I ever prayed for John Wickliff, John Huss, and for Jerome of Prague, condemned of heresy in the council of Constance, or for any one of them, since they died, and whether I have openly or secretly done any deeds of charity for them, affirming them to be in bliss and saved: I say, that I never prayed for any of them, so far forth as I can remember: and though I had, it followeth not, that in so doing I should be a heretic. For you wot well, that there is a mighty great country, called Bohemia, which yet doth follow (as men say) that same doctrine, which John Huss and Jerome of Prague taught their ancestors, whom (as I trow) neither the pope nor you do account heretics and infidels.

In the thirty-fifth article, where you ask, whether I have recounted and said them or any of them to be saints, and worshipped them as saints: I say that in such secret and hid things which I do not perfectly know, I follow the counsel of St. Paul, who biddeth that we should not judge over soon, but abide (unless the things which we should pass upon, be the more evident) until the coming of the Lord, who shall illumine, and show forth clearly, things that now lie hid in darkness. Therefore hitherto have I neither judged with them, nor against them, but have resigned such sentence to the knowledge and determination of God, whose judgment I wot is infallible.

And whereas you say, they were condemned of heresy in the council of Constance: if so the council did right, God shall allow it, I doubt not; and that shall suffice to have commendation of him: so that it is not need to ask of me whether the acts of the same are commendable or no; neither can I give any direct answer thereto; for I do not verily know them. And though I did, yet am not I verily persuaded that I, because the council hath condemned them, must therefore believe them to be damned. For a council, as I ween, may sometimes slip beside the right truth: but what that council did in condemning them, I cannot precisely say; God wotteth. Yea, and that one singular person may judge more rightly, than a great multitude assembled in a council, appeareth by God's law, and by the law of man. Experience hereof may you see by the council that is spoken of in the gospel, where is showed, that after our Saviour had restored Lazarus to life, the bishops and Pharisees then were gathered together in a council, saying, 'What shall we do? Truth it is that this man Jesus doth many miracles, and if we suffer him thus, all the world will believe him; whereupon the Romans will come, and put us out of Jerusalem, our dwelling place, and destroy our nation.[1] At which time Caiaphas did arise, showing forth his sentence, which the whole council did admit.

Councils may sometime slip awry.

In like wise is showed in the Acts,[2] where, in a council of the bishops and priests assembled to know what punishment should be done unto Christ's apostles, because they preached in the name of Christ, contrary to the precept of them (for they before had commanded the apostles no more to speak in Christ's name), there, among a shrewd multitude of them gathered together, did arise a certain man, called Gamaliel (a pitiful thing verily to see but one good man in such a great convocation or council of priests, that should be the lights of virtue to all the people); which Gamaliel was a doctor of the law, and had in good reputation among the people: much like he was, as seemed to me, to Dr. Colet, sometime dean of Paul's in London, while he lived. I may come no nearer, to name some other of our time, lest I should be thought offensive. This Gamaliel did bid the apostles go aside for a while out of the council, or convocation-house; and so he spake unto the other priests or bishops in the council thus: 'You men of Israel,' quoth he, 'take heed to yourselves what ye shall do unto these men the apostles: for afore this time hath risen

Gamaliel and Dr. Colet compared together. The counsel of Gamaliel to the Pharisees.

(1) Jhon xi. (2) Acts v.

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one called Theudas, and afterwards another named Judas of Galilee, which have turned the people after them, and in conclusion they perished, and all they that followed after them vanished away. And now,' quoth he, 'I say unto you, refrain from hurting these men the apostles, and let them alone, or suffer them. For if this enterprise and work that they have made be of men, undoubtedly it shall perish, and be foredone: but if,' quoth he, 'it be of God, you cannot foredo it. And this I tell you,' said Gamaliel, 'lest you should be found to strive and fight against God.'

Councils go not always right.

Unto this sentence of Gamaliel, did all the others of the convocation or parliament agree; and so they called in the apostles of Christ before them, causing them to be scourged, and charging them, no more afterwards to preach of Christ's name; and so did let them depart. This was undoubtedly done in the time of our Saviour and of his apostles, and caused to be written for our comfort and learning; for the Holy Ghost knew before, that like practice should come in the latter time of the world, which we are in. Whereby you may clearly see, that councils do not always discern with Christ, but sometimes they may do against him. And therefore said David,[1] 'I did not,' quoth David, 'sit with the assembly or council of vain doers, or liars, and I will not go in amongst them that work iniquity: for I have hated the convocation of them that are malicious or maligners, and amongst the wicked will not I sit: but I will wash my hands among innocents,' &c. Also in another psalm he writeth thus;[2] 'The Lord,' quoth he, 'doth destroy or annihilate the counsels of the Gentiles; he reproveth the counsels of the people and of rulers. But the counsel or device of the Lord endureth ever, and the purpose of his mind abideth unto the world of worlds.' For that purpose doth St. Peter, in the Acts of the Apostles, allege this verse out of the psalm.[3] 'Why did the Gentiles rage, and the people imagine vain things,' &c. Like unto this is it written, in Isaiah i. Also you may see in the councils of the Pharisees above showed, that one singular person may sometimes perceive a thing more than a generality or a multitude: for Gamaliel only did see better what was behoveable, than could all the others there congregated.

Councils may and do err.

Some one man sometime may see more than a whole council.

Agreeable unto this we find in the Decrees,[4] where it is written that the council of Nice, willing to correct or amend the life of men of the church, ordained laws, called canons or rules. And as they treated upon such ordinances, some thought it expedient to bring in a law that bishops, priests, deacons, and subdeacons, should not lie with their wives whom they had married before they were consecrated into the order. With that arose Paphnutius, a confessor of Christ, and gainsayed it, testifying that marriage was an honourable thing; saying also, that it is chastity for a man to lie with his own proper wife. And so he persuaded the council, that they should constitute no such law; affirming, that it was a sore matter that they were minded to do, which should be either to the priests, or else to their wives, an occasion of fornication: And this was Paphnutius's reason. The words of the canon proceed thus. 'This declared Paphnutius, he never being married, nor having experience of marriage; and the council commended his sentence, making no statute in this matter, but put it to every man's freewill and liberty, without any enforcement or necessity.' These words stand, as I have recited them unto you, written in the Decrees, albeit they are somewhat otherwise rehearsed in 'Historia Tripartita,' as I have showed before in the fourth article. Upon this, that Paphnutius did thus resist and prevail against all the other council, doth the Gloss note in the same law, that one singular person may gainsay or speak against a universal generality, having a reasonable cause on his side. Suffrage also of the same have we in abbot Panormitane, where he saith thus: 'I would,' quoth he, 'rather believe one lay person, bringing for him authority of Scripture, than a universal council, that ordaineth or defineth a thing without Scripture.'

The story of Paphnutius. Chastity standeth not by singleness of life, but pureness of matrimony.

One man, having Scripture with him, more to be believed than a whole council without it.

Finally, I say, that I never accounted them either saints or devils, but resigned the judgment thereof to God; neither have I in earnest reported them the one, or the other; neither have done unto them particular worship, so far forth as I can remember.

(1) 'Non sedi cum concilio vanitatis, et cum inique agentibus non introibo: odivi ecclesiam malignantium, et cum impiis non sedebo; sed lavabo inter innocentes manus meas,' &c. Ps. xxvi.
(2) 'Dominus dissipat concilia gentium, reprobat concilia populorum, et concilia principum: concilium autem Domini in æternum manet,' &c.
(3) 'Quare fremuerunt gentes, &c.' Psalm ii.
(4) Dist. 31. cap. 'Nicena.'

'In the thirty-sixth article, where you do ask, whether I believe, hold, and affirm that every general council, and the council of Constance also, do represent the universal congregation or church: I say, that what such councils do represent I cannot certainly tell, and therefore believe neither yea nor nay; neither can I therefore make any affirmation, *pro* or *contra*, with this demand or against it: and no marvel; for I know of no Scripture to certify me of the same, nor yet any sufficient reason. And methinketh this (under correction I speak), that councils might represent (albeit I know not whether they do or no) the universal church, not being yet the same; as I wot well they neither are nor were. For the church I do take to be all those that God hath chosen or predestinated to be inheritors of eternal bliss and salvation, whether they be temporal or spiritual, king or subject, bishop or deacon, father or child, Grecian or Roman. And this church[1] spreadeth through the universal world, where any do call for help truly upon the name of Christ; and there do they ever most grow and assemble commonly, where his blessed word is purely and openly preached and declared: for that is the relief of man's soul, whereunto all men, loving their soul's health, lust to resort and seek (as all things do naturally seek after that which should nourish and prolong their life); for in it is showed that righteousness, which whosoever doth thirst after, and is anhungered for, shall come into the kingdom of heaven. Of this the proverb in the gospel (although it be applied to the judgment of God when he shall appear in the general doom) may well be verified, 'Wheresoever is a dead carrion, thither will soon be assembled eagles.'[2] That is to wit, wheresoever is declared, by the course of Scripture, the benefits and commodities granted to us by Christ's death, thither will men seek and fly, to know how they may enjoy and attain them; which I beseech him to grant us. Amen.

Whether every general council representeth the church.

What is the church.

In the thirty-seventh article, where you do ask, whether I believe that the same thing which the council of Constance, representing the universal church, hath approved, and doth approve, for the maintenance of faith and soul's health, is to be approved and holden of all christian people; and that which the same council hath condemned and doth condemn to be contrary to faith and good manners, ought of the same christian people to be believed and affirmed for a thing condemned: I say that whatsoever the same council or any other hath approved, being approbation or allowance worthy, is of all christian people to be likewise approved, holden, and allowed. And again, whatsoever the same or any other hath condemned, being reproof and condemnation worthy, because it is hurtful to faith or good living, I say that the same ought of all christian people to be condemned and reproved. But this surmounteth my knowledge, to discern in what wise their judgment passed; whether with right or unright; because I did never look upon their acts, neither do I greatly covet to do: wherefore I refer the determination to them that have better advised their doings, and thereby have some more skill in them than I.

The authority of the council of Constance.

In the thirty-eighth you demand, whether the condemnations of John Wickliff, John Huss, and Jerome of Prague, done upon their persons, books, and documents, by the holy general council of Constance, were duly and rightfully done, and so for such, of every catholic person, whether they are to be holden and surely to be affirmed: I answer, that it passeth my knowledge, and I cannot tell; thinking surely, that though I am ignorant of the same, so that I cannot discuss the thing determinately, yet my christendom shall be therefore nevertheless; and that I and all christian men, may well suspend our sentence, being thereof ignorant, affirming neither the one nor the other, neither yea nor nay.

In the thirty-ninth you ask, whether I believe, hold, and affirm, that John Wickliff of England, John Huss of Bohemia, and Jerome of Prague, were heretics, and for heretics to be named, and their books and doctrines to have been, and now be perverse; for which books, and pertinacity of their persons, they are condemned by the holy council of Constance for heretics: I say that

(1) He meaneth here the church invisible. (2) Luke vii.

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I know not determinately whether they be heretics or no, nor whether their books be erroneous or no, nor whether they ought to be called heretics or no.

In the fortieth article, where you ask whether I believe and affirm, that it is not lawful in any case to swear: I say, that I neither so do believe, nor affirm, nor ever did.

Oaths are lawful. Over-much use of oaths in court reprehended. Judges must be spare and wary in them.

In the forty-first, where you ask, whether I believe that it is lawful, at the commandment of a judge, to make an oath to say the truth, or any other oath in a case convenient, and that also for purgation of infamy: I answer, that I never said the contrary, but that I think and have thought it lawful to give an oath before a judge, to say the truth, if the judge so require, and that by request lawful and convenient. As when a thing is in controversy betwixt two persons, and thereupon they sue unto a judge for sentence; when the judge can none otherwise bolt out the truth, he may require an oath. As when the two women who contended before Solomon to avoid the crime of murder, which the one had committed in oppressing her child to death, and would have put the same upon the other, if Solomon could not by his wisdom otherwise have investigated the truth, he might, I suppose, to come by the more certain information of the thing, have caused one of them, or both, seeing it expedient for him, to swear; wherein the women had been bound to obey him; but judges had need to be spare in requiring of oaths: for in customable, or oft juries, creepeth in always, betwixt times, some perjury, as showeth Chrysostome in words semblable to these: and things precious, through oft haunt or occupying, lose their estimation; and so reverent oaths, unadvisedly required for every trifle, usually do cause men to regard little for making of them, yea, and I fear, to break them.

Where many oaths be, there is some perjury.

Use of the Germans in causes judicial.

Therefore in Almain, they have made of late (as I have heard say by credible persons, who have come from thence) many notable ordinances for the commonwealth within a while, and amongst others this is one: If a man be set for to enter plea against another in any town, the peers thereof before whom all actions are used to be debated, hearing such a plea entered, shall call the parties privately together, before they come into an open court. And the matter examined, they shall exhort them to let the plea cease without further process, showing them the great damage both godly and worldly, coming of waging the law, and the great ease and commodity that is in agreement and concord: which exhortation they use to show with so great gravity and fatherly love (such wonders are wrought where the gospel hath free passage), that very few will commence plea. And though any plea be commenced, through such sage admonition it falleth lightly to sequestration and arbitrement of neighbours, who do set the suitors at unity, ere the matter do come to discussion in open court.

Fruit of the gospel in Germany; where few controversies come to open court.

Notwithstanding, if some be so waywardly minded (as in a multitude all are not one man's children, and therefore unlike of intent) that they will needs proceed and follow the law, they shall be heard to speak their matters in open court, and taught how the matter is most like to succeed, and counselled with new exhortation to stop their process. If they will not be persuaded, and then the judges, seeing the matter so ambiguous that they cannot give perfect sentence, therein, except by virtue of an oath made by one of the parties, they be first better certified; then will they show the same before the suitors, declaring what a chargeful thing it is to give a solemn oath for love of winning some worldly profit: and how, unless such as shall make it be the better aware to eschew the same, they shall, beside an evil example giving to a multitude, work themselves, haply, shame, or dishonesty.

Custom among them of taking oaths.

Upon this, they shall give respite until a certain day appointed; so that in the meanwhile the suitors may take deliberation thereof, what is best to be done. If after this they will not thus rest, at the day appointed shall they come forth into a common place, and the great bell of the city be caused to be rung, whereby the people shall be warned, what they are about to do: and the people assembled, the judges shall, in full chargeable and lamentable wise, charge the parties, under virtue of their oath, to make true relation of what shall be demanded. So that by reason of soberly and fatherly exhortations made by the judges or peers of the town, and persuasion of neighbours, and for avoiding of God's displeasure and shame of men, there is little suit in courts; and if at any time any

Jury and swearing, well excluded out of Germany

be made, they be lightly stopped; so that jury and swearing be well excluded, and need not much to be required. *Henry VIII.*

This I have showed, because it pitieth me to hear and see the contrary used in some of our nation, and such also as name themselves spiritual men, and should be head ministers of the church; who, incontinent as any man cometh before them, anon they call for a book, and do move him to swear, without any longer respite; yea, and they will charge him by virtue of the contents in the evangely, to make true relation of all that they shall demand him, he not knowing what they will demand, neither whether it be lawful to show them the truth of their demands, or no: for such things there be that are not lawful to be showed. As if I were accused of fornication, and none could be found in me; or if they should require me to swear to bewray any other that I have known to offend in that vice, I suppose it were expedient to hold me still, and not to follow their will: for it should be contrary to charity, if I should so assent to bewray them that I need not, and to whom, perhaps, though I have known them to offend, yet, trusting to their amendment, I have promised before to keep their fault secret without any disclosing of the same. Yea, moreover, if such judges sometimes, not knowing by any due proof that such as have to do before them are culpable, will enforce them, by an oath, to detect themselves, in opening before them their hearts; in this so doing, I cannot see that men need to condescend to their requests. For it is in the law (but I wot not certainly the place) thus: 'No man is bound to bewray himself.'[1] Also in another place of the law it is written, 'Cogitationis pœnam nemo patiatur,' 'No man should suffer punishment of men for his thought.' To this agreeth the common proverb, that is thus:[2] 'Thoughts be free, and need to pay no toll.' So that, to conclude, I think it lawful, at the commandment of a judge, to make an oath to say the truth, especially if a judge requireth an oath duly, and in lawful wise; or to make an oath in any other case convenient; and that also for purgation of infamy, when any infamy is lawfully laid against a man.

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Rash levity in spiritual men.

A man is not bound to detect another man's fault.

No man is bound to bewray himself.

Thoughts be free, and need to pay no toll.

In the forty-second, where you ask, whether a christian person, despising the receipt of the sacraments of confirmation, extreme unction, or solemnizing of matrimony, doth sin deadly: I say the like of the receipt of them, as I have said before of the self-same things, and none otherwise.

In the forty-third, where you ask, whether I believe that St. Peter was Christ's vicar, having power on earth to bind and loose: I say, 'that I do not perceive clearly what you mean by this term vicar;' for Christ never called Peter, nor any other so, in Scripture. If you mean thereby that, after the departing hence of Christ, when he was risen from death in his immortal body, and so hied into heaven, where he remaineth sitting upon the right hand of his Father, that he so being away from hence, St. Peter occupied his room: then, I say, it is not untrue that Peter, in a manner (which I shall show hereunder) was his vicar: and like as Peter was his vicar, even so were Paul and the other apostles, and the one no less than the others, if it be true that St. Cyprian[3] doth write, which is also consenting to Scripture. He saith thus: that Christ spake unto Peter, saying; 'I say,' quoth our Saviour, 'that thou art Peter, and upon this rock of stone shall I build my congregation, and the gates of hell shall not overcome it. To thee will I give the keys of heaven, and what things thou shalt bind upon earth, the same shall be bound also in heaven: and whatsoever thou shalt loose upon earth, shall be loosed also in heaven.'[4] And to him, after his resurrection, doth Christ say, 'Feed my sheep.'

Vicar of Christ.

Peter no more vicar of Christ, than Paul and others.

And albeit that he gave equal power unto all his apostles after his resurrection, and saith,[5] 'Like as my Father sent me, do I also send you. Take you the Holy Ghost. If you shall retain to any man his sins, they shall be retained.' If you shall remit to any man his sins, to him they shall be remitted.' Nevertheless, because he would declare unity, he ordained, by his authority, the original of the same unity beginning of one. The other apostles were the same that Peter was, endued with equal partaking both of honour, and authority or power; but the beginning cometh of one, that the congregation should be

Unity.

(1) 'Nemo tenetur prodere semetipsum.' (2) 'Cogitationes liberæ sunt a vectigalibus.'
(3) 'Cyprian. De Simplicitate Prælatorum.' (4) Matt. xvi (5) John xx.

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showed to be one. Those are the words of St. Cyprian, in a treatise that is called, 'De Simplicitate Prælatorum;' wherein you may see that Christ made all the apostles of equal honour and like authority. Notwithstanding, because he would testify the unity of his church or congregation, he spake, as it were, only unto Peter, when he said, 'Feed my sheep;' and, 'I shall give thee, Peter, the keys of heaven.' But in so saying, though the words seem spoken to Peter only, yet they were spoken unto him, in that he sustained the general person of all the church, being, as it were, a common speaker for the same. So that in speaking to him, Christ spake unto all other the apostles, unto whom also he gave all the same authority that he gave unto Peter; as you may see both in these words of Cyprian, and also the same is clearly showed out of St. Augustine in divers places; but nowhere more plainly in a few words, than in a treatise called 'De Agone Christiano.'

Peter beareth the person of the whole church.

To this accordeth well that which was written by Paul.[1] 'Of those apostles,' quoth Paul, 'which seemed to be of authority, I was not taught (what they were in time past it skilleth me nothing; God regardeth not the exterior appearance of man); nevertheless, they which appeared to be of price, showed me no learning, nor gave me any counsel. But contrary, when they had seen that the gospel of uncircumcision was committed unto me, like as the evangely of circumcision was unto Peter (for He that was mighty in Peter concerning the apostleship toward the Jews, was mighty also in me toward the Gentiles): therefore, when James, Peter, and John, which appeared to be as pillars, knew the grace given me, they gave unto me and Barnabas their right hands, in sign of fellowship to be their partners, so that we should exercise the office of apostles among the Gentiles, as they did among the Jews.' Wherein you may clearly see, that Paul took no instruction of those who seemed to be in high authority, and that Peter, James, and John, who were noted principals, took Paul and Barnabas to be their mates and fellows; which they would not have done, as I suppose, if they had known that God had granted unto them a prerogative singular, to excel Paul, and to be his sovereign. But, according to the prerogative of God granted, they might have safely showed it, and enjoyed the same; like as they did rejoice in other benefits granted to them of God, to be ministers in his church for the edifying of the same; and as St. John calleth himself the disciple loved of his master Jesus, and testifieth, how that unto him, Christ, hanging upon the cross, did commit his blessed mother.

Apostles mates and fellows together.

Moreover, if these three apostles, James, Peter, and John, should by humility have left out to make mention of their prerogative, when they took Paul and Barnabas into their fellowship, yet it is to be thought that Paul, who never useth any inordinate arrogancy, writing the words above said for the magnifying of his own privilege and authority given him of God, would not have suppressed and passed over their primacy unspoken of, with whom he maketh here comparison: for then it might be thought he were envious, to pick away authority from others to himself unlawful; which cannot so be. Moreover he saith a little after the words before rehearsed, that he reproved St. Peter even before his face. Whereupon St. Jerome, expounding the same epistle, saith (as I remember), that Paul would not have been bold so to do, except he had known himself equal to Peter.

Objection discussed.

Paul equal to Peter.

In the words also of Paul above written this might be noted, as serving to my purpose, that Peter had no pre-eminence or primacy above the others, for James is named before him; which Paul would not have done, I think, knowing Peter to be James's superior. Therefore he, making no such variety in order, put James before, saying, 'And James, Peter, and John, that appeared the principals,' quoth he, 'gave unto me, and to Barnabas, their right hands in sign of fellowship.' Yet, notwithstanding, Paul loved good order, I suppose, as well as any that now are, who contend so sore for superior rooms and pre-eminency, claiming to be the apostles' successors. I would it were so much for the commonwealth of christian people, as it is suspected that they do it for vain glory and worldly lucre. According to this you shall find in Acts xi., where is showed that after Peter, by instinct of the Holy Ghost, had gone unto one of the Gentiles, called Cornelius,[2] a petty captain, having the governance of a hundred men, teaching him the ways and doctrine of Christ, and baptizing him

Apostles equal together.

James named before Peter.

Contention about superiority.

(1) 'Ab his qui videbantur aliquid esse; quales aliquando fuerunt, nihil mea refert,' &c. Gal. ii.

(2) Acts xi.

and others with him assembled, being, like as he before was, Pagans; the apostles, and other christian brethren that were in Jewry, hearing thereof, when Peter came to Jerusalem, those who held upon circumcision made none obeisance unto him (albeit I think verily he had more holiness than ever had any pope), as the emperor is fain to do to the pope at his coronation, falling down to kiss the pope's feet, or to hold the pope's stirrup while he mounteth upon his horse's back; according to the form of law written, I am not certain, whether in the Decrees, or else the Decretals, or in both rather (for such ordinances are inviolable, and worthy to be principally recorded): but they reasoned sore, and disputed both against St. Peter, and also his doings, saying, 'You have gone amongst them that you ought not have had to do with, nor to have meddled among them that are men unclean, because they are uncircumcised; yea, and what is more, you have eaten and drunk with them.' Peter, mildly and coldly, made answer again, rehearsing all the manner of his doing in order, showing that he was so instructed to do, by mighty and clear revelations of God, and not by his own fantasy and pleasure. Which answer being heard, the others that before had made sore objections against him (who were both of the apostles, and other christian brethren), were content, holding their peace without any more complaining, and gave glory therefore to God, saying, 'Then God hath granted also unto the Gentiles to take repentance, and so to come to eternal life.' Wherein you may see, that the other apostles were as bold with Peter, as before is showed of Paul, to dispute against him: neither were they therefore by Peter reproved of inobedience. He did not allege any pre-eminency or authority to rebuke them for their complaining: as one would say, 'Why should you that are my sheep control me, that am the head of the church and your pastor, or Christ's general vicar, having both jurisdiction temporal and spiritual?' with such other like: but he showed them it was the will of God that he had done, going to the Gentiles to tell them of eternal life, which God pleased to give to them, as well as to the Jews; in token whereof the Holy Ghost did sensibly come among them, and so were they baptized.

Emperors more regard the pope than the apostles did Peter.

Difference between Peter and the pope.

Thus may you see, that if Peter were the vicar of Christ, even so likewise were Paul and all the other apostles. And I do not think contrary but that Peter, and all other of the apostles, were Christ's vicars, if you mean by this word 'vicar,' a deputy, or such like, for to preach his evangely (which is an office of all others most sovereign), to minister sacraments, and to do other such divine service in God's church. And thus were they worthy to be called (as the Scripture nameth them) Christ's true apostles, bishops, priests, legates, or any such like; which authority was given them by Christ after his resurrection, when he said unto them these words, 'Peace be amongst you. Like as my Father hath sent me, so do I send you. Take you the Holy Ghost: whose sins soever you shall forgive, are forgiven them: and whose sins you shall retain, they are retained.[1] And the same authority did they receive, when Christ spake unto all the church, after the mind of St. Augustine and others, in Peter, saying, 'Peter, feed my sheep.'[2]

Peter vicar of Christ, no more than other apostles.

In the forty-fourth article, where you ask, whether I believe, that the pope ordinately chosen for a time (his proper name being expressed) be the successor of Peter: I say, that it seemeth to me a thing of no great value, whether a man believe so or no; I cannot see that it should be numbered amongst the articles of our faith: notwithstanding I will show my rude thought in it, which is this.

The pope may succeed in St. Peter's stead or office, and do the same, duly and diligently feeding Christ's flock, and showing virtuous example of living to the same: and, so doing, he may and ought to be thought and named a true successor of St. Peter. And thus is your lordship St. Peter's successor, performing the conditions aforesaid, with other like properties requisite to your order and duty; yea, and as many others as do truly their duty, and duly the office of a bishop: and otherwise may not the pope be called the successor of Peter, because he is entered into St. Peter's office, not regarding to do what is requisite for the same, nor following the trace of virtue; but the contrary. And then he is wrongfully named, if at any time such be, which is not impossible.

How the pope may be a successor of Peter.

So may every good bishop.

(1) Luke xxiv. (2) John xxi

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For what should men call those Peter's successors, that play the pageants, and follow with the conditions of Caiaphas, Simon Magus, or Judas? Such verily, if any be, cannot rightly claim to be Peter's successors, no more than the night may claim to be successor of the day; for Peter was never so minded, nor taught them so. Yea, they ought rather to be called Peter's adversaries, for so much as they do not his will which is showed by his own acts and writing; but work against the same. Of such may be said,[1] 'They are not all saints' children that occupy the rooms of saints, but they are their children that exercise their works.' Yea, of such may be said, that which is written of St. Jerome: 'All bishops,' quoth he, 'are not bishops. Mark you well Peter, but mark also Judas: behold Stephen, but behold Nicholas. Ecclesiastical dignity maketh not a christian man. Cornelius the centurion, being yet a Pagan, was made clean through the benefit of the Holy Ghost: contrariwise, Daniel, being a child, condemneth priests, or ancient men.' 'It is no easy thing,' saith he, 'to stand in the room of Peter and Paul, and to keep the seat of them now reigning with Christ: for unsavoury salt is nought worth else, but to be thrown out of the doors, and trodden down of hogs.' This saith St. Jerome. Whereunto agreeth well St. Augustine: 'Every one,' quoth he, 'that saith unto you, Pax vobis, ought not to be heard, or to be believed as a dove. Crows be fed of dead carrion, and so is not a dove, but she liveth by the fruits of the earth: her living is pure, innocent, and hurtless. Whereby you may see, that ill bishops are no bishops, and that they that follow not saints in virtuous living, are not the successors of saints, but unsavoury salt; that is, neither of the church, nor shall come into heaven, to reign there with Peter and Paul, but be thrown out with great contempt: for God knoweth a dove from a crow, and an innocent liver from a devourer of carrion; but such as declare and show good deeds, as the saints did, be their children and successors, and shall with them reign in heaven.

The pope rather may be Peter's adversary than his successor.

Let us mark, not how the bird speaketh, but how he feedeth.

So that, to conclude, I say, that the pope, ordinately chosen, is the successor of St. Peter, following St. Peter's godly living. And else, except he study to do diligently, that he may be so called worthily, it shall be but a vain name: for rather may he else be reputed an image of a pope, or of a bishop, according as such be called of the prophet;[2] 'O idol shepherds!'

How the pope is successor of Peter, and how not.

In the five and fortieth article, where you ask, whether ever I have promised at any time by my oath, or made any confederacy or league with any person or persons, that I would alway hold and defend certain conclusions or articles seeming to me and to my complices right and consonant unto the faith; and will that I should certify you of the course and form of the said opinions and conclusions by row, and of the names and surnames of them that were to me adherent, and promised to be adherent in this behalf: I say, that I do not remember that ever I made pact or confederacy with any person or persons, nor made any promise by oath, that I would always hold and defend any conclusions or articles, seeming to me and others right and consonant to the faith, unless it hath chanced me to say in this form: 'That I would never, with the aid of God, forsake, nor decline from, the truth, neither for fear, nor yet for love of man or men.'

Lambert required to detect his fellows.

Thus I have, perhaps, said in some time, or some place, because I have indeed so intended, and do intend, God's grace assisting me. But I cannot yet tell you, whether I have so said or no, or to what persons, or at what time, either in what place; neither do I reckon me to have any complices, but such as do love me, and I them, for God, and in God: and those do I reckon all them that are or will be truly christian, in calling upon Christ's name. And concerning opinions or conclusions, I can tell you of none others than I have showed; the sum whereof I reckon and think utterly to be concluded in two propositions, which both are written in the New Testament.

All the opinions of John Lambert engrossed in two propositions.

The first is in the Acts of Apostles, in this wise:[3] 'Christ is the head corner-stone of our faith, whereupon it should be set and grounded, neither is salvation in any other: for there is none other name under heaven given amongst men, wherein we may be saved.' This is one of the propositions,

(1) 'Non sanctorum filii sunt, qui tenent loca sanctorum, sed qui exercent opera eorum.'
(2) 'O pastor et idolum!' Zech. xi.
(3) 'Christus est caput anguli, nec est in alio quoquam salus. Non enim aliud nomen sub cœlo datum est inter homines, in quo oporteat nos salvos fieri.'

wherein is engrossed or comprehended my saying, which St. Paul doth thus otherwise explicate; 'Christ is made of God our wisdom, our righteousness, our pureness, our satisfaction, and our redemption.' And in another place: 'There is none other foundation that any man may put, except that which is already put, that is Christ Jesus.'[1]

The other proposition is written by the prophet Isaiah, and recited by our Saviour, in the evangely of Matthew, in these words: 'Men do worship me in vain, teaching doctrines and precepts, or laws human.'[2] Of this writeth Paul very largely in divers places, and everywhere well nigh: amongst others, in the second chapter of Colossians, where he warneth the Colossians to take heed that no man do spoil them, or to steal them away by philosophy or vain deception, according to the constitutions of men, and ordinances of this world.

Thus I do certify you of all the opinions and conclusions which I intend or have intended to sustain, being contained in the two propositions above written. Others hold I none, but such as are mentioned in the Creed, both that which is sung at mass, and also in the other Creed that all people say every day.

Finally, in that you require to know of the names and surnames, in order of them particularly, that be to me adherents, or that have promised me to be adherent in this part: I say, that I know of none particular that I remember, without I should note unto you a great multitude, which you may know and hear of, I suppose, through all regions and realms of Christendom, that do think in like wise as I have showed. I ween the multitude mounteth nigh unto the one half of Christendom; and more should do likewise, by a great sort within a while, I doubt not, but that our ghostly enemy laboureth amain to have the knowledge of the truth suppressed, and letteth that it cannot come abroad to be seen. I say therefore again, I know of no particular adherents, nor of any that have so promised me to be in these matters: and though I did, I would not (except I knew that charity so required, which I do not find yet hitherto) detect, or bewray any one of them, for any man's pleasure: for I am bound to obey God above men: who be with us, and grant the truth to be known! Amen.

The number of gospellers well nigh half Christendom.

John Lambert denieth to detect any.

These answers of John Lambert to the five and forty articles above expressed, were directed and delivered to Dr. Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, as it appeareth, about A.D. 1532, at which time the said Lambert was in custody in the archbishop's house at Otford, being there destitute of all help and furniture of books, as by his own words is to be gathered. But, so the providence of God wrought for Lambert, that within short space after, A.D. 1533, the said archbishop Warham died; whereby it seemeth that Lambert, for that time, was delivered. In the mean while Dr. Cranmer was sent over in embassage, with the earl of Wiltshire, Dr. Stokesley, Dr. Kern, Dr. Benet, and other learned men, to the bishop of Rome lying then at Bologna, to dispute the matter of the king's marriage openly, first in the court of Rome, then in the court of the emperor; where, after sundry promises, and appointments made, yet, when the time came, no man there appeared to dispute with them, in these two propositions: first, that no man, 'jure Divino,' could or ought to marry his brother's wife; secondly, that the bishop of Rome by no means ought to dispense to the contrary. But of this more copiously we will treat (the Lord's grace permitting), in the sequel of our story, coming to Dr. Cranmer's life.

The death of archbishop Warham.

Cranmer embassador to the bishop of Rome.

Propositions of Cranmer.

After the death of William Warham, succeeded in that see the said Dr. Cranmer. Lambert, in the mean season, being delivered, partly by the death of this archbishop, partly by the coming in of queen Anne, returned unto London, and there exercised himself about the stocks, in teaching children both in the Greek and Latin

Cranmer made archbishop of Canterbury.

(1) 1 Cor. i. (2) Isai. xxix.

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tongue. And forasmuch as priests, in those days, could not be permitted to have wives, he left his priesthood, and applied himself to that function of teaching, intending shortly after also to be free of the Grocers, and to be married. But God, who disposeth all men's purposes after the secret pleasure of his own will, did both intercept his marriage, and also his freedom, and married him to his Son Christ Jesus (as now consequently followeth to be declared),* bringing[1] him into the freedom of his spiritual kingdom, to reign with him.

And thus much, briefly, touching the first education and bringing up of John Lambert; hereafter it followeth more at large to discourse and declare the whole process and order of his doings and disputations, with the order and manner of his death and condemnation. This death and punishment of his happened in this year; being so much the more lamentable, in that it was first occasioned, and afterwards brought to pass, by no others than by such, whom, for the common society of the profession of the gospel, it had been more meet to have been authors of his safeguard, rather than the causers of his destruction. But this is the accustomed craft and malice of that ancient serpent, which intermeddleth himself in all congregations, envying all men's felicity and welfare, rejoicing in nothing but in the death, and blood of innocents; seeking occasions of sedition, not only amongst the wicked, but the good also; stirring brethren oftentimes to contention amongst themselves; and that so craftily, that his policies can never be perceived until the mischief be done. I would to God that as this is a common complaint to all countries, so this our region of England, amongst others, were free from it, and not more infected herewith than the rest. Where now, in a manner, shall a man find more slaughter of the commons, subversion of the nobles, burning of good men, and most cruel contentions, which are never, in a manner, ended but with bloodshed: that mischievous disturber of human concord and quietness doth so incessantly rage!

But as I am here forced to speak against my will, so would to God that, even with my own contumely and hatred, I might engrave more meekness in the hearts of our men; which, notwithstanding, I doubt not but will shortly come to pass, by the most prosperous success of learning, which daily flourisheth more and more in England: and as it is to be hoped, foreign examples, and greater experience of things, will bring a more civility to this, which is already obtained by learning. But, because we will not pass our bounds too far, we will return again to the matter as touching John Lambert, intending to make declaration of his cause even from the first beginning, so far forth as we could attain unto the knowledge thereof.

So soon as the dark clouds of ignorance were driven away, and that the brightness of the gospel began to shine in England, there was at the same time, although not of the number of those who sustained the first assaults of the adversaries, the afore-named John Lambert; who, partly for the cruelty of the time, and partly for the desire of learning, which he was always inclined unto, departed into foreign lands, being but a young man, where he understood that learning did most flourish. From thence, after a few years, he returned again, hoping that the time had been amended, for that, by the means of

(1) See Edition 1563 p. 528; also Edition 1559, p. 146.—Ed.

queen Anne and Cromwell, and the abolishing of the pope, all things seemed more prosperous and quiet in England; and began to set his mind to the setting forth of the gospel.* *Henry VIII.* A. D. 1538.

Thus then, after that John Lambert now had continued in this vocation of teaching, with great commendation, and no less commodity to the youth, it happened this present year (1538), he was present at a sermon in St. Peter's church at London. He that preached, was named Dr. Taylor, a man in those days not far disagreeing from the gospel, and who afterwards, in the time of king Edward, was made bishop of Lincoln, and, at last, in the time of queen Mary, was deprived from the same; and so ended his life[1] among the confessors of Jesus Christ. Taylor bishop of Lincoln.

When the sermon was done, Lambert, having gotten opportunity, went gently unto the preacher to talk with him, and uttered divers arguments wherein he desired to be satisfied. All the whole matter or controversy was concerning the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ. Taylor, excusing himself at that present for other business, willed him to write his mind, and to come again at more leisure. Lambert was contented, and so departed; who, within a while after, when he had written his mind, came again unto him. The sum of his arguments were ten, which he comprehended in writing, proving the truth of the cause, partly by the Scriptures, and partly by good reason and by the doctors: which arguments, although they came not all unto our hands, yet such men as were present at those affairs, reported them to be of great force and authority; and of a few, which were borne away in memory, the first reason was this, gathered upon Christ's words, where it is said in the gospel, "This cup is the New Testament." Lambert seeketh conference with the preacher. The first occasion of his troubles. His arguments.

'And if,' saith he, 'these words do not change either the cup, or the wine, corporally into the New Testament, by like reason it is not agreeable that the words spoken of the bread, should turn the bread corporally into the body of Christ.' Effect of the words of consecration.

Another reason was this: that it is not agreeable to a natural body to be in two places or more at one time: wherefore it must follow of necessity, that either Christ had not a natural body, or else, truly, according to the common nature of a body, it cannot be present in two places at once, and much less in many, that is to say, in heaven and in earth; on the right hand of his Father, and in the sacrament. One body cannot fill many places at once naturally.

Moreover, a natural body cannot be without its form and shape, conditions and accidents; like as the accidents and conditions also cannot be without their subject or substance. Then, forasmuch as in the sacrament there is no quality, quantity, or condition of the body of Christ, and finally no appearance at all of flesh; who doth not plainly perceive, that there is no transubstantiated body of his in the sacrament? And, to reason by the contrary: All the proper conditions, signs, and accidents, whatsoever they be, pertaining to bread, we do see to be present in the sacrament, which cannot be there without the subject; therefore we must of necessity confess the bread to be there. The forms cannot be without the subject.

He added also many other allegations out of the doctors. But to be short, this Taylor the preacher, whom I spake of before, willing and desiring, as is supposed, of a good mind to satisfy Lambert in this matter, amongst others whom he took to counsel, he also conferred with Dr. Barnes; which Barnes, although he did otherwise Dr. Barnes.

(1) He died in 1554. ['Si non inter martyres, at confessiores,' &c. See Edition 1559, p. 147. —Ed.]

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favour the gospel, and was an earnest preacher, notwithstanding seemed not greatly to favour this cause; fearing, peradventure, that it would breed among the people some let or hinderance to the preaching of the gospel (which was now in a good forwardness), if such sacramentaries should be suffered. He persuaded Taylor, by and by, to put up the matter to Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury. And hereby we may see it truly verified, which William Tyndale before, writing to John Frith, did note in Dr. Barnes, saying, "That Dr. Barnes will be hot against you," &c.

Upon these originals Lambert's quarrel first began, and was brought unto this point, that, through the sinister doings of many, it began of a private talk to be a public and common matter: for he was sent for by the archbishop, and brought into the open court, and forced to defend his cause openly. For the archbishop had not yet favoured the doctrine of the sacrament, whereof afterwards he was an earnest professor. In that disputation, it is said that Lambert did appeal from the bishops to the king's majesty. But howsoever the matter was, the rumour of that disputation was, by and by, spread throughout the whole court.

I told you before, how that king Henry for two years past, showing the part of a hard husband, had beheaded queen Anne his wife; which deed did not only greatly displease the German princes (who for that only cause had broken off the league with him, A.D. 1536), but also many other good men in England. Moreover, how that, within a while after, abbeys began to be subverted, and all their goods to be confiscated and given abroad: for which causes, but especially for the late abolishing of the bishop of Rome, the commons had conceived a very evil opinion of him, insomuch that the seditious sort rebelled against him.

Gardiner bishop of Winchester.

At that time Stephen Gardiner, then bishop of Winchester, was in authority amongst the king's councillors, who, as he was of a cruel nature, so was he no less of a subtle and crafty wit, ever gaping for some occasion how to let and hinder the gospel: albeit a long time he was not so greatly esteemed with the king, that he could much prevail to achieve his conceived purpose. But, at length, upon this matter advising himself, he thought he had apt occasion and opportunity to accomplish his desire: neither did he foreslack the occasion ministered, but went straight unto the king, privily admonishing him, and with fair flattering words giving him most pernicious counsel, declaring how great hatred and suspicion was raised upon him in almost all places; first, for abolishing the bishop of Rome's authority; then for subversion of the monasteries; and also for that the divorce of queen Katherine was yet fresh in men's minds: and now the time served, if he would take it, easily to remedy all these matters, and pacify the minds of them that were displeased and offended with him, if only in this matter of John Lambert he would manifest unto the people how stoutly he would resist heretics; and by this new rumour he would bring to pass, not only to extinguish all other former rumours, and as it were with one nail to drive out another, but also should discharge himself of all suspicion, in that he now began to be reported to be a favourer of new sects and opinions.

The pernicious counsel of the bishop of Winchester.

The king, giving ear more willingly than prudently or godlily to

this siren, immediately received the wicked counsel of the bishop, and by and by sent out a general commission, commanding all the nobles and bishops of this realm to come with all speed to London, to assist the king against heretics and heresies, which commission the king himself would sit in judgment upon. *Henry VIII.* A. D. 1538.

These preparations made, a day was set for Lambert, where a great assembly of the nobles was gathered from all parts of the realm, not without much wonder and expectation in this so strange a case. All the seats and places were full of men round about the scaffold. The nobles and bishops assemble.

By and by the godly servant of Christ, John Lambert, was brought from the prison with a guard of armed men (even as a lamb to fight with many lions), and placed right over against where the king's royal seat was, so that now they tarried but for the king's coming to that place. Lambert brought before the king.

At last the king himself did come as judge of that great controversy, with a great guard, clothed all in white, as covering, by that colour and dissembling, severity of all bloody judgment. On his right hand sat the bishops, and behind them the famous lawyers, clothed all in purple, according to the manner. On the left hand sat the peers of the realm, justices, and other nobles in their order; behind whom sat the gentlemen of the king's privy chamber. And this was the manner and form of the judgment, which, albeit it was terrible enough of itself to abash any innocent, yet the king's look, his cruel countenance, and his brows bent unto severity, did not a little augment this terror; plainly declaring a mind full of indignation far unworthy such a prince, especially in such a matter, and against so humble and obedient a subject. The king's stern look against Lambert.

And[1] if these be the manners and fashions of our kings and princes, how greatly are we, miserable wretches (O most gentle Jesu!) bound under thy Father, who hath sent thee so meek and gentle a Prince unto us out of heaven; who, albeit that of thyself thou dost so excel in power, that, in respect of thee, all other princes are less than beggars or things of no estimation, thou dost join such clemency with thy power, that they all may worthily be ashamed of themselves; who, by how much they are inferior unto thee in force and strength, so much the less solace and comfort, for the most part, do they give unto the miserable in necessity. But now to return again to the story.

When the king was set in his throne, he beheld Lambert with a stern countenance; and then, turning himself unto his councillors, he called forth Dr. Day, bishop of Chichester, commanding him to declare unto the people the causes of this present assembly and judgment. The whole effect of his oration tended in a manner to this point:

That the king in this session would have all states, degrees, bishops, and all others to be admonished of his will and pleasure, that no man should conceive any sinister opinion of him, that now, the authority and name of the bishop of Rome being utterly abolished, he would also extinguish all religion, or give liberty unto heretics to perturb and trouble the churches of England, without punishment, whereof he is the head. And moreover, that they should not think that they were assembled at that present, to make any disputation upon the heretical doctrine; but only for this purpose, that by the industry of him and The oration of Dr. Day.

(1) See Edition 1563, p. 530; also Edition 1559, p. 149.—Ed.

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other bishops, the heresies of this man here present (meaning Lambert), and the heresies of all such like, should be refuted or openly condemned in the presence of them all.

When he had made an end of his oration, the king, standing up upon his feet, leaning upon a cushion of white cloth of tissue, turning himself toward Lambert with his brows bent, as it were threatening some grievous thing to him, said these words: "Ho! good fellow; what is thy name?" Then the humble lamb of Christ, humbly kneeling down upon his knee, said, "My name is John Nicholson, although of many I be called Lambert." "What," said the king, "have you two names? I would not trust you, having two names, although you were my brother."

The king's words to Lambert.

Lambert: "O most noble prince! your bishops forced me of necessity to change my name." And after divers prefaces and much talk had in this manner, the king commanded him to go unto the matter, and to declare his mind and opinion, what he thought as touching the sacrament of the altar.

Lambert's oration to the king.

Then Lambert, beginning to speak for himself, gave God thanks, who had so inclined the heart of the king, that he himself would not disdain to hear and understand the controversies of religion: for that it happeneth oftentimes, through the cruelty of the bishops, that many good and innocent men, in many places, are privily murdered and put to death, without the king's knowledge. But now, forasmuch as that high and eternal King of kings, in whose hands are the hearts of all princes, hath inspired and stirred up the king's mind, that he himself will be present to understand the causes of his subjects, specially whom God of his divine goodness hath so abundantly endued with so great gifts of judgment and knowledge, he doth not mistrust but that God will bring some great thing to pass through him, to the setting forth of the glory of his name.

The cruelty of bishops noted.

Then the king, with an angry voice, interrupting his oration: "I came not hither," said he, "to hear mine own praises thus painted out in my presence; but briefly go to the matter, without any more circumstance." Thus he spake in Latin. But Lambert, being abashed at the king's angry words, contrary to all men's expectation, stayed a while, considering whither he might turn himself in these great straits and extremities. But the king, being hasty with anger and vehemency said, "Why standest thou still? Answer as touching the sacrament of the altar, whether dost thou say, that it is the body of Christ, or wilt deny it?" And with that word the king lifted up his cap.

The king fierce upon Lambert.

Lambert: "I answer, with St. Augustine, that it is the body of Christ, after a certain manner."[1]

The King: "Answer me neither out of St. Augustine, nor by the authority of any other; but tell me plainly, whether thou sayest it is the body of Christ, or no." These words the king spake again in Latin.

Lambert: "Then I deny it to be the body of Christ."

The King: "Mark well! for now thou shalt be condemned even by Christ's own words, 'Hoc est corpus meum.'"

(1) After a certain manner; i.e. 'Quodam modo.' [See Edition 1559, p. 149.—Ed.]

Then he commanded Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, to refute his assertion; who, first making a short preface unto the hearers, began his disputation with Lambert very modestly, saying, "Brother Lambert! let this matter be handled between us indifferently, that if I do convince this your argument to be false by the Scriptures, you will willingly refuse the same; but if you shall prove it true by the manifest testimonies of the Scripture, I do promise, I will willingly embrace the same." *Henry VIII.* A.D. 1538. The archbishop's reasons.

The argument was this, taken out of that place of the Acts of the Apostles, where Christ appeared unto St. Paul by the way: disputing out of that place, that it is not disagreeable to the word of God, that the body of Christ may be in two places at once, which being in heaven was seen of St. Paul the same time upon earth; and if it may be in two places, why, by the like reason, may it not be in many places? The archbishop's argument.

In this manner the archbishop began to refute the second argument of Lambert, which, as we have before said, was written and delivered by the said Lambert unto the preacher; for the king had first disputed against his first reason.

Lambert answered unto this argument, saying, that the *minor* was not thereby proved, that Christ's body was dispersed in two places or more, but remained rather still in one place, as touching the manner of his body. For the Scripture doth not say that Christ, being upon earth, did speak unto Paul; but that "suddenly a light from heaven did shine round about him, and he, falling to the ground, heard a voice, saying unto him, Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me? I am Jesus whom thou persecutest," &c.[1] Here this place doth nothing let, but that Christ, sitting in heaven, might speak unto Paul, and be heard upon earth: for they that were with Paul verily heard the voice, but did see no body. Lambert's answer to Cranmer's objection.

The archbishop, on the contrary part, said, "Paul himself doth witness that Christ did appear unto him in the same vision." His reply.

But Lambert again said, that Christ did witness in the same place, that "he would again appear unto him, and deliver him out of the hands of the Gentiles:" notwithstanding, we read in no place that Christ did corporally appear unto him. Answer to the reply.

Thus when they had contended about the conversion of St. Paul, and Lambert so answering for himself that the king seemed greatly to be moved therewith, and the bishop himself that disputed, to be entangled, and all the audience amazed, then the bishop of Winchester, who was appointed the sixth place of the disputation, fearing lest the argument should be taken out of his mouth, or rather being drowned with malice against the poor man, without the king's commandment, observing no order, before the archbishop had made an end, unshamefacedly kneeling down to take in hand the disputation, alleged a place out of Corinthians xii., where St. Paul saith, "Have I not seen Jesus?" And again in the fifteenth chapter: "He appeared unto Cephas; and afterwards unto James, then to all the apostles; but, last of all, he appeared unto me, as one born out of due time." Hasty impudence of the bishop of Winchester.

Hereunto Lambert answered, he did nothing doubt but that Christ

(1) Acts ix. (2) Acts xxvi.

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was seen, and did appear; but he did deny that he was in two or in divers places, according to the manner of his body.

Then Winchester again, abusing the authority of Paul, repeated the place out of 2 Cor. v., "And if so be we have known Christ after the flesh, now, henceforth, know we him so no more," &c.

Lambert answereth to Winchester.

Lambert answered, that this knowledge is not to be understood according to the sense of the body, and that it so appeared sufficiently by St. Paul, who, speaking of his own revelation, saith thus: "I know one, whether in the body, or without the body, God knoweth, who was rapt into the third heaven; and I know not whether in the body or without, God knoweth:" whereby, even by the testimony of St. Paul, a man shall easily gather, that in this revelation he was taken up in spirit into the heavens, and did see those things; rather than that Christ came down corporally from heaven, to show them unto him: especially for that it was said by the angel, that even as he ascended into heaven, so he should come again. And St. Peter saith, "whom it behoveth to dwell in the heavens." And moreover, appointing the measure of time, he addeth, "even until that all things be restored," &c. Here again, Lambert, being taunted and rebuked, could not be suffered to prosecute his purpose.

Tonstal, bishop of Durham, against Lambert.

After the bishop of Winchester had done, Tonstal, bishop of Durham, took his course, and after a long preface, wherein he spake much of God's omnipotency, at the last he came to this point, saying, that if Christ could perform that which he spake, touching the converting of his body into bread, without doubt he would speak nothing but what he would perform.

Lambert answered, that there was no evident place of Scripture, wherein Christ doth at any time say, that he would change the bread into his body: and moreover that there is no necessity why he should do so. But this is a figurative speech, everywhere used in Scripture, when the name and appellation of the thing signified is attributed unto the sign; by which figure of speech, circumcision is called the covenant, the lamb the passover; besides six hundred such other. Now it remaineth to be marked, whether we shall judge all these, after the words pronounced, to be straightway changed into another nature.

Figurative phrase of the Scripture.

Then again began they to rage afresh against Lambert, so that if he could not be overcome with arguments, he should be vanquished with rebukes and taunts. What should he do? He might well hold his peace like a lamb, but bite or bark again he could not.

The wicked boast of Stokesley.

Next orderly stepped forth the valiant champion Stokesley, bishop of London, who afterwards, lying at the point of death, rejoiced, boasting that in his lifetime he had burned fifty heretics. This man, amongst the residue, intending to fight for his belly, with a long protestation promised to prove, that it was not only a work of a divine miracle, but also that it did nothing abhor nature. "For it is nothing dissonant from nature, the substances of like things," saith he, "to be oftentimes changed one into another, so that nevertheless the accidents do remain; albeit the substance itself, and the matter subject, be changed." Then he declared it by the example of water boiling so long upon the fire, until all the substance thereof be evaporated. "Now," saith he, "it is the doctrine of the philosophers, that a substance cannot be changed but into a substance: wherefore we do

The waterish cold argument of Stokesley.

affirm the substance of the water to pass into the substance of the air; notwithstanding the quality of the water, which is moistness, remaineth after the substance is changed; for the air is moist even as the water is." *Henry VIII.* A. D. 1538.

When this argument was heard, the bishops greatly rejoiced, and suddenly their countenance changed, as it were assuring themselves of a certain triumph and victory by this philosophical transmutation of elements, and like as it had been of more force than Chrisippus's argument, which passed all manner of solution. The bishops' triumph before the victory.

Lambert's answer was long looked for here of all men; who, as soon as he had obtained silence, and liberty to speak, first of all denied the bishop's assumpt, that the moisture of the water did remain after the substance was altered. "For albeit," saith he, "that we do grant, with the philosophers, the air to be naturally moist; notwithstanding it hath one proper and a diverse degree of moisture, and the water another. Wherefore, when the water is converted into the air, there remaineth moisture, as you do say; but that is not the moisture of water, but the proper and natural moisture of the air. Whereupon there is another doctrine amongst the philosophers, as a perpetual rule, that it can by no means be, that the qualities and accidents in natural things should remain in their own proper nature, without their proper subject." Lambert's answer to Stokesley.

Then again the king and the bishops raged against Lambert, insomuch that he was not only forced to silence, but also might have been driven into a rage, if his ears had not been acquainted with such taunts before. After this the other bishops, every one in his order, as they were appointed, supplied their places of disputation. Taunts and raging against Lambert.

There were appointed ten in number, for the performing of this tragedy; for his ten arguments, which (as before we have declared) were delivered unto Taylor the preacher. It were too long in this place to repeat the reasons and arguments of every bishop; and no less superfluous were it so to do, especially forasmuch as they were all but common reasons, and nothing forcible, and such as by the long use of disputation have been beaten, and had little in them either worthy the hearer or the reader. Ten disputers against Lambert.

Lambert, in the mean time, being compassed in with so many and great perplexities, vexed on the one side with checks and taunts, and pressed on the other side with the authority and threats of the personages; and partly being amazed with the majesty of the place in the presence of the king, and especially being wearied with long standing, which continued no less than five hours, from twelve of the clock, until five at night; being brought in despair, that he should nothing profit in this purpose, and seeing no hope at all in speaking, was at this point, that he chose rather to hold his peace. Hereby it came to pass that those bishops, who last of all disputed with him, spake what they listed without interruption, save only that Lambert would now and then allege somewhat out of St. Augustine for the defence of his cause; in which author he seemed to be very prompt and ready. But, for the most part (as I said), being overcome with weariness and other griefs, he held his peace; defending himself rather with silence, than with arguments, which, he saw, would nothing at all prevail. Lambert in great perplexity. Keepeth silence when speaking would do no good.

At last, when the day was passed, and torches began to be lighted,

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the king, minding to break up this pretensed disputation, said unto Lambert in this wise: "What sayest thou now," said he, "after all these great labours which thou hast taken upon thee, and all the reasons and instructions of these learned men? art thou not yet satisfied? Wilt thou live or die? what sayest thou? thou hast yet free choice."

The king's words to him.

Lambert answered, "I yield and submit myself wholly unto the will of your majesty." Then said the king, "Commit thyself unto the hands of God, and not unto mine."

The king condemneth this martyr of Christ.

Lambert: "I commend my soul unto the hands of God, but my body I wholly yield and submit unto your clemency." Then said the king, "If you do commit yourself unto my judgment, you must die, for I will not be a patron unto heretics." And, by and by, turning himself unto Cromwell, he said, "Cromwell! read the sentence of condemnation against him." This Cromwell was at that time the chief friend of the gospellers. And here it is much to be marvelled at, to see how unfortunately it came to pass in this matter, that through the pestiferous and crafty counsel of this one bishop of Winchester, Satan (who oftentimes doth raise up one brother to the destruction of another) did here perform the condemnation of this Lambert by no other ministers than gospellers themselves, Taylor, Barnes, Cranmer, and Cromwell; who, afterwards, in a manner, all suffered the like for the gospel's sake; of whom (God willing) we will speak more hereafter.

The crafty fetch of Gardiner.

Lord Cromwell reads the sentence.

This, undoubtedly, was the malicious and crafty subtlety of the bishop of Winchester, who desired rather that the sentence might be read by Cromwell, than by any other; so that if he refused to do it, he should likewise have incurred the like danger. But, to be short, Cromwell, at the king's commandment, taking the schedule of condemnation in hand, read the same; wherein was contained the burning of heretics, who either spake or wrote any thing, or had any books by them, repugnant or disagreeing from their papistical church and tradition touching the sacrament of the altar: also a decree that the same should be set upon the church porches, and be read four times every year in every church throughout the realm, whereby the worshipping of the bread should be the more firmly fixed in the hearts of the people. And in this manner was the condemnation of John Lambert; wherein great pity it was, and much to be lamented, to see the king's highness that day so to oppose, and bend his power and strength so fiercely and vehemently, in assisting so many proud and furious adversaries against that one poor silly soul, to be devoured, whom his majesty, with more honour, might rather have aided and supported, being so on every side oppressed and compassed about without help or refuge, among so many wolves and vultures; especially in such a cause, tending to no derogation to him nor his realm, but rather to the necessary reformation of sincere truth and doctrine decayed. For therein, especially, consisteth the honour of princes, to pity the miserable, to relieve the oppressed, to rescue the wrongs of the poor, and to tender and respect the weaker part, especially where right and truth stand with him: which if the king had done that day, it had been, in my mind, not so much for the comfort of that poor persecuted creature, as it would have redounded to the immortal renown of his princely estate to all posterity.

The part of a good prince.

,,* But[1] how much more commendable for thee, O king Henry! (if that I may a little talk with thee, wheresoever thou art,) if thou hadst aided and holpen the poor little sheep, being in so great perils and dangers, requiring thy aid and help against so many vultures and leopards; and hadst granted him thy authority, to use the same for his safeguard, rather than unto the others, to abuse it unto slaughter. For they, even of themselves, were cruel enough, that thou shouldst not have needed to have given thy sword of authority unto those mad men, whose force and violence if you had that day broken, believe me! you should have committed a worthy spectacle unto all men, and have done a most commendable and praiseworthy thing for yourself. For what hath that poor man Lambert offended against you, who never so much as once willed you evil, neither could resist against you! Henry VIII. A. D. 1538.

But, peradventure, you thought him to be a heretic! At the least his reasons and allegations should have been moderately heard; which if they had seemed more sound, you should have given place unto the truth; if not, notwithstanding, he should have been convinced, either with the like or more strong arguments, and have been reclaimed by all manner of means again into the way; for an error is not overcome with violence, but with truth. Truly it was not meet that you should have refused him, who so obediently yielded and submitted himself unto you. But, O king Henry! I know you did not follow your own nature therein, but the pernicious counsels of the bishop of Winchester: notwithstanding, your wisdom should not have been ignorant of this (which all other kings also ought to consider, who, at this present, through the wicked insinuations of the bishops and cardinals, do so rage against the simple servants of Christ), that the time shall once come, when ye shall give account for all the offences which you have either committed by your own fault, or by the counsel or advice of others, what shall then happen, if these miserable heretics, which you here in this world do so afflict and torment, shall come with Christ, and his apostles and martyrs, to judge the twelve tribes of Israel, sitting upon their seats? if they, with like severity, shall execute their power upon you, what then I say shall become of you? With what face will ye behold their majesty, who here in this world have showed no countenances of pity upon them? With what heart will ye implore their mercy, who so unmercifully rejected and cast them off, when they fled unto your pity and mercy? Wherefore, if that the ears of princes be so prompt and ready to hearken unto the counsels of others, being void of counsel themselves, why do they not rather set apart these flatterers, backbiters, and greedy blood-suckers, and hearken unto the wholesome counsel of the prophetical king? who, crying out in the Psalms, sayeth, "Now, ye kings, understand, and ye which judge the earth be wise and learned, serve the Lord in fear, and rejoice in him with trembling. Embrace his Son, least that ye err and perish from the just way; for, when his wrath shall suddenly kindle, blessed are all they which trust in him." *

But thus was John Lambert, in this bloody session, by the king judged and condemned to death; whose judgment now remaineth

(1) See Edition 1563, pp. 533, 534; also Edition 1559, p. 153.—Ed.

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with the Lord against that day, when before the tribunal seat of that great Judge both princes and subjects shall stand and appear, not to judge, but to be judged, according as they have done and deserved.[1]

Lambert going to death.

And thus much, hitherto, of Lambert's articles, answers, disputations, and his condemnation also. Now to proceed further to the story of his death.

Lord Cromwell desireth of Lambert forgiveness.

Upon the day that was appointed for this holy martyr of God to suffer, he was brought out of the prison at eight o'clock in the morning unto the house of the lord Cromwell, and so carried into his inward chamber, where, it is reported of many, that Cromwell desired of him forgiveness for what he had done. There, at the last, Lambert, being admonished that the hour of his death was at hand, was greatly comforted and cheered; and, being brought out of the chamber into the hall, he saluted the gentlemen, and sat down to breakfast with them, showing no manner of sadness or fear. When the breakfast was ended, he was carried straightway to the place of execution, where he should offer himself unto the Lord, a sacrifice of sweet savour, who is blessed in his saints, for ever and ever. Amen.

As touching the terrible manner and fashion of the burning of this blessed martyr, here is to be noted, that of all others who have been burned and offered up at Smithfield, there was yet none so cruelly and piteously handled as he. For, after that his legs were consumed and burned up to the stumps, and that the wretched tormentors and enemies of God had withdrawn the fire from him, so that but a small fire and coals were left under him, then two that stood on each side of him, with their halberts pitched him upon their pikes, as far as the chain would reach, after the manner and form that is described in the picture adjoined. Then he, lifting up such hands as he had, and his fingers' ends flaming with fire, cried unto the people in these words, "None but Christ, none but Christ;" and so, being let down again from their halberts, fell into the fire, and there ended his life.

The words which he spake at his death.

Thus ye have heard by what craft and subtlety this good man was entrapped, and with what cruelty he was oppressed; so that now remaineth nothing but only his punishment and death, which the drunken rage of the bishops thought, should not be long protracted.

During the time that he was in the archbishop's ward at Lambeth, which was a little before his disputation before the king, he wrote an excellent confession or defence of his cause to king Henry, wherein, first mollifying the king's mind and ears with a modest and sober preface, he declared how he had a double hope of solace laid up, the one in the most high and mighty prince of princes, God; the other next unto God, in his majesty, who should represent the office and ministry of that most high prince in governing here upon earth. After that, proceeding in gentle words, he declared the cause which moved him to that which he had done. And, albeit he was not ignorant how odious this doctrine would be unto the people, yet, notwithstanding, because he was not also ignorant how desirous the king's mind was to search out the truth, he thought no time unmeet

The apology of John Lambert unto the king.

(1) Ex testimonio cujusdam αυτόπτου, A. G.

THE BURNING OF THE CONSTANT MARTYR IN CHRIST, JOHN LAMBERT.

to perform his duty, especially forasmuch as he would not utter those things unto the ignorant multitude, for avoiding of offence; but only unto the prince himself, unto whom he might safely declare his mind. *Henry VIII.* A.D. 1538.

After this preface made, he, entering into the book, confirmed his doctrine touching the sacrament by divers testimonies of the Scriptures; by which Scriptures he proved the body of Christ, whether it riseth, or ascendeth, or sitteth, or be conversant here, to be always in one place. The preface of his apology.

Then, gathering together the minds of the ancient doctors, he did prove and declare, by sufficient demonstration, the sacrament to be a mystical matter: albeit he so ruled himself, in such temperance and moderation, that he did not deny but that the holy sacrament was the very natural body of our Saviour, and the wine his natural blood: and that, moreover, his natural body and blood were in those mysteries; but after a certain manner, as all the ancient doctors in a manner do interpret it.

After this protestation thus made, he inferreth the sentence of his confession, as here followeth:

A TREATISE BY JOHN LAMBERT UPON THE SACRAMENT; Addressed to the King.

Christ is so ascended bodily into heaven, and his holy manhood thither so assumpt, where it doth sit upon the right hand of the Father (that is to say, is with the Father there remanent and resident in glory), that, by the infallible promise of God, it shall not, or cannot, from thence return before the general doom, which shall be in the end of the world. And as he is no more corporally in the world, so can I not see how he can be corporally in the sacrament, or his holy supper. And yet, notwithstanding, do I acknowledge and confess, that the holy sacrament of Christ's body and blood is the very body and blood in a certain manner, which shall be showed hereafter, with your grace's favour and permission, according to the words of our Saviour, instituting the same holy sacrament, and saying, 'This is my body, which is given for you:' and again, 'This is my blood which is of the new testament, which is shed for many, for the remission of sins.'[1]

But now, for approving of the first part, that Christ is so bodily ascended into heaven, and his holy manhood so thither assumpt, &c., that by the infallible promise of God he shall not, or cannot, any more from thence bodily return before the general doom, I shall for this allege first the Scriptures, following the authorities of old holy doctors, with one consent testifying with me. Besides this, I need not to tell, that the same is no other thing but that we have taught to us in these three articles of our Creed, 'He ascended into heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty; from thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead.' For Christ did ascend bodily; the Godhead which is infinite, uncircumscriptible, replenishing both heaven and earth, being immutable, and unmovable, so that properly it can neither ascend nor descend.

Scriptures affirming the same.

The Scriptures which I promised to allege for the confirmation of my said sentence, be these: 'He was lifted up into heaven in their sight, and a cloud received him from their eyes. And when they were looking up into heaven, they saw two men,' &c.[2] Here it is evidently showed, that Christ departed and ascended in a visible and circumscript body. That this departing was visible and in a visible body, these words do testify: 'And when they were looking up;' 'Why stand you here looking up into heaven?' and, 'Even as ye have seen him,' &c. That, secondly, it was in body. I have before proved: and

(1) Matt. xxvi. (2) Acts i.

Henry VIII. A. D. 1538.

moreover the Deity is not seen, but is invisible, as appeareth thus; 'To God only invisible,'[1] &c.; and, 'He dwelleth in the inaccessible light which no man seeth, nor may see,'[2] &c.: therefore the manhood and natural body was assumpt, or did ascend. That, thirdly, it was in a circumscript body, appeareth manifestly in this: first, that his ascension and bodily departing caused them to look up: and, secondly, that he was lifted up; that is to wit, from beneath or from below: and thirdly, that a cloud received him; whereas no cloud nor clouds can receive or embrace the Deity, &c.

I am fain to leave out other evident arguments for the same purpose, lest I should be over prolix and tedious. It doth there also follow, in like form, how the angels made answer to the disciples, saying, 'Ye men of Galilee! why stand ye gazing into heaven? This Jesus, which is taken up from you into heaven, shall so come again, as you have seen him going up into heaven.' Here we see again, that Jesus is assumpt, or taken away into heaven. And then it must be from out of the world, according to that we read, 'I went forth from the Father, and I came into the world: I leave the world again, and I go unto the Father.'[3] That is, not else but as he came from the Father of heaven into this world, in that he was incarnate and made man (for his Godhead was never absent, either from heaven, or yet from earth): even so should his manhood leave the world again, to go to heaven. Moreover, in that it is said, 'So shall he come,' is plainly testified, that he is away, and now, corporally absent.

Finally, it is showed, further, after what manner he shall come again, by these words, 'Even as you have seen him going up into heaven:' which is not else but as you did visibly see him ascend or go away to heaven, a cloud embracing him, and taking him from among you: even so shall you visibly see him to come again in the clouds, as we read in Matthew, 'You shall see the Son of Man to come in the clouds of heaven:'[4] and again, 'And they shall see the Son of man.'[5] Such other texts have we full many, declaring my sentence to be catholic and true; of which I here shall briefly note some places, and pass over them, knowing that a little rehearsal is sufficient to your noble wisdom. The places be, Mark xvi.; Luke xxiv.; John xiii., xiv., xvi., and xvii.; Rom. viii.; Ephes. i. and ii.; and 2 Cor. vi.; Heb. viii., ix., x., and xii.; and 1 Thess. iv.; and 1 Pet. ii.; which all do testify, that Christ hath bodily forsaken the world, and departing from it unto his Father, ascended into heaven; sitting still upon the right hand of the Father, above all dominion, power, and principality; where he is present Advocate and Intercessor before his Father; and that he shall so bodily come again, like as he was seen to depart from hence.

Nothing can better, or more clearly testify and declare, what is contained in the sacrament of Christ's holy body and blood, than do the words of Scripture, whereby it was instituted. Mark doth agree with Matthew, so that in a manner he reciteth his very words. And no marvel it is; for, as the doctors do say, 'The gospel of Mark is a very epitome or abridgment of Matthew.' I shall therefore write the relations of them, touching the institution of this sacrament, together. The relation or testimony of Matthew is this: 'As they were eating, Jesus took bread; and when he had given thanks, he brake and gave to his disciples, and said, Take, eat; this is my body. And taking the cup, and giving thanks, he gave it to them, saying, Drink ye all of this; for this is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for many, for the remission of sins. And I say unto you, I will not drink henceforth of this fruit of the vine, until that day, that I drink it new with you in the kingdom of my Father.'[6]

The gospel of Mark is an abridgment of Matthew.

The testimony or relation of Mark, is this: 'And as they did eat, Jesus took the bread, and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and gave it to them, and said, 'Take, eat; this is my body. And he took the cup, and when he had given thanks, he gave it to them, and they all drank of it, and he said unto them, This is my blood of the New Testament, which is shed for many. Verily, I say unto you, I will drink no more of the fruit of the vine, unto that day that I drink it new in the kingdom of God.'[7] Luke, being the companion of Paul, as appeareth in the Acts, and 2 Tim. iv., doth so next agree with him in making relation of this supper, and holy institution of the sacrament. His relation or

(1) 1 Tim. i. (2) 1 Tim. vi. (3) John xvi. (4) Matt. xxvi.
(5) Matt. xxiv. (6) Matt. xxvi. (7) Mark xiv.

report is this: 'When he had taken bread, and given thanks, he brake it, and gave to them, saying, This is my body, which is given for you; do this in remembrance of me. Likewise also, after supper, he took the cup, saying, This cup is the New Testament in my blood, which is shed for you.'[1]

Paul's testimony doth follow next, agreeably to Luke, and it is thus: 'For I have received of the Lord that which I also have delivered to you; that our Lord Jesus Christ, in the same night in which he was betrayed, took bread; and when he had given thanks he brake it, and said, Take, eat; this is my body which is broken for you: this do ye in remembrance of me. After the same manner he also took the cup when he had supped, saying, This cup is the New Testament in my blood: this do, as oft as ye drink it, in the remembrance of me; for as often as ye shall eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye shall show the Lord's death till he come.'[2] By these testimonies shall I declare my sentence to your grace, which I conceive of the holy sacrament of Christ's blessed body and blood, and in all points of difficulty shall I annex the very interpretation of the old holy doctors and fathers, to show that I do not ground any thing upon myself. Thereafter shall I add certain arguments, which, I trust, shall clearly prove and justify my sentence to be true, catholic, and according both with God and his laws, and also with the mind of holy doctors.

My sentence is this: That Christ ascended into heaven, and so hath forsaken the world, and there shall abide, sitting on the right hand of his Father, without returning hither again, until the general doom; at which time he shall come from thence, to judge the dead and the living. This all do I believe done in his natural body, which he took of the blessed Virgin Mary his mother, in which he also suffered passion for our safety and redemption upon a cross; who died for us, and was buried: in which he also did rise again to life immortal. That Christ is thus ascended in his manhood and natural body, and so assumpt into heaven, we may soon prove; forasmuch as the Godhead of him is never out of heaven, but ever replenishing both heaven and earth, and all that is besides, being infinite and interminable or uncircumscriptible, so that it cannot properly either ascend or descend, being without all alterations, and immutable or unmovable. So that now his natural body, being assumpt from among us, and departed out of the world, the same can no more return from thence unto the end of the world. For as Peter witnesseth,[3] 'Whom the heavens must contain, until the time that all things be restored which God had spoken by the mouth of all his holy prophets since the world began.' And the same doth the article of our Creed teach us, which is, 'From thence [*i. e.* from heaven] shall he come, to judge the quick and the dead;' which time Paul calleth 'the appearing of our Lord Jesus Christ.'[4]

Seeing then this natural body of our Saviour, that was born of his mother Mary being a virgin, is all whole assumpt into heaven, and departed out of this world, and, so as saith St. Peter, 'He must remain in heaven until the end of the world,' which he calleth, the time when all things must be restored;' this, I say, seen and believed according to our Creed and the Scriptures, I cannot perceive how the natural body of him can, contrariwise, be in the world, and so in the sacrament. And yet, notwithstanding, is this true, that the holy sacrament is Christ's body and blood, as after shall be declared.

Doctors affirming the same.

But first, for the establishing of my former purpose, that the natural body of our Saviour is so absent from this world, and ascended into heaven, that it can be here no more present until the general doom; I would beseech your grace to consider the mind and sentence of the old holy doctors in this purpose or matter, how agreeably they testify with that which is before showed. Amongst whom we have first St. Augustine, writing thus to Dardanus.[5]

'Therefore as concerning the Word, Christ is the creator, all things are made by him. But as touching man, Christ is a creature made of the seed of David, according to the flesh, and ordained according to the similitude

(1) Luke xxii. (2) 1 Cor. xi. (3) Acts iii. (4) 1 Tim. vi.
(5) 'Proinde quod ad verbum attinet, creator est Christus; omnia enim per ipsum facta sunt. Quod vero ad hominem,' &c. August. ad Dardanum.

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of men. Also, because man consisteth of two things, the soul and the flesh, in that he had a soul, he was pensive and sorrowful unto death; in that he had flesh, he suffered death. Neither when we call the Son of God Christ, we do separate his manhood; nor, when we call the same Christ the Son of man, we do separate his Godhead from him. In that he was man, he was conversant upon the earth (and not in heaven, where he now is) when he said, No man ascendeth up into heaven, but he which descended from heaven, the Son of man, which is in heaven: although in that respect that he was the Son of God, he was in heaven; and in that he was the Son of man, he was yet in the earth, and as yet was not ascended into heaven. Likewise, in that respect that he is the Son of God, he is the Lord of glory; and in that he is the Son of man, he was crucified: and yet, notwithstanding, the apostle saith, And if they had known the Lord of glory, they would never have crucified him. And by this, both the Son of man was in heaven; and the Son of God, in that he was man, was crucified upon earth. Therefore, as he might well be called the Lord of glory, being crucified, when as yet that suffering did only pertain unto the flesh; so it might well be said, This day thou shalt be with me in paradise, when, according to the humility of his manhood in his flesh, he lay in the grave; and according to his soul, he was in the bottom of hell that same day. According to his divine immutability, he never departed from paradise, because, by his Godhead, he is always everywhere. Doubt you not, therefore, that there is Christ Jesus according to his manhood, from whence he shall come. Remember it well, and keep faithfully thy christian confession; for he rose from the dead, he ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of the Father: neither will he come from any other place than from thence, to judge the quick and the dead. And he shall come, as the voice of the angel beareth witness, as he was seen to go into heaven; that is to say, in the selfsame form and substance of flesh, whereunto, undoubtedly, he gave immortality, but he did not take away the nature thereof: according to this form of his flesh, he is not to be thought to be everywhere. And we must take heed that we do not so affirm the divinity of his manhood, that we thereby take away the truth of his body: for it is not a good consequent, that that thing which is in God, should so be in every place as God. For the Scripture saith very truly of us, that in Him we live, move, and have our being:[1] and yet, notwithstanding, we are not in every place as he is; but that man is otherwise in God, because God is otherwise in man, by a certain proper and singular manner of being: for God and man is one person, and only Jesus Christ is both. In that he is God, he is in every place; but in that he is man, he is in heaven.'

He meaneth Christ.

By these words of holy Augustine, your grace may evidently see, that he testifieth and teacheth the blessed body or flesh of Christ to be nowhere else than in heaven. For to it being assumpt or ascended into heaven, God, as he saith, hath given immortality, but not taken away nature: so that by the nature of that holy flesh or body, it must occupy one place. Wherefore it followeth, 'According to this form;' that is to wit, of his flesh, 'Christ is not to be thought to be in every place;' for if Christ should, in his humanity, be everywhere diffused or spread abroad, so should his bodily nature, or natural body be taken from him. And therefore he saith, 'For we must beware that we do not so affirm the divinity of man, that we do take away the humanity of his body.' But in that he is God, so is he everywhere, according to my words before written; and in that he is man, so is he in heaven. And, therefore, it is said, 'For God and man is one person, and only Jesus Christ is both. He, in that he is everywhere, is God: but in that he is man, he is in heaven.'

Christ's body occupieth one place.

And yet do we read, agreeably to the same matter, more largely in the same epistle, by these words:[2] 'Thou shalt not doubt Christ our Lord, the only Son of God, equal with his Father; and the same being the Son of Man, whereby the Father is greater, is present everywhere as God, and is in one and the same temple of God as God, and also in some place of heaven, as concerning the true shape of body.'

(1) Acts vii.

(2) 'Christum Dominum nostrum unigenitum Dei Filium, æqualem Patri, eundemque hominis Filium, quo major est Pater, ut ubique totum præsentem esse non dubites tanquam Deum, et in eodem templo Dei esse tanquam inhabitantem Deum, et in loco aliquo cœli, propter veri corporis modum,' &c.

Thus find we clearly, that for the measure of his very body he must be in one place, and that in heaven, as concerning his manhood; and yet everywhere present in that he is the eternal Son of God, and equal to his Father. Like testimony doth he give in the thirtieth treatise that he maketh upon the Evangely of John. These be his words there written:[1] 'Until the world be at an end, the Lord is above, but here is the truth of the Lord also; for the body of our Lord in which he rose must be in one place, but his truth is abroad in every place.' The first parcel, that is, 'until the world's end,' is so put, that it may join to the sentence going before, or else to these words following, 'The Lord is above,' &c.; and so should it well accord to my sentence before showed, which is, The Lord is so bodily ascended, that in his natural body he cannot again return from heaven until the general doom. *Henry VIII.* A.D. 1538.

But howsoever the said clause or parcel be applied, it shall not greatly skill, for my sentence notwithstanding remaineth full steadfast; insomuch as the Scripture doth mention but two advents or comings of Christ, of which the first is performed in his blessed incarnation, and the second is the coming at the general doom. And furthermore, in this article of our Creed, 'From thence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead,' is not only showed wherefore he shall come again, but also when he shall come again; so that in the mean while, as the other article of our Creed witnesseth, 'He sitteth at the right hand of God his Father,' which is nothing else than to say, he remaineth in glory with the Father. Furthermore, even as I have before rehearsed the aforesaid authority of Augustine, so have I read in his 'Quinquagenes,' upon a psalm, of which I cannot now precisely note or name the number. And the same words doth he also write in the epistle to St. Jerome; so that we may know he had good liking in it, that he so commonly doth use it as his usual proverb, or bye-word. The real presence against the article of our creed.

In the same is also testified, that his blessed body can be but in one place, so that it being now, according to the Scripture and article of our belief or creed, in heaven, it cannot be in earth; and much less can it be in so innumerable places of the earth, as we may perceive that the sacrament is. Thus, although the body of our Saviour must be in one place, as he writeth agreeably to the saying of Peter, 'Whom the heavens must receive until the time of the restitution of all things;' yet, as the words following make mention, 'Veritas autem ejus ubique diffusa est,' 'But his verity is scattered everywhere.' This verity of Christ, or of his body, I do take to be what he in other places doth call 'virtus sacramenti,' 'the virtue of the sacrament.' As in the twenty-fifth treatise upon John we find thus written:[2] 'The sacrament is one thing, and the virtue of the sacrament is another thing.' And again,[3] 'If any man eat of him, he dieth not; but he meaneth of him that doth appertain to the virtue of the sacrament, and not of him that pertaineth to the visible sacrament.' And to declare what is the 'virtue of the sacrament,' which I count to be 'the truth of the Lord or of his body,' he saith,[4] 'He who eateth inwardly in spirit, not outwardly; he that eateth in heart, and not he who cheweth with teeth.' The body of Christ can be but in one place at once. The verity of Christ, the virtue of the sacrament.

So that finally, this 'truth of the Lord or his body,' which is dispersed everywhere abroad, is the spiritual profit, fruit, and comfort, that is opened to be received everywhere of all men, by faith in the verity of the Lord, that is to wit, in the very and true promise or testament made to us in the Lord's body that was crucified and suffered death for us, and rose again, ascending immortal into heaven, where he sitteth, that is, abideth on the right hand of his Father, from thence not to return until the general doom or judgment. This bodily absence of our Saviour is likewise clearly showed in the fiftieth treatise that he maketh upon John, where he doth expound this text, 'Ye have the poor always with you, but ye shall not always have me with you,' to my purpose, that thereby I count and hold mine opinion to be rather catholic, than theirs that hold the contrary. Finally, the same doth he confirm in his sermons of the second and third Feries of Easter; and in so many places besides, as here cannot be recited, the number of them is so passing great. The verity of the Lord, or of his body, expounded.

(1) 'Donec sæculum finiatur, sursum est Dominus, sed etiam hic est veritas Domini,' &c. August. in Johan. tract. 30.
(2) 'Aliud est sacramentum, aliud virtus sacramenti.'
(3) 'Si quis manducaverit ex ipso, non moritur; sed qui pertinet ad virtutem sacramenti non qui pertinet ad visibile sacramentum,' &c.
(4) 'Qui manducat intus, non foris; qui manducat in corde, non qui premit dente.'

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With him consenteth full plainly Fulgentius, in his second book to Thrasimundus, writing in this wise:[1]

'One and the same man, being local in that he is man, who is God Almighty of the Father. One and the same, according to human substance, being absent from heaven when he was in the earth, and leaving the earth when he ascended up into heaven: but, according to his divine and almighty substance, neither departing from heaven when he descended from heaven, neither leaving the earth, when he ascended into heaven. The which may well be known by the undoubtful saying of our Lord himself; who, that he might the better show his humanity occupying a place, said unto his disciples, I ascend up unto my Father and your Father, unto my God and your God. Also when he had said of Lazarus, Lazarus is dead, he adjoined, saying, And I am glad for your sakes, that you may believe, because I was not there. But, showing the greatness of his divinity, he said to his disciples, Behold I am with you unto the end of the world. For how did he ascend into heaven, but because he is local and true man? and how is he present to his faithful, but because he is Almighty and true God?' &c.

In this manner doth Fulgentius proceed forth, speaking much full agreeably to my sentence, which is now over-long here to write. But what can be said more plainly in so few words making for me?

Christ in his human substance is local.

First he saith, that Christ being a man, is, as concerning his manhood, local, that is to say, contained in one place. And to express that more clearly, he addeth to it, saying, 'He is one and the same, according to his human substance; absent from heaven when he was in earth, and leaving the earth when he ascended into heaven;' whereas he hath a contrary antithesis[2] for the godly nature, to show forth the first point the more effectually. The antithesis is thus: 'But according to his divine and incomparable substance, neither leaving heaven when he descended from heaven, neither forsaking the earth when he ascended into heaven.' Whereby that is also confirmed which I said: Christ did descend and ascend, as touching his humanity, but not in his Deity, which is immutable and unmovable; as we may perceive by that he here doth call it, 'almighty substance.' Furthermore, to show that Christ (as touching his human and natural body) is local, and in one place, he allegeth, and that right justly, two texts of Scripture: the first is, 'I ascend to my Father,' &c.; and the second is of Lazarus, 'I am glad for your sakes,' &c.

Finally, he maketh this demand: 'But how did he ascend into heaven, but because he is a local and very man?' whereby we may see, that by this sentence Christ could not ascend, except he had been local, that is, contained in one place, and so very man. And that is according to St. Augustine, writing as is above showed: 'And he shall so come (as the angel witnesseth) even as you have seen him go up into heaven; that is to say, in the same form and substance of his flesh. According to this form he is not spread abroad in every place: for we must beware that we do not so esteem his divinity, that we thereby do take away the verity of his body.' So that they both do testify, and that very plainly, that Christ could not have ascended, except he had been local, that is to wit, contained in one place, and very man; and that if he were not local, he could not be a man. Wherefore St. Augustine saith further, to Dardanus,[3] 'Take away locality, or occupying of place from bodies, and they shall be nowhere: and because they shall be nowhere, they shall have no being at all.'

We must not so defend Christ's divinity, as to destroy his humanity.

Bodies cannot be without limitation of place.

We, therefore, coveting to find Christ or his natural body, should seek for him in heaven, where his natural manhood is sitting on the right hand of his Father. So willeth us St. Ambrose, in the tenth book which he writeth upon Luke, speaking of Christ's humanity assumpt, in this wise:[4] 'Therefore we ought not to seek thee upon the earth, nor in the earth, neither according to the flesh, if we will find thee: for now, according to the flesh, we do not know Christ. Furthermore, Stephen did not seek thee upon the earth, when that he did see thee standing on the right hand of God the Father: but Mary, who sought thee upon the earth, could not touch thee. Stephen touched thee,

(1) 'Unus idemque homo localis ex homine, qui est Deus immensus ex Patre. Unus idemque secundum humanam substantiam, absens cœlo cum esset in terra,' &c.

(2) 'Antithesis,' that is to say, contrary position or relation.

(3) 'Spatia locorum tolle corporibus, et nusquam erunt: et quia nusquam erunt, nec erunt. Aug. ad Dard.

(4) 'Ergo, non supra terram, nec in terra, nec secundum carnem te quærere debemus, si volumus te invenire,' &c. Amb. in Luc.

because he sought thee in heaven: Stephen amongst the Jews saw thee being absent,' &c. *Henry VIII.* A. D. 1538.

Thus we must seek for the natural body of Christ, not upon the earth, but in heaven, if we will not be deceived. And that doth he more largely show in the same treatise, speaking thus of the verity of Christ's body:[1] 'How could it come to pass that the body could not rest in the sepulchre, in which the tokens of the wounds and scars did appear, which the Lord himself did offer to be touched (in which doing he did not only establish the faith, but also augmented devotion)? Because he would rather carry up into heaven the wounds received for us, and would not put them away, that he might present to God the Father the price of our liberty: such a one the Father doth place at his right hand, embracing the triumph and victory of our salvation,' &c.

Gregory also, in a homily of Pentecost, saith agreeably to the others, in these words:[2] 'When was it that he did not tarry with them, who, ascending up into heaven, promiseth, saying, Behold, I am here with you continually until the end of the world? But the Word Incarnate tarrieth, and also goeth away. It departeth in body, and tarrieth in divinity. And therefore he saith, that he tarried with them: even he who was ever present with them by his invisible power, and now departed by his corporal vision.' In like wise doth he testify in the Homily of Easter-day.

With these doth Bede accord in a homily of Easter, in which he declareth this text, 'A little while, and ye shall not see me: and again, a little while and ye shall see me;'[3] and also in a homily of the Vigil of Pentecost. And who can otherwise say or think, knowing the Scripture and our belief, but that the natural body of Christ is so assumpt into heaven all whole, that it must there abide without returning, until the general judgment? Notwithstanding, seeing this is the chief point whereupon I seek to establish my sentence in this matter of the holy sacrament, that Christ's holy and natural body is so assumpt into heaven, that there it must remain all whole without returning until the general doom, I will yet, with the permission of your grace, add one or two arguments deduced out of the Scriptures, to declare further my sentence to be faithful and catholic.

Arguments out of Scripture.

First, as Christ was enclosed, and so borne about, in the womb of his mother, being a virgin undefiled, and afterwards was born into this world, and put in a manger, and so he, growing in age, did abide in divers places, but in one after another, some time in Galilee, some time in Samaria, some time in Jewry, some time beyond, and some time on this side of Jordan, and consequently he was crucified at Jerusalem, there being enclosed and buried in a grave, from whence he did arise, so that the angels testified of him, 'He is risen, and is not here;'[4] and as at the time appointed, after his resurrection, he was assumpt, or lifted up into heaven from the top of the mount of Olivet, in the sight of his disciples, a cloud compassing him about; even so shall he come from the same celestial place corporally, as they did see him to depart out of the one place corporally, according to the testimony of the angels.[5] So that in this we may undoubtedly find that Christ, as touching his manhood, cannot be corporally in many and divers places at once; and so to be corporally in his natural body in heaven, and also in the earth; and that it is, moreover, in so many parts of the world, as men have affirmed. Christ in his manhood not in many places at once.

Neither doth the Scripture require that we should spoil Christ of the property of man's nature, which is, to be in one place, whom the same Scripture doth perpetually witness and teach to be man, and so to confound the condition of his bodily nature with the nature divine. Paul doth teach, that Christ, in his manhood, was made in all points like unto his brethren, sin excepted: how then can his body be in more places at once, unlike unto the natural property of the bodies of us his brethren? But here do some witty philosophers, yea, rather sophisters than divines, bring in, to the annulling of Christ's humanity, The property of man's nature not to be sequestered from Christ.

(1) 'Quomodo non corpus quiesceret, in quo manebant insignia vulnerum, vestigia cicatricum, quæ Dominus palpanda obtulit?' &c.
(2) 'Quando non maneret apud eos, qui ascensurus cœlos, promittit dicens: Ecce ego vobiscum sum omnibus diebus usque ad consummationem sæculi,' &c. Gregorius in Hom. in Pent.
(3) John xvi. (4) Matt. xxviii. (5) Acts i.

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a similitude of man's soul, which, being one, is yet so all whole in all our whole body, that it is said to be all whole in every part of the body. But such should remember, that it is no convenient similitude which is made of things different and diverse in nature, such as be the soul and body of man, to prove them to have like properties. This is as if they would prove Christ's body to be of one nature and property with his soul, and that things naturally corporal were not most diverse from creatures naturally spiritual.

Things corporal and spiritual not to be compared.

Furthermore, if so it might be, that the body or flesh of Christ were merely spiritual, and full like unto the substance of angels, yet could it not in this wise follow, that his body could be everywhere, or in divers places at once. Wherefore such subtleties are to be omitted, and the trade of Scripture should well like us, by which the old doctors do define that the body of Jesus, exalted or assumpt into heaven, must be local, circumscript, and in one place, notwithstanding that the verity, spiritual grace, and fruit that cometh of it, is diffused and spread abroad in all places, or everywhere. How could Christ corporally depart out of this world, and leave the earth, if he in the kinds of bread and wine be not only corporally contained and received, but also there reserved, kept, and enclosed? What other thing else do these words testify? 'But Jesus knowing that his hour was come, that he should pass out of this world to his Father,'[1] &c.; and in like form, 'And it came to pass that as he blessed them, he departed from them, and was carried up into heaven:'[2] what do they signify, if Christ went not verily out of this world, his natural body being surely assumpt into heaven?

The body of Christ is local and in one place.

They do therefore undoubtedly declare that Christ, being very God and very man, did verily depart out of this world in his natural body, his humanity being assumpt into heaven, where he remaineth sitting in glory with the Father: whereas yet his deity did not leave the world, nor depart out from the earth. Paul doth say,[3] that of two things he wist not which he might rather choose, that is to wit, to abide in the flesh, for preaching the gospel; or else to be dissolved from the flesh, seeing that to abide with Christ is much and far better. By which Paul doth manifestly prove, that they be not presently with Christ, who yet do abide mortal in the flesh. Yet they be with Christ in such wise as the Scripture doth say, that the believing be the temple of Christ; and as Paul doth say,[4] 'Do you not know yourselves that Jesus Christ is in you?' in which sense he also promised to be with us unto the end of the world. Christ, therefore, must be otherwise in that place in which the apostle desired to be with him, being dissolved, and departed from his body, than he doth abide either in the supper, or else in any other places of the churches. He therefore doth undoubtedly mean heaven, which is the paradise of perfect bliss and glory; where Christ, being a victor, triumpher, and conqueror over death, sin, and hell, and over all creatures, doth reign and remain corporally. Thus do I trust that your grace doth see my sentence, so far forth, to be right catholic, christian, and faithful; according to holy Scripture, to holy fathers, and the articles of our christian belief. Which sentence is this: Christ's natural body is so assumpt into heaven, where it sitteth or remaineth in glory of the Father, that it can no more come from thence; that is to wit, return from heaven until the end of the world: and therefore cannot the same natural body naturally be here in the world, or in the sacrament; for then should it be departed or gone out of the world, and yet be still remaining in the world. It should then be both to come, and already come; which is a contradiction, and variant from the nature of his manhood.

The Second part of this Matter.

How the natural body of Christ is in the sacrament.

Now my sentence in the second part of this matter is this (if so be your grace shall please to know it, as I, your poor and unworthy, but full true subject, would with all submission and instance beseech you to know it): I grant the holy sacrament to be the very and natural body of our Saviour, and his very natural blood, and that the natural body and blood of our Saviour is in the sacrament after a certain wise, as after shall appear: for so do the words of the supper testify, 'Take, eat; this is my body which is given for you, and again, 'Drink ye all of this; this is my blood which is of the new testament, which is shed for many for the remission of sins.' Of which words, seeing on

(1) John xiii. (2) Luke xxiv. (3) Phil. i. (4) 2 Cor. xiii.

them depend a great trial and proof of this matter, and that for the interpretation of them is, and hath been, all the controversy of this matter, I, therefore, shall show the interpretation that holy doctors have made of them, that, as to me seemeth, be full worthy of credit.

First, we find in the second book of Tertullian, which he writeth against Marcion,[1] 'Christ did not reprove the bread, because it doth represent his body.' This Marcion, against whom Tertullian doth thus write, did erroneously reprove all creatures as evil. Which thing Tertullian doth improve by the sacrament, saying as is above written, 'Christ did not reprove the bread, which representeth his body.' As who would say: If Christ had judged the bread evil, then would he not have left it for a sign or sacrament to represent his blessed body. Agreeably to the same doth he also say in the fourth book made against the said Marcion in these words:[2] 'Christ made the same bread, which he took and distributed to his disciples, his body, saying, This is my body; that is to say, the figure of my body. But it could not have been a figure, unless it were the body of a very true thing indeed. Furthermore, a void thing, which is a fantasy, could not receive a figure or a form.' This Marcion had an erroneous opinion, that Christ had no natural body, but a body fantastical; which error or heresy, this famous doctor Tertullian doth improve by the holy sacrament, saying, as before is written, that the sacrament is a figure of Christ's body: ergo, Christ had a very and true body; for a thing which is vain and fantastical can receive no figure. So that in both places we may clearly perceive his interpretation of these words, 'This is my body:' which interpretation is not new, but authentic, or full ancient, like as is the writer. And this interpretation do I the rather allow, because none of the old doctors who followed him did ever reprove him there-for, but rather have followed it; as appeareth by holy Augustine. In the preface upon the third Psalm, doth the said Augustine highly commend the wonderful sufferance of Christ, who so long did suffer and forbear Judas, as if he had been a good and an honest man: whereas, notwithstanding, he did know his traitorous thoughts, when he received him to the feast or supper in which he did commend and deliver to his disciples the figure of his body and blood. The words of Augustine be these:[3] 'In the history of the New Testament, the patience of our Lord was so great, and so to be marvelled at, because he suffered Judas so long as a good man, when he knew his thoughts when he received him to the feast in which he did commend and deliver the figure of his body and blood to his disciples.'

The bread representeth the body of Christ.

Bread beareth a figure of Christ.

The patience of Christ in suffering Judas.

The same holy doctor also, writing against Adamantius, saith thus:[4] 'For the Lord did not doubt to say, This is my body, when he gave a sign of his body.' And for a further declaration, in the same chapter, he saith,[5] 'For so the blood is the soul, as the rock was Christ.' Notwithstanding he doth not say, that the rock did *signify* Christ: but he doth say, that the rock *was* Christ.

Expressly doth Augustine here call the sign of Christ's body, his body; plainly interpreting these words, 'This is my body,' as both he and Tertullian did before.

Moreover, he taketh these three sentences, 'This is my body,' 'The soul is the blood,' and 'Christ was the stone,' to be of one phrase, and to be like speeches, or to be expounded after one fashion. And this text, 'The rock was Christ,' doth he commonly thus expound: 'The rock did signify Christ;' as appeareth, lib. xviii. De Civitate Dei, cap. 48. Also in the Book of Questions upon Genesis, and in the Book of Questions upon Leviticus, handling John xviii.; and in his sermon of the Annunciation of our Lady.

The phrase of Scripture.

In like manner also St. Jerome expoundeth it in the small Scholies, written upon 1 Cor. i., and all other writers with one consent, so far as I can read; and so doth the text require it to be expounded. For Christ was not a natural stone, as all men may well perceive, and yet was he the very true stone figuratively, as Lyra saith,[6] 'The thing which signifieth, is wont to be called by the

(1) 'Ipse Christus nec panem reprobavit.' Tertull. contra Marcion. lib. ii.
(2) 'Christus acceptum panem et distributum discipulis, corpus suum illud fecit, etc. Tertull. contra Marcion. lib. iv.
(3) 'In historia Novi Testamenti, ipsa Domini nostri tanta et tam admiranda patientia erat, quod eum tamdiu pertulit tanquam bonum,' &c.
(4) 'Non enim dubitavit Dominus dicere, Hoc est corpus meum, cum daret signum corporis sui.' Aug. contra Adamantium.
(5) 'Sic enim sanguis est anima, quomodo petra erat Christus,' &c.
(6) 'Solet res quæ significat, nomine rei quam significat, nominari.' Lyranus.

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name of the thing which it doth signify.' And so is the stone signifying Christ, called Christ, who thereby is signified. And as he doth approve this text, 'The stone was Christ,' likewise doth he expound 'The blood is the soul,' with which he doth knit this text, 'This is my body,' to be figuratively expounded, as they be. According to this doth the holy doctor write,[1] 'Unless a man do eat my flesh, he shall not see eternal life. They understood that very foolishly, and conceived the same carnally; and thought that our Lord would cut away lumps or pieces of his body, and give to them. And they said, This is a hard saying. But they were hard of belief, and not the saying hard. For if they had not been hard, but meek, they would have said to themselves, He speaketh not this without a cause, but because there is some hid sacrament or mystery therein. They should have aboden with him, easy of belief, and not hard; and then should they have learned of him that which others learned, that tarried after they were gone away.'

'This is my body,' a figurative speech.

In this may we see, that our Saviour willeth his precious flesh to be eaten. But for the manner of eating, there is, and hath been much controversy. The Jews of Capernaum were offended with Christ when he said, he would have his flesh eaten, and, except a man should eat his flesh, he could not come to life eternal. They supposed grossly, and understood him (if a man might so plainly speak it) butcherly, that he would cut out lumps and pieces out of his body, as the butcher doth out of dead beasts, and so give it them to eat of, as Augustine doth here say. And upon this gross, or (as holy Augustine doth here call it) foolish and fleshly understanding, they were offended, and said to him, 'This is a sore or hard saying.' They did shoot forth their bolt and unwise saying over soon, and were offended before they had cause. They took that for hard and sore, which should have been passing pleasant and profitable to them, if they would have heard the thing declared throughly to the end.

The gross Capernaites.

And even so now, that which in this matter may appear at the first blush, a sore, strange, and intolerable sentence, forasmuch as we have not heard of it before, but the contrary hath of a long time been beaten into our heads, and persuaded to our minds, yet, by deliberation and indifferent hearing, and abiding a trial of that which at the first may appear sore and intolerable, shall (I trust) be found a sweet truth, to such specially as your grace is, loving to hear and to know all truth. But the Capernaites were hard, as here saith Augustine, and not the word. For if they had not been hard, but soft and patient to hear, they would have said in themselves, 'Christ saith not this without a cause, and there is some hidden mystery therein:' and so, by patient tarriance, they should have known the truth, that they could not attain to for perverse hastiness or haste, which is a great stop and let of true judgment. But the disciples tarried patiently to hear further, and so did they know this speech of Christ to be the words of life, the which to the other, over readily departing from Christ, were words of death; for they took them literally and grossly: and the letter (as Paul saith) slayeth.

Hastiness a great hinderance of true judgment.

But, to show what the disciples remaining with Christ did learn, St. Augustine doth consequently show, by the words of the gospel, saying thus:[2] 'But he instructed them, and said unto them, The spirit is that which giveth life, the flesh profiteth nothing. The words that I have spoken unto you are spirit and life. Understand you that which I have spoken, spiritually. You shall not eat this body which you see, neither shall you drink that same blood which they shall shed forth that shall crucify me. I have set forth to you a certain sacrament or mystery, which, being spiritually understood, shall give you life. And although it be requisite that this be celebrated visibly, yet it ought to be understood invisibly.' In this do we see, that both Christ and Augustine would have Christ's words to be understood spiritually, and not carnally; figuratively, and not literally: and therefore doth he say, 'You shall not eat this body which you see, neither shall you drink that same blood which they shall shed forth that shall crucify me.' And what else is this, but that Christ would his body to be eaten, and his blood to be drunken? But he would not his body to be carnally eaten, which was materially seen of them to whom he spake; nor his material or natural blood to be carnally drunken, which his crucifiers should cause to issue from his natural body crucified, as saith Augustine; but he

The words of the sacrament understood spiritually.

The body of Christ not to be eaten carnally.

(1) 'Nisi quis manducaverit carnem meam, non videbit vitam æternam,' &c. Aug. Psal. l.

(2) 'Ille autem instruxit eos, et ait illis; Spiritus est qui vivificat, caro nihil prodest,' &c. 2 Cor. iii.

ordained and willed his body and blood to be spiritually eaten and drunken, in faith and belief that his body was crucified for us, and that his blood was shed for remission of our sins. *Henry VIII.* A. D. 1538.

This eating and drinking is nothing but such true faith and belief as is showed. Wherefore, as Christ saith, 'He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath life everlasting,' even so doth he say, 'He that believeth in me, hath life everlasting.' And St. Augustine, agreeable to the same, treating upon John, doth say,[1] 'Why dost thou prepare thy teeth and belly? believe, and thou hast eaten.' I do know that Christ ordaineth his sacrament to be received and eaten, which is in a certain wise called his body, as after shall be more largely opened: but the same doth not feed the mind of men, except it be taken spiritually, and not corporally. 'It is good to establish the heart with grace, and not with meat.'[2]

And St. Augustine, assenting to the same, doth say in a sermon that he maketh upon these words in the Gospel of St. Luke, 'Lord teach us to pray;'[3] 'He said bread, but supersubstantial bread. This is not the bread which goeth into the body; but that bread which doth satisfy the substance of our soul.' Our souls therefore, into whom nothing corporal can corporally enter, do not carnally receive the body and blood of our Saviour, neither did he ordain his blessed body and blood so to be eaten and drunken; although our souls cannot live except they be spiritually fed with the blessed body and blood of him, spiritually eating and drinking them, in taking also at times convenient the blessed sacrament, which is truly called his body and blood. Not that it is so really, but as is showed by the interpretation both of Tertullian and Augustine, because it is a sign or figure of Christ's body and blood. And the signs or sacraments do commonly, as saith St. Augustine both 'Ad Bonifacium,' and in his work 'De Civitate Dei,' take their denomination of the things by them represented and signified.

The sacrament truly called the body and blood of Christ.

But forasmuch as some will object that Augustine, in the words before rehearsed, doth not speak of eating the sacrament; for the text of the Scripture, upon the which he doth ground, is not spoken by eating the sacrament, which text is this, 'Unless a man may eat my flesh,' &c.; I answer that true it is, he began of spiritual eating, and thereto serveth the text recited. Nevertheless, he meaneth that Christ is not ordained to be eaten either without the sacrament or in the sacrament, but spiritually of the faithful; as more evidently doth appear by these words there following[4]: 'I have commended unto you a sacrament, which, being understood of you spiritually, shall quicken you. Although it were necessary that the same should be celebrated visibly, yet notwithstanding it ought to be understood invisibly.'

Sacraments take their denomination of the things which they represent.

Objection answered.

Here doth he show that he meaneth of eating, not without the sacrament only, but also in the sacrament, and therefore he doth not only say, 'I have commended unto you a certain sacrament,' &c.; but he addeth moreover, 'Although it is requisite the same to be celebrated visibly.' How, therefore, can the eating of Christ and the sacrament thereof be visibly celebrated, but in the Maundy, or in his supper; which is celebrated visibly in visible things of bread and wine, which cannot quicken or relieve us and our souls, except they be understood and so received spiritually?

Furthermore, as concerning the exposition of these words of the supper, 'This is my body,' &c. St. Augustine, writing to Boniface, saith thus:[5]

'This is my body' expounded by Augustine.

'We use oftentimes this manner of phrase, that when Easter doth approach, we name the day that cometh after, or the next day after that, The Passion of the Lord, whereas he, notwithstanding, had suffered before that many years; neither that passion was done but once for all. So truly do we say, upon the Lord's day, This day the Lord hath risen: whereas so many years are passed since he rose. Wherefore no man is so fond, that he will reprove us as liars for this manner of speaking, because we call these days, according to the similitude of those in which these things were done: so that it is called the same day which is not the same, but which, by course of time of the year coming about, is like

(1) 'At quid paras dentem et ventrem? Crede, et manducasti,' &c. (2) Heb. xiii.
(3) 'Panem dixit, sed Epiousion, hoc est, supersubstantialem,' &c. Aug. in Serm. de Verbis Lucæ.
(4) Sacramentum aliquod vobis commendavi, quod spiritualiter intellectum vivificabit vos,' &c.
(5) Sæpe ita loquimur, ut Pascha appropinquante, crastinam vel perendinam Domini passionem dicamus,' &c. Augustin. ad Bonifacium.

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unto it; and also because that thing is said to be done that day, through the celebration of the sacrament, which was not done that day, but long before that time. Was not Christ once offered up in himself? and yet, notwithstanding, he is not only offered up in the sacrament in the solemn feasts of Easter, but every day mystically for the people. Neither doth he make a lie, who, being demanded, answereth, that Christ is offered up: for, if the sacraments had not a certain similitude of those things whereof they are sacraments, then should they be no sacraments at all. By reason of this similitude or likeness, sacraments oftentimes do receive the names of the selfsame things whereof they are sacraments.

The sacrament of the body is the body of Christ, after a certain manner.

'Therefore as, after a certain manner, the sacrament of Christ's body is the body of Christ, and the sacrament of Christ's blood is the blood of Christ; even likewise, the sacrament of faith is faith: for to believe, is none other thing than to have faith. And by this it is answered, that the very infants have faith, because of the sacrament of faith, and convert themselves unto God, because of the sacrament of conversion: for the very answer itself doth appertain unto the celebration of the sacrament. As the apostle speaketh of baptism; for he saith, We are buried by baptism into death. He did not say, We have signified a burying, but he plainly saith, We are buried. Therefore he named the sacrament of so weighty a matter or thing by no other name, but by the very name of the thing itself.'

Nothing can be more plainly spoken, or more agreeable to the natural understanding of the texts of the supper, and to the exposition before showed of Tertullian and of himself. For seeing that Christ is bodily in heaven, and so absent from the earth, it is needful to know how the holy sacrament, which he doth call his body and blood, should be his body and blood.

By analogy of the Scripture, speeches must be expounded one speech by another.

This holy doctor Augustine, therefore, doth this matter manifestly and sincerely declare by other like speeches; and first by common speeches, and secondly by speeches of Scripture. The first common speech is, 'We do,' saith he, 'use often to say, that when Easter doth approach or draw nigh, to-morrow, or the next day, is the Lord's passion: whereas he did suffer before many years past, and that passion was never but once done.'

The second common speech is, 'And of that Sunday we say, that this day the Lord did rise from death; whereas so many years be yet past since the time he arose.' Wherefore to conclude, he saith, 'No man is so foolish, that he will reprove us for so saying, or to say that we have lied, because we do call these days after the similitude of those in which these things were done. So that it is called the same day, not for that it is the selfsame, but by revolution of time like unto it. And the resurrection is said to be done in the same day, through the celebrating of the sacrament of that which is not done that day, but long time before past.'

Christ is offered in the sacrament mystically.

The third speech: 'Was not Christ offered up once for all in his own person? yet is he nevertheless offered in the sacrament mystically for the people, not only every year at the feast of Easter, but also every day: neither doth he lie, who, when he is demanded, shall answer, that he is offered up or sacrificed. For if the sacraments had not a certain similitude of those things of which they be sacraments, then should they be no sacraments at all: by reason of which similitude they do for the most part receive the denomination or name of those things signified. And, therefore, after a certain manner,[1] the sacrament of Christ's body is the body of Christ, and the sacrament of Christ's blood is the blood of Christ, and so also be the sacraments of faith called faith.' This doth he yet prove by another example of speech, which is this: It is none other thing to believe, than to have faith. And therefore, when answer is made that the infants have faith, who indeed have it not in full working, it is answered that such have faith for the sacrament of faith, and that they do convert themselves unto faith for the sacrament of conversion. For the very answer itself doth pertain to the celebration of the sacrament, &c. Thus doth it sufficiently appear, that as we use truly to call that Good-Friday, or the day of Christ's passion, which is not indeed the day of Christ's passion, but only a memorial thereof once done for ever; and as we use to call the next Easter-day, the day of Christ's resurrection, not because that Christ in the same day shall arise, but only for a memorial of his resurrection once done for ever, and that of long

(1) After a certain manner; 'Quodam modo.'

time past; and as Christ, being offered up once for all in his own proper person, is yet said to be offered up not only every year at Easter, but also every day in the celebration of the sacrament, because his oblation, once for ever made, is thereby represented: even so, saith Augustine, is the sacrament of Christ's body the body of Christ, and the sacrament of Christ's blood the blood of Christ, in a certain wise or fashion. Not that the sacrament is his natural body or blood indeed, but that it is a memorial or representation thereof, as the days before showed be of his very and natural body crucified for us, and of his precious blood shed for the remission of our sins. And thus be the holy signs or sacraments truly called by the names of the very things in them signified. But why so? for they, saith Augustine, have a certain similitude of those things whereof they be signs or sacraments; for else they should be no sacraments at all: and therefore do they commonly, and for the most part, receive the denomination of the things whereof they be sacraments.

The celebration of the sacrament representeth the oblation of Christ's body.

So that we may manifestly perceive that he calleth not the sacrament of Christ's body and blood the very body and blood of Christ, but as he said before. But yet he saith, in a certain manner or wise. Not that the sacrament absolutely and plainly is his natural body and blood; for this is a false argument of sophistry, which they call 'Secundum quid ad simpliciter;' that is to say, that the sacrament of Christ's body is in a certain wise the body of Christ: *ergo*, it is also plainly and expressly the natural body of Christ. For such another reason might this be also: Christ is after a certain manner a lion, a lamb, and a door: *ergo*, Christ is a natural lion, and a lamb, or a material door. But the sacrament of Christ's body and blood is therefore called his body and blood, because it is thereof a memorial, sign, sacrament, token, and representation, spent once for our redemption: which thing is further expounded by another speech that he doth here consequently allege of baptism: 'Sicut de ipso baptismo apostolus dicit,' &c. 'The apostle,' quoth Augustine, 'saith not, We have signified burying, but he saith utterly, We be buried with Christ. For else should all false Christians be buried with Christ from sin, who yet do live in all sin.' And therefore saith Augustine immediately thereupon, 'He called therefore the sacrament of so great a thing, by none other name than of the thing itself.'

A 'fallax in logic, a 'secundum quid ad simpliciter.' The pope's argument.

Thus, O most gracious and godly prince! do I confess and acknowledge, that the bread of the sacrament is truly Christ's body, and the wine to be truly his blood, according to the words of the institution of the same sacrament: but in a certain wise, that is to wit, figuratively, sacramentally, or significatively, according to the exposition of the doctors before recited, and hereafter following. And to this exposition of the old doctors am I enforced both by the articles of my creed, and also by the circumstances of the said scripture, as after shall more largely appear. But by the same can I not find the natural body of our Saviour to be there naturally, but rather absent both from the sacrament, and from all the world, collocate and remaining in heaven, where he, by promise, must abide corporally, unto the end of the world.

The same holy doctor, writing against one Faustus, saith in like manner,[1] 'If we do prefer with great admiration the Maccabees, because they would not once touch the meats which christian men now lawfully use to eat of, for that it was not lawful for that time, being then prophetical, that is, in the time of the Old Testament; how much rather now ought a Christian to be more ready to suffer all things for the baptism of Christ, and for the sacrament of thanksgiving, and for the sign of Christ, seeing that those of the Old Testament were the promises of the things to be complete and fulfilled, and these sacraments in the New Testament are the tokens of things complete and finished?' In this do I note, that according to the expositions before showed, he calleth the sacrament of baptism, and the sacrament of Christ's body and blood, otherwise properly named Eucharistia, 'signum Christi;' and that, in the singular number, forasmuch as they both do signify well-nigh one thing. In both them is testified the death of our Saviour. And moreover, he calleth them 'indicia rerum completarum;' that is to wit, the tokens or benefits that we shall receive by the belief of Christ for us crucified. And them he doth usually call both the sacraments, 'signum Christi,' in the singular number. And as the same St. Augus-

The sign of Christ.

(1) 'Si Machabæos cum ingenti admiratione præferimus, quia escas quibus nunc Christiani licite utuntur, attingere noluerunt (quia pro tempore tunc prophetico non licebat) quanto nunc magis pro baptismo Christi, pro eucharistia Christi, pro signo Christi,' &c. Aug. contra Faustum.

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tine in his fiftieth treatise upon the Gospel of St. John teacheth, where he saith thus:[1] 'If thou be good, if thou pertain to the body of Christ (which this word Petrus doth signify), then hast thou Christ both here present, and in time to come: here present through faith; here present by the figure and sign of Christ; here present by the sacrament of baptism; here present by the meat and drink of the altar,' &c.

More there was that John Lambert wrote to the king, but thus much only came to our hands.

The Death of Robert Packington.

Among other acts and matters passed and done this present year, which is of the Lord 1538, here is not to be silenced the unworthy and lamentable death of Robert Packington, mercer of London, wrought and caused by the enemies of God's word, and of all good proceedings. The story is this: The said Robert Packington, being a man of substance, *yet[2] not so rich, as discreet and honest,* and dwelling in Cheapside, used every day at five o'clock, winter and summer, to go to prayers at a church then called St. Thomas of Acres, but now named Mercer's Chapel. And one morning amongst all others, being a great misty morning, such as hath seldom been seen, even as he was crossing the street from his house to the church, he was suddenly murdered with a gun, which of the neighbours was plainly heard; and, by a great number of labourers standing at Soper-lane end, he was both seen to go forth of his house, and the clap of the gun was heard, but the deed-doer was a great while unespied and unknown. Although many in the mean time were suspected, yet none could be found faulty therein, the murderer so covertly was conveyed, till at length, by the confession of Dr. Incent, dean of Paul's, on his death-bed, it was known, and by him confessed, that he himself was the author thereof, by hiring an Italian, for sixty crowns or thereabouts, to do the feat. For the testimony whereof, and also for the repentant words of the said Incent, the names both of them that heard him confess it, and of them that heard the witnesses report it, remain yet in memory, to be produced, if need required.

Dr. Incent, dean of Paul's, murderer of Packington.

The cause why he was so little favoured by the clergy, was this: for that he was known to be a man of great courage, and one that could both speak, and also would be heard: for at the same time he was one of the burgesses of the parliament for the city of London, and had talked somewhat against the covetousness and cruelty of the clergy; wherefore he was had in contempt with them, and was thought also to have some talk with the king; for which he was the more had in disdain with them, and murdered by the said Dr. Incent for his labour, as hath been above declared.

And thus much of Robert Packington, who was the brother of Austin Packington above mentioned, who deceived bishop Tonstal, in buying the new translated Testament of Tyndale: whose piteous murder, although it was privy and sudden, yet hath it so pleased the Lord not to keep it in darkness, but to bring it at length to light.

(1) 'Si bonus es, si ad corpus Christi pertines (quod significat Petrus), habes Christum, et in præsenti et in futuro. In præsenti per fidem,' &c.

(2) See Edition 1563, p. 526—Ed.

The Burning of one Collins at London.

Neither is here to be omitted the burning of one Collins, some time a lawyer and a gentleman, who suffered the fire this year also in Smithfield, A.D. 1538; whom although I do not here recite as in the number of God's professed martyrs, yet neither do I think him to be clean sequestered from the company of the Lord's saved flock and family, notwithstanding that the bishop of Rome's church did condemn and burn him for a heretic; but rather do recount him therefore as one belonging to the holy company of saints. At least-wise this case of him and of his end may be thought to be such as may well reprove and condemn their cruelty and madness, in burning so, without all discretion, this man, being mad, and distract of his perfect wits, as he then was, by this occasion as here followeth.

This gentleman had a wife of exceeding beauty and comeliness, but, notwithstanding, of so light behaviour and unchaste conditions (nothing correspondent to the grace of her beauty), that she, forsaking her husband, who loved her entirely, betook herself unto another paramour; which when he understood, he took it very grievously and heavily, more than reason would. At the last, being overcome with exceeding dolour and heaviness, he fell mad, being at that time a student of the law in London. When he was thus ravished of his wits, by chance he came into a church where a priest was saying mass, and was come to the place where they use to hold up and show the sacrament.

Collins burned for holding up a dog at mass.

Collins, being beside his wits, seeing the priest holding up the host over his head, and showing it to the people, he, in like manner counterfeiting the priest, took up a little dog by the legs, and held him over his head, showing him unto the people. And for this he was, by and by, brought to examination, and condemned to the fire, and was burned, and the dog with him, the same year in which John Lambert was burned, A.D. 1538.

The Burning of Cowbridge at Oxford,

A.D. 1538.

With this aforesaid Collins may also be adjoined the burning of Cowbridge, who likewise, being mad and beside his right senses, was, either the same, or the next year following, condemned by Longland, bishop of Lincoln, and committed to the fire by him to be burned at Oxford.

* The[1] fruitful seed of the gospel at this time had taken such root in England, that now it began manifestly to spring and show itself in all places, and in all sorts of people, as it may appear in this good man Cowbridge; who, coming of a good stock and family, whose ancestors, even from Wickliff's time hitherto, had been always favourers of the gospel, and addicted to the setting forth thereof in the English tongue, was born at Colchester, his father's name being William Cowbridge, a wealthy man, and head bailiff of Colchester, and of great estimation.

(1) See Edition 1563, p. 570.—Ed.

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This man, at his decease, left unto his son great substance and possessions, which he afterwards abandoning and distributing unto his sisters and kindred, he himself went about the countries, sometimes seeking after learned men, and sometimes, according to his ability, instructing the ignorant. Thus he continued a certain space, until such time as he came to a town in Berkshire, named Wantage, where, after he had by a long season exercised the office of a priest, in teaching and administering of the sacraments, but being no priest indeed, and had converted many unto the truth, he was at last apprehended and taken, as suspected of heresy, and carried to a place beside Wickham, to the bishop of Lincoln, to be examined; by whom he was sent to Oxford, and there cast in the prison called 'Bocardo.'

At that time Dr. Smith and Dr. Cotes governed the divinity schools, who, together with other divines and doctors, seemed not in this point to show the duty which the most meek apostle requireth in divines toward such as are fallen into any error, or lack instruction or learning. For, admit that he did not understand or see so much in the doctrine and controversies of divinity as the learned divines did, yet Paul, writing unto the Romans, and in other places also, saith, that the weak are to be received into the faith, and not to the determination of disputations; but the imbecility of the weak is to be borne by them that are stronger, &c. And in another place, we understand the spirit of lenity and gentleness to be requisite in such as are spiritual, who shall have to do with the weak flock of Christ. But, alas! it is a sorrowful thing to see how far these divines are separate from the rule of the apostolic meekness, who, after they had this poor man fast entangled in their prison of Bocardo with famine and hunger, brought this poor servant of Christ unto that point, that, through the long consumption and lack of sleep, his natural strength being consumed, he lost his wits and reason; whereby (as it is the manner of madmen) he uttered many unseemly and indiscreet words: whereupon the divines spread rumours abroad that there was a heretic at Oxford, who could abide to hear the name of Jesu, but not the name of Christ, to be named; and therefore that he ought to be burned: and so thereupon condemned him. That done, they sent the articles, whereupon he was condemned, up to London, unto the lord chancellor, at that time being the lord Audley, requiring of him a writ to put him to execution; of which articles we could only attain to knowledge and understanding, but of two, which were these:

First, That in the second article of the creed, he would not have it 'Et in Jesum Christum,' &c., but 'Et in Jesum Jesum,' &c. The second, That every poor priest, be he ever so poor or needy, being of a good conversation, hath as great power and authority in the church of God and ministration of the sacraments, as the pope or any other bishops.*

What all his opinions and articles were, wherewith he was charged, it needeth not here to rehearse; for as he was then a man mad, and destitute of sense and reason, so his words and sayings could not be sound. Yea rather, what wise man would ever collect articles against him, who said he could not tell what? And if his articles were so horrible and mad as Cope in his Dialogues doth declare them, then

Cope, in his Dialogues.

was he, in my judgment, a man more fit to be sent to Bedlam, than to be had to the fire in Smithfield to be burned. For what reason is it to require reason of a creature mad or unreasonable, or to make heresy of the words of a senseless man, not knowing what he affirmed? *Henry VIII.* A.D. 1538.

But this is the manner and property of this holy mother church of Rome, that whatsoever cometh in their hands and inquisition, to the fire it must. There is no other way; neither pity that will move, nor excuse that will serve, nor age that they will spare, nor any respect almost that they consider, as by these two miserable examples, both of Collins and Cowbridge, it may appear; who rather should have been pitied, and all ways convenient sought how to reduce the silly wretches into their right minds again; according as the true pastors of Israel be commanded, by the Spirit of God, to seek again the things that be lost, and to bind up the things that be broken, &c., and not so extremely to burst the things that be bruised before.

* When,[1] through their false accusations and articles, they had obtained a writ of the lord chancellor, for the execution of this poor man, unto whom the lord chancellor himself was somewhat allied, they came unto him into the prison, promising him meat and drink, and other refreshing, if he would again promise them that when he should come unto the stake, he would speak and say such things as they should appoint and minister unto him. This Cowbridge, being as before you have heard almost famished, for the desire of meat and sustenance, promised to do all things they would require of him. Whereupon, for a certain space after, he was well cherished, and recovered some part of his senses and strength.*

But, to end with this matter of Cowbridge, whatsoever his madness was before, or however erroneous his articles were (which, for the fond fantasies of them, I do not express), yet, as touching his end, this is certain, that, * when[2] the day appointed was come, this meek lamb of Christ was brought forth unto the slaughter with a great band of armed men; and, being made fast in the midst of the fire, (contrary to their expectation) oftentimes calling upon the name of the Lord Jesus Christ, with great meekness and quietness he yielded his spirit into the hands of the Lord.* The right confession of Cowbridge, at his departing.

Puttedew and Leiton, Martyrs.

About the same time and year, or not much before, when John Lambert suffered at London, there was one Puttedew also condemned to the fire, about the parts of Suffolk; who, coming into the church, and merrily telling the priest, that after he had drunk up all the wine alone, he afterwards blessed the hungry people with the empty chalice, was for the same immediately apprehended, and shortly after burned, leaving to us an experiment, "Quam parum sit tutum ludere cum sanctis," as the old saying was then; but rather, as we may see now, "Quam male tutum sit ludere cum impiis." Non est bonum ludere cum impiis.

* The[3] great and almost infinite number of most holy martyrs, the variety of matter, and the great celerity used in writing this story, is such, that we cannot use such exact diligence in perusing them all,

(1) See Edition 1563, p. 571.—Ed. (2) Ibid. (3) See Ed. 1563, p. 570.—Ed.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1538.

or have so perfect memory in keeping the order of years, but that, sometimes, we shall somewhat the more swerve or go astray; whereby it hath happened that this man William Leiton, as it were lying hidden among a great multitude of others, had almost escaped our hands; whom, notwithstanding that we have somewhat passed his time, yet do we not think meet to omit, or leave out of this catalogue or history.*

Leiton, martyr.

This William Leiton was a monk of Aye in the county of Suffolk, and was burned at Norwich, for speaking against a certain idol which was accustomed to be carried about in the processions at Aye; and also for holding that the sacramental supper ought to be administered in both kinds; about the year and time aforesaid.

The Burning of N. Peke, Martyr, at Ipswich.

In the burning of another Suffolk man, named N. Peke, dwelling some time at Earlstonham, and burned at Ipswich somewhat before the burning of these aforesaid, thus I find it recorded and testified; that when he, being fast bound to a stake, and furze set on fire round about him, was so scorched that he was as black as soot, one Dr. Redyng, there standing before him, with Dr. Heyre and Dr. Springwell, having a long white wand in his hand, did knock him upon the right shoulder, and said "Peke! recant, and believe that the sacrament of the altar is the very body of Christ, flesh, blood, and bone, after that the priest hath spoken the words of consecration over it; and here have I in my hand to absolve thee for thy misbelief that hath been in thee;" having a scroll of paper in his hand. When he had spoken these words, Peke answered, and said, "I defy it, and thee also;" and with a great violence he spit from him very blood, which came by reason that his veins brake in his body for extreme anguish. And when the said Peke had so spoken, then Dr. Redyng said, "To as many as shall cast a stick to the burning of this heretic, is granted forty days of pardon by my lord bishop of Norwich."

Forty days' pardon for casting sticks into Peke's fire.

Then baron Curson, sir John Audley, knight, with many others of estimation, being there present, did rise from their seats, and with their swords did cut down boughs, and throw them into the fire, and so did all the multitude of the people. Witness John Ramsey and others, who did see this act.

In the year last before this, which was A.D. 1537, it was declared how pope Paul III. indicted a general council, to be holden at Mantua:[1] whereunto the king of England, amongst other princes, being called, refused either to come or to send at the pope's call, and for defence of himself directed out a public apology or protestation, rendering just and sufficient matter why he neither would, nor was bound to obey, the pope's commandment; which protestation is before to be read. This council appointed to begin the 23d day of May, the year aforesaid, was then stopped by the duke of Mantua, pretending that he would suffer no council there, unless the pope would fortify the city with a sufficient army, &c.; for which cause

(1) Of this council of Mantua read before, p. 141.

the pope prorogued the said council, to be celebrated in the month of November following, appointing at the first no certain place. At length he named and determined the city of Vincenza (lying within the dominion of the Venetians) to be the place for the council. Whereunto when the king, the year next following (which is this present year of our Lord, 1538), was requested by the emperor and other states, to resort either himself, or to send, he, again refusing (as he did before), sendeth this protestation, in way of defence and answer for himself, to the emperor or other christian princes; the copy and effect whereof hereunder followeth, and is this.

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A Letter of King Henry the Eighth to the Emperor, &c. containing his reasons for refusing to take part in the Council of Vincenza.

Henry the eighth, by the grace of God, king of England and France, &c.. saluteth the emperor, christian princes, and all true christian men, desiring peace and concord amongst them:

Whereas, not long since, a book[1] came forth in our, and all our council's names, which contained many causes why we refused the council, then by the bishop of Rome's usurped power, first indicted at Mantua, to be kept the 23d day of May, afterwards prorogued to November, no place appointed where it should be kept: And whereas the same book doth sufficiently prove, that our cause could take no hurt, neither with any thing done or decreed in such a company of men addicted to one sect, nor in any other council called by his usurped power; we think it nothing necessary so oft to make new protestations, as the bishop of Rome and his courts, by subtlety and craft, do invent ways to mock the world by new pretended general councils. Yet, notwithstanding, because that some things have now occurred, either upon occasion given us by change of the place, or else through other considerations, which now, being known to the world, may do much good, we thought we should do but even as that love enforceth us, which we owe unto Christ's faith and religion, to add this epistle. And yet we protest, that we neither put forth that book, neither yet we would this epistle to be set before it, that thereby we should seem less to desire a general council than any other prince or potentate, but rather to be more desirous of it, so it were free for all parts, and universal. And further, we desire all good princes, potentates, and people, to esteem and think, that no prince would more willingly be present at such a council than we: such a one we mean, as we speak of in our protestation made concerning the council of Mantua.

The pope doth but mock the world with his pretended council.

General councils are to be wished, so they might be universal.

Truly as our forefathers invented nothing more holy than general councils, used as they ought to be, so there is almost nothing that may do more hurt to the christian commonwealth, to the faith, to our religion, than general councils, if they be abused to lucre, to gains, to the establishment of errors. They be called 'general,' and even by their name do admonish us, that all christian men, who do dissent in any opinion, may in them openly, frankly, and without fear of punishment or displeasure, say their mind. For seeing such things as are decreed in general councils, touch equally all men that give assent thereunto, it is meet that every man may boldly say there, what he thinketh. And verily we suppose, that it ought not to be called a general council, where only those men are heard, who are determined for ever, in all points, to defend the popish part, and to arm themselves to fight in the bishop of Rome's quarrel, though it were against God and his Scripture. It is no general council, neither ought it to be called general, where the same men be both advocates and adversaries, the same accused and judges. No, it is against the law of nature, either that we should condescend to so unreasonable a law against ourselves, or that we should suffer ourselves to be left without all defence, and, being oppressed with greatest injuries, to have no refuge to succour ourselves at. The bishop of Rome and his, be our great enemies, as we and all the world may well perceive by his doings.

Nothing more pernicious to the church than general councils, if they be abused.

The pope's councils are not general. He is the party accused, and also the judge; which is against all reason.

(1) Of this book read before, p. 163.

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He desireth nothing more than our hurt, and the destruction of our realm: do not we then violate the judgment of nature, if we give him power and authority to be our judge? His pretended honour, first gotten by superstition, after increased by violence and other ways as evil as that; his power set up by pretence of religion, indeed both against religion, and also contrary to the word of God; his primacy, borne by the ignorance of the world, nourished by the ambition of the bishops of Rome, defended by places of Scripture falsely understood: these three things, we say, which are fallen with us, and are like to fall in other realms shortly, shall they not be established again, if he may decide our cause as him lusteth? if he may, at his pleasure, oppress a cause most righteous, and set up his, most against truth? Certainly he is very blind that seeth not what end we may look for of our controversies, if such our enemy may give the sentence.

How the pope's honour is gotten.

Provision to be made against popish subtleties.

We desire, if it were in any wise possible, a council, where some hope may be that those things shall be restored, which now, being depravate, are like (if they be not amended) to be the utter ruin of christian religion. And as we do desire such a council, and think it meet that all men, in all their prayers, should desire and crave it of God, even so we think it appertaineth unto our office, to provide both that these popish subtleties hurt none of our subjects, and also to admonish other christian princes, that the bishop of Rome may not, by their consent, abuse the authority of kings, either by the extinguishing of the true preaching of Scripture (that now beginneth to spring, to grow and spread abroad), or to the troubling of princes' liberties, to the diminishing of kings' authorities, and to the great blemish of their princely majesty. We doubt nothing but a reader not partial, will soon approve such things as we here write, not so much for our excuse, as that the world may perceive both the sundry deceits, crafts, and subtleties of the Papists; and also how much we desire that controversies, in matters of religion, may once be taken away.

All that we said there of Mantua,[1] may here well be spoken of Vincenza. They do almost agree in all points; neither is it like that there will be any more at this council at Vincenza, than were the last year at Mantua. Truly he is worthy to be deceived, that, being twice mocked, will not beware the third time. If any this last year made forth towards Mantua, and, being half on their way, then perceived that they had taken upon them that journey in vain, we do not think them so foolish, that they will hereafter ride far out of the town to be mocked. The time also, and the state of things is such, that matters of religion may rather now be brought further in trouble (as other things are), than be commodiously entreated of and decided. For whereas in manner the whole world is after such sort troubled with wars, so encumbered with the great preparations that the Turk maketh, can there be any man so against the settling of religion, that he will think this time meet for a general council? Undoubtedly it is meet that such controversies as we have with the bishop of Rome, be taken as they are; that is, much greater than that they may either be discussed in this so troublesome a time, or else be committed unto proctors, without our great jeopardy, albeit the time were ever so quiet.

This time unmeet for a general council, and why.

Neither the judge nor the place convenient.

What other princes will do, we cannot tell; but we will never leave our realm at this time, neither will we trust any proctor with our cause, wherein the whole stay and wealth of our realm standeth, but rather we will be at the handling thereof ourself. For, except both another judge be agreed upon for those matters, and also a place more commodious be provided for the debating of our causes, albeit all other things were as we would have them, yet may we lawfully refuse to come or send any to this pretended council. We will, in no case, make him our arbiter, who, not many years past, our cause not heard, gave sentence against us. We will that such doctrine as we, following the Scripture, do profess, be rightly examined, discussed, and brought to the Scripture, as to the only touchstone of true learning.

We will not suffer them to be abolished, ere ever they be discussed,[2] nor to be oppressed before they be known; much less will we suffer them to be trodden down being so clearly true. No, as there is no jot in Scripture but we will defend it, though it were with jeopardy of our life, and peril of this our realm;

(1) This council of Mantua which the pope prorogued, he afterward transferred to Vincenza. This was the year 1537.

(2) Spoken like a king.

so is there nothing that doth oppress this doctrine, or obscure it, but we will be at continual war therewith. As we have abrogated all old popish traditions in this our realm, which either did help his tyranny, or increase his pride; so, if the grace of God forsake us not, we will well foresee that no new naughty traditions be made with our consent, to blind us or our realm.[1] Henry VIII. A.D. 1538.

If men will not be willingly blind, they shall easily see, even by a due and evident proof in reason, though grace doth not yet, by the word of Christ, enter into them, how small the authority of the bishop of Rome is, by the lawful denial of the duke of Mantua for the place. For, if the bishop of Rome did earnestly intend to keep a council at Mantua, and hath power, by the law of God, to call princes to what place him liketh, why hath he not also authority to choose what place him listeth? The bishop chose Mantua: the duke kept him out of it. If Paul the bishop of Rome's authority, be so great as he pretendeth, why could he not compel Frederic, the duke of Mantua, that the council might be kept there? The duke would not suffer it: no, he forbade him his town. The duke of Mantua denieth the pope his city for his council.

How chanceth it, that here excommunications fly not abroad? Why doth he not punish this duke? Why is his power, that was wont to be more than full, here empty? wont to be more than all, here nothing? Doth he not call men in vain to a council, if they that come at his calling be excluded the place to which he calleth them? May not kings justly refuse to come at his call, when the duke of Mantua may deny him the place that he chooseth? If other princes order him as the duke of Mantua hath done, what place shall be left him, where he may keep his general council?[2]

Again, if princes have given him this authority to call a council, is it not necessary that they give him also all those things, without which he cannot exercise that his power? Shall he call men, and will ye let him to find no place to call them unto? Truly he is not wont to appoint one of his own cities, a place to keep the council in. No, the good man is so faithful and friendly toward others, that seldom he desires princes to be his guests.

And admit he should call us to one of his cities, should we safely walk within the walls of such our enemy's town? were it meet for us there to discuss controversies of religion, or to keep us out of our enemy's traps? meet to study for the defence of such doctrine as we profess, or rather how we might in such a throng of perils be in safeguard of our life? Well, in this one act the bishop of Rome hath declared that he hath none authority upon places in other men's dominions; and therefore, if he promise a council in any of those, he promiseth that which is in another man to perform; and so may he deceive us again. The pope hath no power upon places in other men's dominions.

Now, if he call us to one of his own towns, we be afraid to be at such a host's table. We say, better to rise an hungered, than to go thence with our bellies full. But they say, the place is found; we need no more to seek where the council shall be kept. As who saith, that what chanced at Mantua, may not also chance at Vincenza:[3] and as though it were very like that the Venetians, men of such wisdom, should not both foresee, and fear also, what the wise duke of Mantua seemed to fear. Certes, when we think upon the state that the Venetians be in now, it seemeth no very likely thing, that they will either leave Vincenza their city, to so many nations, without some great garrison of soldiers; or else that they, being elsewhere so sore charged already, will now nourish an army there. Dilemma against the pope.

And if they would, doth not Paul himself grant it should be an evil precedent, and an evil example, to have an armed council?

Howsoever it shall be, we most heartily desire you, that ye will vouchsafe to read those things that we wrote this last year touching the Mantuan council. For we nothing doubt but you, of your equity, will stand on our side against their subtlety and frauds, and judge (except we be deceived) that we, in this business, neither gave so much to our affections, neither without great and most just causes refused their councils, their censures, and decrees.

Whether these our writings please all men, or no, we think we ought not to pass much. No, if that which indifferently is written of us, may please indifferent readers, our desire is accomplished. The false censure and mistaking of

(1) Would God the king here had kept promise, when he made the six articles.
(2) If the pope's authority may be stopped by a duke, what authority then hath he over kings and emperors?
(3) Vincenza was a city under the dominion of the Venetians.

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things by men partial, shall move us nothing, or else very little. If we have said aught against the deceits of the bishop of Rome that may seem spoken too sharply, we pray you impute it to the hatred we bear unto his vices, and not to any evil will that we bear him. No, that he and all his may perceive that we are rather at strife with his vices, than with him and his, our prayer is, that it may please God, at the last, to open their eyes, to make soft their hard hearts, and that they once may, with us (their own glory set apart), study to set forth the everlasting glory of the everlasting God.

Thus, mighty emperor, fare you most heartily well; and ye christian princes, the pillars and state of Christendom, fare ye heartily well. Also all ye, what people soever ye are, who do desire that the gospel and glory of Christ may flourish, fare ye heartily well.

As the Lord, of his goodness, had raised up Thomas Cromwell to be a friend and patron to the gospel, so, on the contrary side, Satan (who is adversary and enemy to all good things) had his organ also, which was Stephen Gardiner, by all wiles and subtle means to impeach and put back the same; who, after he had brought his purpose to pass in burning good John Lambert (as ye have heard), proceeding still in his crafts and wiles, and thinking, under the names of heresies, sects, anabaptists, and sacramentaries, to exterminate all good books and faithful professors of God's word out of England, so wrought with
A.D.1539. the king, that the next year following, which was A.D. 1539, he gave out these injunctions, the copy and contents whereof I thought here also not to be pretermitted, and are these.

Certain other Injunctions set forth by the Authority of the King, against English Books, Sects, and Sacramentaries also, with putting down the Day of Thomas Becket.

First, That none, without special license of the king, transport or bring from outward parts into England any manner of English books, either yet sell, give, utter, or publish any such, upon pain to forfeit all their goods and chattels, and their bodies to be imprisoned so long as it shall please the king's majesty.

No books to be translated without the name of the translator.

Item, That none shall print, or bring over, any English books with annotations or prologues, unless such books before be examined by the king's privy council, or others appointed by his highness; and yet not to be put thereto these words, 'cum privilegio regali,' without adding 'ad imprimendum solum;' neither yet to imprint it, without the king's privilege be printed therewith in the English tongue, that all men may read it. Neither shall they print any translated book, without the plain name of the translator be in it; or else the printer to be made the translator, and to suffer the fine and punishment thereof, at the king's pleasure.

English books of Scripture forbidden to be printed.

Item, That none of the occupation of printing shall, within the realm, print, utter, sell, or cause to be published, any English book of Scripture, unless the same be first viewed, examined, and admitted by the king's highness, or one of his privy-council, or one bishop within the realm, whose name shall therein be expressed, upon pain of the king's most high displeasure, the loss of their goods and chattels, and imprisonment so long as it shall please the king.

Against Sacramentaries.

Item, Those that be in any errors, as Sacramentaries, Anabaptists, or any others, that sell books having such opinions in them, being once known, both the books and such persons shall be detected and disclosed immediately unto the king's majesty, or one of his privy council; to the intent to have it punished without favour, even with the extremity of the law.

No man to dispute of the sacrament.

Item, That none of the king's subjects shall reason, dispute, or argue upon the sacrament of the altar, upon pain of losing their lives, goods, and chattels, without all favour, only those excepted that be learned in divinity: they to have their liberty in their schools and appointed places accustomed for such matters.

Item, That the holy bread and holy water, procession, kneeling and creeping

on Good Friday to the cross, and Easter day, setting up of lights before the 'Corpus Christi,' bearing of candles on Candlemas day, purification of women delivered of child, offering of chrisms, keeping of the four offering-days, paying their tithes, and such like ceremonies, must be observed and kept till it shall please the king to change or abrogate any of them.

This article was made for that the people were not quieted and contented (many of them) with the ceremonies then used.

Married priests punished.

Finally, All those priests that be married, and openly known to have their wives, or that hereafter do intend to marry, shall be deprived of all spiritual promotion, and from doing any duty of a priest, and shall have no manner of office dignity, cure, privilege, profit, or commodity in any thing appertaining to the clergy, but from thenceforth shall be taken, had, and reputed as lay-persons, to all purposes and intents: and those that shall, after this proclamation, marry, shall run in his grace's indignation, and suffer punishment and imprisonment at his grace's will and pleasure.

Difference between things commanded of God, and ceremonies uncommanded.

Item, He chargeth all archbishops, bishops, archdeacons, deacons, provosts, parsons, vicars, curates, and other ministers, and every of them, in their own persons, within their cures, diligently to preach, teach, open, and set forth to the people, the glory of God and truth of his word; and also, considering the abuses and superstitions that have crept into the hearts and stomachs of many by reason of their fond ceremonies, he chargeth them, upon pain of imprisonment at his grace's pleasure, not only to preach and teach the word of God accordingly, but also sincerely and purely, declaring the difference between things commanded by God, and the rites and ceremonies in their church then used, lest the people thereby might grow into further superstition.

Becket noted of stubbornness.

Item, Forasmuch as it appeareth now clearly, that Thomas Becket, some time archbishop of Canterbury, stubbornly withstanding the wholesome laws established against the enormities of the clergy, by the king's highness's noble progenitor, king Henry the Second, for the commonwealth, rest and tranquillity of this realm, of his froward mind fled the realm into France, and to the bishop of Rome, maintainer of those enormities, to procure the abrogation of the said laws (whereby arose much trouble in this said realm); and that his death, which they untruly called martyrdom, happened upon a rescue by him made; and that (as it is written) he gave opprobrious words to the gentlemen who then counselled him to leave his stubbornness, and to avoid the commotion of the people, risen up for that rescue, and he not only called the one of them 'bawd,' but also took Tracy by the bosom, and violently shook him, and plucked him in such manner that he had almost overthrown him to the pavement of the church, so that upon this fray, one of their company, perceiving the same, struck him, and so in the throng Becket was slain: and further, that his canonization was made only by the bishop of Rome, because he had been both a champion to maintain his usurped authority, and a bearer of the iniquity of the clergy:

A rebel rather than a saint.

For these, and for other great and urgent causes long to recite, the king's majesty, by the advice of his council, hath thought expedient to declare to his loving subjects, that notwithstanding the said canonization, there appeareth nothing in his life and exterior conversation whereby he should be called a saint, but rather esteemed to have been a rebel and traitor to his prince.

The canonization of Becket rased.

Therefore his grace straitly chargeth and commandeth, that from henceforth the said Thomas Becket shall not be esteemed, named, reputed, and called a saint, but bishop Becket; and that his images and pictures through the whole realm shall be plucked down, and avoided out of all churches, chapels, and other places; and that from henceforth the days used to be festival in his name, shall not be observed, nor the service, office, antiphons, collects, and prayers in his name read, but rased and put out of all the books; and that all their festival-days, already abrogated, shall be in no wise solemnized, but his grace's ordinances and injunctions thereupon observed; to the intent his grace's loving subjects shall be no longer blindly led and abused to commit idolatry, as they have done in times past: upon pain of his majesty's indignation, and imprisonment at his grace's pleasure.

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Finally, his grace straitly chargeth and commandeth, that his subjects do keep and observe all and singular his injunctions made by his majesty, upon the pain therein contained.

Here followeth how religion began to go backward.

The variable Changes and Mutations of Religion in King Henry's Days.

To many who be yet alive, and can testify these things, it is not unknown, how variable the state of religion stood in these days; how hardly and with what difficulty it came forth; what chances and changes it suffered. Even as the king was ruled and gave ear sometimes to one, sometimes to another, so one while it went forward, at another season as much backward again, and sometimes clean altered and changed for a season, according as they could prevail, who were about the king. So long as queen Anne lived, the gospel had indifferent success.

The course of the gospel interrupted by malicious enemies.

After that she, by sinister instigation of some about the king, was made away, the course of the gospel began again to decline, but that the Lord then stirred up the lord Cromwell opportunely to help in that behalf; who, no doubt, did much avail, for the increase of God's true religion, and much more had brought to perfection, if the pestilent adversaries, maligning the prosperous glory of the gospel, by contrary practising had not craftily undermined him, and supplanted his virtuous proceedings. By means of which adversaries it came to pass, after the taking away of the said Cromwell, that the state of religion more and more decayed during all the residue of the reign of king Henry.

Marriage of queen Anne of Cleve.

Among these adversaries above mentioned, the chief captain was Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester; who, with his confederates and adherents, disdaining at the state of the lord Cromwell, and at the late marriage of the lady Anne of Cleves (who, in the beginning of the year of our Lord 1540, was married to the king); as also grieved partly at the dissolution of the monasteries, and fearing the growing of the gospel, sought all occasions how to interrupt these happy beginnings, and to train the king to their own purpose. Now what occasion this wily Winchester found out to work upon, ye shall hear in order as followeth.

The occasions which Winchester did work by.

It happened the same time, that the lord Cromwell, for the better establishing of sincere religion in this realm, devised a marriage for the king, to be concluded between him and the lady Anne of Cleves,[1] whose other sister was already married unto the duke of Saxony. By this marriage it was supposed that a perpetual league, amity, and alliance, should be nourished between this realm and the princes of Germany; and so thereby godly religion might be made more strong on both parts against the bishop of Rome and his tyrannical religion. But the devil, ever envying the prosperity of the gospel, laid a stumbling-block in that clear way for the king to stumble at. For, when the parents of the noble lady were communed withal for the furtherance of the said marriage, among others of her friends whose good will was required, the duke of Saxony, her brother-in-law, misliked the marriage, partly for that he would have had her bestowed

The king brought out of credit with the

(1) This lady Anne of Cleves was married to the king, A.D. 1540.

upon some prince of Germany more nigh unto her sister, and partly for other causes which he thought reasonable. Whereupon it followed that the slackness of the duke in that behalf being espied, crafty Winchester, taking good hold-fast thereon, so alienated the king's mind from the amity that seemed now to begin and grow between the duke and the king, that by the occasion thereof he brought the king at length clean out of credit with that religion and doctrine, which the duke had then maintained many years before.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1540. doctrine of the German princes.

This wily Winchester, with his crafty fetches, partly upon this occasion aforesaid, and partly also by other pestilent persuasions creeping into the king's ears, ceased not to seek all means how to work his feat, and to overthrow religion, first bringing him in hatred with the German princes, then putting him in fear of the emperor, of the French king, of the pope, of the king of Scots, and other foreign powers to rise against him; but especially of civil tumults and commotions here within this realm, which above all things he most dreaded, by reason of innovation of religion, and dissolving of abbeys, and for abolishing of rites and other customs of the church, sticking so fast in the minds of the people, that it was to be feared lest their hearts were or would be shortly stirred up against him, unless some speedy remedy were to the contrary provided: declaring, moreover, what a dangerous matter in a commonwealth it is, to attempt new alterations of any thing, but especially of religion. Which being so, he exhorted the king, for his own safeguard, and public quiet and tranquillity of his realm, to see betimes how and by what policy these so manifold mischiefs might be prevented. Against which no other way or shift could be better devised, than if he would show himself sharp and severe against these new sectaries, anabaptists and sacramentaries (as they called them); and would also set forth such articles, confirming the ancient and catholic faith, as whereby he might recover again his credence with christian princes, and whereby all the world besides might see and judge him to be a right and perfect catholic. By these, and such like crafty suggestions, the king, being too much seduced and abused, began to withdraw his defence from the reformation of true religion, supposing thereby to procure to himself more safety both in his own realm, and also to avoid such dangers which otherwise might happen by other princes; especially seeing of late he had refused to come to the general council at Vincenza, being thereto invited both by the emperor, and other foreign potentates, as ye have heard before. And therefore, although he had rejected the pope out of this realm, yet because he would declare himself, nevertheless, to be a good catholic son of the mother church, and a withstander of new innovations and heresies (as the blind opinion of the world then did esteem them), first he stretched out his hand to the condemning and burning of Lambert; then, afterwards, he gave out those injunctions above prefixed; and now, further to increase this opinion with all men, in the year next following, which was A.D. 1540, through the device and practice of certain of the pope's factors about him, he summoned a solemn parliament to be holden at Westminster the 28th day of April, of all the states and burgesses of the realm: also a synod or convocation of all the archbishops, bishops, and other learned of the clergy of this realm, to be in like manner assembled.

The wicked counsel of Gardiner and others, about the king.

The king abused by wicked counsel.

The pope's crafty factors in England.

Henry VIII.

A.D. 1540.

The Act of the Six Articles.

In this parliament, synod, or convocation, certain articles, matters, and questions, touching religion, were decreed by certain prelates, to the number especially of six, commonly called 'The Six Articles' (or, 'The Whip with Six Strings'), to be had and received among the king's subjects, on pretence of unity. But what unity thereof followed, the groaning hearts of a great number, and also the cruel death of divers, both in the days of king Henry, and of queen Mary, can so well declare as I pray God never the like be felt hereafter.

The doctrine of these wicked articles in the bloody Act contained, although it be worthy of no memory amongst christian men, but rather deserveth to be buried in perpetual oblivion, yet, for that the office of history compelleth us thereunto, for the more light of posterity to come, faithfully and truly to comprise things done in the church, as well one as another, this shall be briefly to recapitulate the sum and effect of the aforesaid six articles, in order as they were given out, and hereunder do follow.

The First Article.

Transubstantiation.

The first article in this present parliament accorded and agreed upon, was this: That in the most blessed sacrament of the altar by the strength and efficacy of Christ's mighty word (it being spoken by the priest), is present really, under the form of bread and wine, the natural body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, conceived of the Virgin Mary; and that after the consecration there remaineth no substance of bread or wine, or any other substance, but the substance of Christ, God and man.

The Second Article.

The sacrament in both kinds excluded.

That the communion in both kinds is not necessary 'ad salutem,' by the law of God, to all persons: and that it is to be believed, and not doubted of, but that in the flesh, under form of bread, is the very blood, and with the blood, under form of wine, is the very flesh as well apart, as they were both together.

The Third Article.

That priests, after the order of priesthood received as before, may not marry by the law of God.

The Fourth Article.

That vows of chastity or widowhood, by man or woman made to God advisedly,[1] ought to be observed by the law of God; and that it exempteth them from other liberties of christian people, which, without that, they might enjoy.

The Fifth Article.

That it is meet and necessary, that private masses be continued and admitted in this English church and congregation; as whereby good christian people, ordering themselves accordingly, do receive both godly and goodly consolations and benefits;[2] and it is agreeable also to God's law.

The Sixth Article.

That auricular confession is expedient and necessary to be retained and continued, used and frequented, in the church of God.

(1) 'Advisedly,' that is, made above the age of one and twenty years, priests only excepted.
(2) By these benefits of private masses, is meant, the helping of souls in purgatory.

After these articles were thus concluded and consented upon, the prelates of the realm, craftily perceiving that such a foul and violent Act could not take place or prevail unless strait and bloody penalties were set upon them, they caused, through their accustomed practice, to be ordained and enacted by the king and the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in the said parliament, as followeth.

The Penalty upon the first Article.

That if any person or persons, within this realm of England, or any other the king's dominions, after the twelfth day of July next coming, by word, writing, imprinting, ciphering, or any otherwise, should publish, preach, teach, say, affirm, declare, dispute, argue, or hold any opinion, that in the blessed sacrament of the altar, under form of bread and wine (after the consecration thereof), there is not present really the natural body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, conceived of the Virgin Mary, or that after the said consecration there remaineth any substance of bread or wine, or any other substance but the substance of Christ, God and man; or, after the time above said, publish, preach, teach, say, affirm, declare, dispute, argue, or hold opinion, that in the flesh, under the form of bread, is not the very blood of Christ, or that with the blood of Christ, under the form of wine, is not the very flesh of Christ, as well apart, as though they were both together; or by any of the means above said, or otherwise, preach, teach, declare, or affirm the said sacrament to be of other substance than is above said, or by any mean contemn, deprave, or despise the said blessed sacrament: that then, every such person so offending, their aiders, comforters, counsellors, consenters, and abettors therein (being thereof convicted in form under written, by the authority above said), should be deemed and adjudged heretics, and every such offence should be adjudged manifest heresy; and that every such offender and offenders should therefore have and suffer judgment, execution, pain and pains of death by way of burning, without any abjuration, benefit of the clergy, or sanctuary, to be therefore permitted, had, allowed, admitted or suffered; and also should therefore forfeit and lose to the king's highness, his heirs and successors, all his or their honours, manors, castles, lands, tenements, rents, reversions, services, possessions, and all other his or their hereditaments, goods and chattels, farms and freeholds, whatsoever they were, *which[1] any such offender or offenders should have, at the time of* any such offence or offences, committed or done, or at any time after, as in any cases of high treason

Transubstantiation.

Suffering without any abjuration.

Loss of goods.

Opinion against the sacrament of the altar made treason.

The Penalties upon the last five Articles.

And as touching the other five articles following, the penalties devised for them were these: that every such person or persons that did preach, teach, obstinately affirm, uphold, maintain, or defend, after the twelfth day of July the said year, any thing contrary to the same: or if any, being in orders, or after a vow advisedly made, did marry, or make marriage, or contract matrimony, in so doing should be adjudged as felons, and lose both life, and forfeit goods, as in case of felony, without any benefit of the clergy, or privilege of the church or of the sanctuary, &c.

Item, That every such person or persons, who, after the day aforesaid, by word, writing, printing, ciphering, or otherwise, did publish, declare, or hold opinion contrary to the five articles above expressed, being for any such offence duly convicted or attainted: for the first time, besides the forfeit of all his goods and chattels, and possessions whatsoever, should suffer imprisonment of his body at the king's pleasure: and for the second time, being accused, presented, and thereof convicted, should suffer as in case aforesaid of felony.

Item, If any within order of priesthood, before the time of the said parliament, had married or contracted matrimony, or vowed widowhood, the said matrimony should stand utterly void and be dissolved.

Item, That the same danger that belonged to priests marrying their wives, should also redound to the women married unto the priests.

Inquisition upon the six articles.

Furthermore, for the more effectual execution of the premises, it was enacted

(1) See Editions 1570 and 1576.—Ed.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1540.

by the said parliament, that full authority of inquisition of all such heresies, felonies, and contempts, should be committed and directed down into every shire, to certain persons specially thereunto appointed; of which persons three at least (provided always the archbishop, or bishop, or his chancellor, or his commissary be one), should sit four times at least in the year; having full power to take information and accusation, by the depositions of any two lawful persons at least, as well as by the oaths of twelve men, to examine and inquire of all and singular the heresies, felonies, and contempts above remembered; having also as ample power to make process against every person or persons indicted, presented, or accused before them; also to hear and determine the aforesaid heresies, felonies, contempts, and other offences, as well as if the matter had been presented before the justices of peace in their sessions. And also, that the said justices in their sessions, and every steward or under-steward, or his deputy, in their law-days, should have power, by the oaths of twelve lawful men, to inquire, likewise, of all and singular the heresies, felonies, contempts, and other offences, and to hear and determine the same, to all effects of this present act, &c.

A bloody inquisition.

Provided withal, that no person or persons thereupon accused, indicted or presented, should be admitted to challenge any that should be empanelled for the trial of any matter or cause, other than for malice or envy; which challenge should forthwith be tried in like manner, as in cases of felony, &c.

Provided, moreover, that every person that should be named commissioner in this inquisition, should first take a corporal oath, the tenor of which oath here ensueth.

The Oath of the Commissioners.

Ye shall swear, that ye, to your cunning, wit, and power, shall truly and indifferently execute the authority to you given by the king's commission, made for correction of heretics and other offenders mentioned in the same commission, without any favour, affection, corruption, dread, or malice, to be borne to any person or persons, as God you help, and all saints.

And thus much briefly collected out of the act and originals, which more largely are to be seen in the statute, anno 31, reg. Hen. VIII., concerning the six articles, which otherwise, for the bloody cruelty thereof, are called 'The Whip with Six Strings,' set forth after the death of queen Anne, and of good John Lambert, devised by the cruelty of the bishops, but especially of the bishop of Winchester, and at length also subscribed by king Henry. But herein, as in many other parts more, the crafty policy of that bishop appeared, who, like a lurking serpent, most slily watching his time, if he had not taken the king coming out upon a sudden, there where it was (I spare here to report as I heard it), it was thought and affirmed by certain who then were pertaining to the king, that Winchester had not obtained the matter so easily to be subscribed as he did.

Truth in danger, left desolate.

These six articles above specified, although they contained manifest errors, heresies, and absurdities against all Scripture and learning (as all men having any judgment in God's word may plainly understand), yet such was the miserable adversity of that time, and the power of darkness, that the simple cause of truth and of religion was utterly left desolate, and forsaken of all friends. For every man seeing the king's mind so fully addicted, upon politic respects, to have these articles pass forward, few or none in all that parliament would appear, who either could perceive what was to be defended, or durst defend what they understood to be true, save only Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, who then, being married (as is supposed), like a constant patron of God's cause, took upon him the earnest defence of the truth, oppressed in the parliament; three days together disputing

Cranmer only, standeth up openly in parliament, against the six articles.

against those six wicked articles; bringing forth such allegations and authorities, as might easily have helped the cause, "Nisi pars major vicisset, ut sæpe solet, meliorem;" who, in the said disputation, behaved himself with such humble modesty, and with such obedience in words towards his prince, protesting the cause not to be his, but the cause of Almighty God, that neither his enterprise was misliked of the king; and again, his reasons and allegations were so strong, that they could not well be refuted. Wherefore the king (who ever bare special favour unto him), well liking his zealous defence, only willed him to depart out of the parliament-house into the council-chamber, for a time (for safeguard of his conscience), till the act should pass and be granted; which he, notwithstanding, with humble protestation, refused to do. *Henry VIII.* A. D. 1540. *Willed to depart thence for his conscience; but refuseth.*

After the parliament was finished, and that matter concluded, the king, considering the constant zeal of the archbishop in defence of his cause, and partly also weighing the many authorities and reasons whereby he had substantially confirmed the same, sent the lord Cromwell (who, within few days after, was apprehended), the two dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, and all the lords of the parliament, to dine with him at Lambeth; where they signified unto him, that it was the king's pleasure, that they all should, in his highness's behalf, cherish, comfort, and animate him, as one that for his travail in that parliament, had declared himself both greatly learned, and also a man discreet and wise; and therefore they willed him not to be discouraged in any thing that was passed in that parliament contrary to his allegations. *Comforted again by the king.*

He most humbly thanked, first, the king's highness, for his singular good affection towards him, and them for all their pains; adding moreover, that he so hoped in God, that hereafter his allegations and authorities should take place to the glory of God, and commodity of the realm: which allegations and authorities of his, I wish were extant among us, to be seen and read. No doubt but they would stand, in time to come, in great good stead, for the overthrow of the wicked and pernicious articles aforesaid.

Allegations against the Six Articles.

In the mean while, forasmuch as the said heretical articles are not so lightly to be passed over, whereby the rude and ignorant multitude hereafter may be deceived in the false and erroneous doctrine of them any more, as they have been in times past, for lack of right instruction and experience of the ancient state and course of times in our fore-elders' days; I thought therefore (the Lord thereunto assisting), so much as antiquity of stories may help to the restoring again of truth and doctrine decayed, to annex hereunto some allegations out of ancient records, which may give some light to the convincing of these new-fangled articles and heresies above touched.

THE FIRST ARTICLE; OF TRANSUBSTANTIATION.

And first, as touching the article of transubstantiation, wherein this parliament doth enact that the sacrament of the altar is the very natural body of Christ, the selfsame which was born of the Virgin

Henry VIII. A.D. 1540.

Mary; and that in such sort as there remaineth no substance of bread and wine, after the priest's consecration; but only the body and blood of Christ, under the outward forms of bread and wine: First, here is to be noted, that this monstrous article of theirs, in that form of words as it standeth, was never obtruded, received, or holden either in the Greek church, or in the Latin church, universally for a catholic, that is, for a general opinion or article of doctrine, before the time of the Lateran council at Rome, under pope Innocent III., A.D. 1216.

And forasmuch as it hath been a common persuasion amongst the most sort of people, that this article, in the form of words as here it standeth, is, and hath been ever since Christ's time, a true catholic and general doctrine, commonly received and taught in the church, being approved by the Scriptures and doctors, and consent of all ages unto this present time; to the intent therefore that the contrary may appear, and the people may see how far they have herein been beguiled, we will here (Christ willing) make a little stay in our story, and examine this aforesaid article by true antiquity and course of histories; to try whether it be a doctrine old or new.

The article of the sacrament consisteth in two parts.

Now therefore, for the better discussing of the matter, let us first orderly and distinctly advise the words of the article; the contents of which article consist in two parts or members. In the first thereof is noted to us a presence of a thing which there was not before: in the second, is noted a privation or absence of a thing which there before was present.

The presence is noted by these words of the article, where it is said that in the blessed sacrament, by the words pronounced, are present the natural body and blood of our Saviour under the forms of bread and wine: so that in these words, both the sacrament and the natural body are imported necessarily to be present. For else, how can the natural body of Christ be present in the sacrament under the forms of bread and wine, if the sacrament there were not present itself? or how can a thing be said to be in that which is not there? Wherefore by these words both the sacrament, and also the body, must necessarily have their being and presence, the one being in the other. And this presence both of the sacrament, and of the body, being rightly taken, may right well stand together; the sacrament to the outward eyes and mouth of man, the body of Christ to the inward eyes of faith, and mouth of the soul. And therefore touching these prepositions in this article, 'in' and 'under,' if question be asked, In what is the body of Christ? it may be well answered, In the sacrament, to the eyes of our faith; like as the outward sacrament is also present to the outward eyes of the body. Again, if the question be asked, Under what is the body of Christ? it may be well answered, Under the forms of bread and wine, so as the doctors did take the forms to mean the outward elements and natures of the sacrament, and not the accidents.

The pretence of the natural body of Christ, well expounded, may be granted. Absence of bread.

And thus, to the first part of the article, being well expounded, we do assent and confess the same to have been the true catholic opinion, approved by the ancient doctors and consent of all times, even from the first institution of this sacrament.

But as concerning the second member or part of the article, which

taketh away all presence and substance of bread from the sacrament; to that we say, that first it standeth not with their own article: secondly, that it standeth not with the doctrine of Scripture: thirdly, that it standeth not with antiquity, but is merely a late invention. *Henry VIII.* A.D. 1540.

And first, that it agreeth not with their own article, it is manifest. For whereas in the former part of their article they say, that the natural body of Christ is present in the blessed sacrament under the forms of bread and wine, how can the natural body of Christ be present in the sacrament, if there remain no sacrament? or how can any sacrament of the body remain, if there remain no substance of bread, which should make the sacrament? for how can the body of Christ be in that thing, which is not? or how can the sacrament of the body have any being, where the substance of bread hath no being? For first, that the body itself cannot be the sacrament of the body, is evident of itself. The body of Christ cannot be in the sacrament of his body.

Secondly, that the accidents of bread, without the substance of bread, cannot be any sacrament of Christ's body, certain it is, and demonstrable by this argument.

Argumentum à Definitione.

Ca- A sacrament is, that which beareth a similitude of that thing whereof it is a sacrament.
mest- Accidents bear no similitude of that thing which is there signified.
res. *Ergo*, Accidents can in no wise be a sacrament.[1]

Wherefore, upon this argument being thus concluded, upon the same this also must needs follow.

Da- In the sacrament of the Lord's body, the thing that representeth, must needs bear a similitude of the thing represented.
ri- The substance of bread in the sacrament, is only that which beareth the similitude of Christ's body.
i. *Ergo*, The substance of bread must needs be in the sacrament.

And therefore, by this demonstration it is apparent that these two parts in the article aforesaid are evil couched together, whereof the one must needs destroy the other. For if the first part of the article be true, that the natural body of Christ is present in the sacrament, under the forms of bread and wine, and seeing the sacrament wherein the body of Christ is present, must needs be the substance of bread, and not the accidents only of bread, as is above proved, then the substance of bread cannot be evacuated from the sacrament; and so the second member of the article must needs be false. The popish presence and transubstantiation cannot stand together.

Or, if the second part be true, that there is no substance of bread remaining, and seeing there is nothing else to make the sacrament of the natural body of Christ but only the substance of bread, forasmuch as the accidents of bread can make no sacrament of Christ's body, as is above showed; then, taking away the substance of bread, the first part of the article must needs be false, which saith, that the natural body of Christ is present in the sacrament; forasmuch as the substance of bread being evacuated, there remaineth no sacrament. Transubstantiation disagreeth from the Scripture.

(1) Aug. ad Bonif., Epist. xxiii.

Henry VIII. A. D. 1540.

wherein the body of Christ should be present. Secondly, that it disagreeth from the whole order and course of the Scriptures, it is sufficiently explained before in the treatise of John Lambert upon the sacrament, as also in sundry other places in these volumes besides. Thirdly, that the said article of transubstantiation is no ancient or authentic doctrine in the church publicly received; but rather is a novelty lately invented, reaching not much above the age of three or four hundred years, or at most above the time of Lanfranc A.D. 1070, it remains now to be proved.

A late opinion of no antiquity.

Herein first may be joined this issue: that this monstrous paradox of transubstantiation was never induced or received publicly in the church, before the time of the Lateran council, under pope Innocent III., A.D. 1216; or at most before the time of Lanfranc, the Italian, archbishop of Canterbury, A.D. 1070.

In this time of Lanfranc, I deny not but that this question of transubstantiation began to come in controversy, and was reasoned upon, amongst certain learned of the clergy. But that this article of transubstantiation was publicly determined or prescribed in the church, for a general law or catholic doctrine, of all men necessarily to be believed, before the time of the aforesaid Innocent III.,[1] it may be doubted, and also by histories of time, proved to be false.

Phrases of the doctors speaking of the sacrament.

And though our adversaries seem to allege out of the old doctors certain speeches and phrases, which they wrest and wring to their purposes; wherein they say, "that the bread is called, is believed, and is, the body of Christ;" "that of bread is made the body of Christ;" and "that the bread is changed, altered, or converted to the body of Christ, or is made to be his body;" "that the creatures be converted into the substance of the body and blood of Christ;" "that the bread and wine do pass into the divine substance;" with such other like sentences; and bear themselves brag upon the same, as though this doctrine of transubstantiation stood upon the consent of the whole universal church, of all ages and times, of nations and people, and that the judgment of the church was never other than this: and yet, if the old doctors' sayings be well weighed, and the discourse of times by history well examined, it will be found that this prodigious opinion of transubstantiation hath no such ground of consent and antiquity as they imagine; nor yet that any heresy or treason was made of denying of transubstantiation before the time of Innocent III., or, at the furthest, of Lanfranc, as is afore said, about which time Satan, the old dragon, was prophesied by the Apocalypse, to be let loose, to seduce the world.

The papists falsely pretend antiquity for their transubstantiation.

Doctors against transubstantiation.

For probation whereof, first I will begin with the time of Tertullian and of Augustine;[2] who both do teach the sacrament to be a figure, a sign, a memorial, and a representation of the Lord's body, and knew no such transubstantiation; and yet were no traitors nor heretics.

Neither was St. Ambrose any heretic or traitor, where he writeth these words, "Ut sint quæ erant, et in aliud convertantur," &c.; which words Lanfranc could not answer unto any other wise, but by denying them to be the words of Ambrose. Gelasius was bishop of Rome, and lived about five hundred years after Christ, and

(1) Innocent the Third was bishop of Rome, A.D. 1215. (2) A. D. 403.

speaketh of a transmutation[1] of the bread and wine into the divine nature; but there, expounding himself, he declareth what he meaneth by that mutation, so that he expressly showeth the elements of bread and wine, notwithstanding, to remain still in their proper nature, with other words more, very plain to the same effect: unto which words Contarenus in the assembly of Ratisbon could not well answer, but stood astonied. *Henry VIII.* A. D. 1540.

Theodoret likewise,[2] speaking of the visible symbols, hath these words: "After the sanctification they remain in their former substance, figure, and form."

Irenæus, where he saith that "the bread broken, and the cup mixed, after the vocation of God, cease to be common bread any more, but are the Eucharist of the body and blood of Christ:" and, explicating his words more plainly, addeth, moreover, that "the Eucharist consisteth in two things, one being earthly, which is bread and wine; the other heavenly, which is the body and blood of Christ," &c.: he declareth, in these words, both his own opinion plainly, and also teacheth us what was then the doctrine of his time.

Hesichius also,[3] who was five hundred years after Christ, where he speaketh of the said mystery, to be both flesh and bread; declaring thereby two substances to be in the sacrament. By the which we have to understand that transubstantiation, in his age, was not crept into the church; and yet neither heresy, nor treason, therefore, was ever laid to his charge for so saying.

Emissene, comparing a man converted unto Christ by regeneration, unto the holy mysteries converted into the body and blood of our Lord, expresseth plainly, that outwardly nothing is changed, and that all the change is inward,[4] &c.; wherein, no doubt, he spake against this article, and yet no man, in all that age, did accuse him therefore to be either heretic or traitor.

Here might be added the words of Fulgentius,[5] "This cup is the new testament; that is, this cup which I deliver unto you, signifieth the new testament."

Bede also, who lived about the year 730, writing upon the twenty-first Psalm, hath these words:[6] "Poor men, to wit, despisers of the world, shall eat indeed really, if it be referred unto the sacraments, and shall be filled eternally; because they shall understand in bread and in wine, being visibly set before them, a thing invisible, to wit, the true body and true blood of the Lord, which are true meat and true drink, wherewith not the belly is filled, but the mind is nourished."

And thus, in these words of Bede, likewise, is to be understood, that no transubstantiation as yet in his time was received in the church of England.

(1) Gelasius, lib. contra Eutichen.
(2) Μένει γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς προτέρας οὐσίας, καὶ τοῦ σχήματος, καὶ τοῦ εἴδους. Theodoretus, Secund. Dial. contra Eutichen.
(3) 'Quod simul panis et caro est.' Hesichius, lib. xx. in Levit. c. 8.
(4) 'Quod in exteriori nihil additum est, et totum in interiori mutatum est.' Emissenus, D Consecra. dist. 2, 'Quia corpus.' (A.D. 500.)
(5) 'Hic calix est novum testamentum; id est, hic calix quem vobis trado, novum testamentum significat.'
(6) 'Edent pauperes, &c. Pauperes, id est, mundi contemptores edent quidem realiter, si ad sacramenta referantur, et saturabuntur æternalite, qui intelligent in pane et vino visibiliter sibi proposito, invisibile scilicet corpus verum, et sanguinem verum Domini, quæ verus cibus et verus potus sunt, quo non venter distenditur, sed mens saginatur,' &c.

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Long it were to stand upon all particulars. Briefly to conclude; the further the church hath been from these our latter days, the purer it was in all respects, and especially touching this barbarous article of transubstantiation. We will now draw more near our own time, coming to the age of Bertram and of Haymo, who were about the year of our Lord 810, under Charlemagne.[1]

By whose writing it is evident, that the church was infected as yet with no such fantasy of transubstantiation, neither did any almost dream of taking away the substance of bread from the sacrament. For although Haymo, Remigius, Rabanus, and others who lived in that age, do attribute to the sacrament, the honourable name and reverence (as we also do) of the Lord's body and blood, yet they exclude not from thence all substance of meal and bread, and leave the bare accidents, as our new-come Catholics do, as by the words of Haymo doth appear. Where he, following the words of Bede, showeth also the cause, why it is so called by the name of the Lord's body?[2] "Because," saith he, "bread confirmeth the heart of man, therefore it is called conveniently the body of Christ; and because wine worketh blood in the flesh of man, therefore it is referred to the blood of Christ." What can be more effectually spoken to prove the substance of bread there to remain? for take away the substance of bread and wine, what is in the accidents left, that can confirm man's heart, or engender blood in the flesh? And therefore, seeing there must needs something remain, that must be referred to Christ's body and blood in that sacrament, it either must be the substance of bread and wine, or else it can be no sacrament. And furthermore, speaking of the visible things which are sanctified, how and whereunto they be converted, he saith, that by the Holy Ghost they passed to a sacrament of the Lord's body.

And likewise the same Haymo, in another place, speaking of the fruits of the earth, that is, of corn and wine, declareth how our Saviour making of them "an apt mystery," converteth them to "a sacrament of his body and blood,"[3] &c.

Bertram likewise, as he lived in the same age, so in like sort he showed his opinion therein, to the like effect as Haymo did. For, as Haymo, writing in these words, declareth,[4] "The sacrament is one thing, and the virtue of the sacrament is another thing: for the sacrament is received with the mouth, but with the virtue of the sacrament the inward man is satisfied."

So after like manner, Bertram, according to the same, thus writeth:[5] "The bread, which by the ministry of the priest is made the body of Christ, doth import one thing outwardly to the senses of man, and another thing it speaketh to the minds of the faithful. Outwardly, it is bread, the same it was before; the same form is pretended, the colour appeareth, the same taste remaineth: but inwardly, there is another matter far more precious and more excellent, because it is

(1) 'Quia panis corpus confirmat, ideo ille corpus Christi congruenter nuncupatur: vinum autem quia sanguinem operatur in carne, ideo ad sanguinem Christi refertur.' Haymo, De Sermonum Proprietate, lib. v. c. 11.

(2) Haymo, lib. vii. in Eccle. cap. 8. (3) Charlemagne, born A.D. 742, died A.D. 814.—Ed.

(4) 'Quia aliud est sacramentum, aliud virtus sacramenti: sacramentum enim ore percipitur, virtute sacramenti interior homo satiatur.' Haymo, lib. vii. in Eccle. cap. 8.

(5) 'Ille panis, qui per Sacerdotis ministerium Christi corpus efficitur, aliud exterius humanis sensibus ostendit, et aliud interius fidelium mentibus clamat,' &c. A.D. 810. Bertram. lib. De Corpore et Sang. Domini.

heavenly, which is the body of Christ, that is seen, not with the outward eyes of the flesh, but with the sight of a faithful mind," &c.

We will now proceed to the testimony of Rabanus Maurus, bishop of Mentz, and scholar some time to Alcuinus, in Paris, an Englishman; who, living also in the same age with Haymo and Bertram (which was eight hundred years after Christ), giveth the like testimony of this doctrine in his Book of Institutions;[1] where he, asking the question why the Lord would give the mysteries of his body and blood then under such things as might be kept and reserved whole with great honour, thus he answereth again: "The Lord," saith he, "would rather that the sacraments of his body and blood should be received with the mouth of the faithful, and made to be their food, that by the visible action the invisible effect might be showed. For, like as material meat outwardly nourisheth and quickeneth the body, so also the word of God inwardly nourisheth and strengtheneth the soul: for man liveth not only by bread, but by every word proceeding from the mouth of God." And after followeth, "For this bread and drink signifieth the eternal society of the head and of the members together." And again: "For the sacraments are one thing, and the virtue of the sacrament is another thing. The sacrament is received with the mouth; with the virtue of the sacrament the inward man is nourished; for the sacrament is turned to the nourishment of the body; but, by the virtue of the sacrament, the dignity of eternal life is gotten. Wherefore, like as the same is turned into us when we eat of it, so also are we turned into the body of Christ, when we live obediently and godly," &c.

Rabanus Maurus, bishop of Mentz.

Who seeth not by these words of this bishop, what form of doctrine was then in the church received concerning this article of the sacrament, much diverse from this our gross opinion of transubstantiation?

With the same Rabanus, also, accordeth another of the like standing and doctrine also, called Christianus Druthmarus,[2] who, writing upon Matthew, "The wine," saith he, "doth cheer and cherish the blood; and, therefore, not inconveniently the blood of Christ is figured thereby: for whatsoever proceedeth from him to us, it cheereth us with true gladness, and increaseth all goodness unto us." And a little before, the said Druthmarus saith, "The Lord gave to his disciples the sacrament of his body to the remission of sins, and keeping of charity; that they, alway remembering his doing, might do that in figure, which he should do for them. 'This is my body,' saith he; that is, in sacrament." This Druthmarus lived also in the time of Charlemagne, as witnesseth the abbot of Spanheim.

After Bertram was Johannes Scotus, or else, as some call him, Johannes Erigena; a man well accepted with Charles the Bald, and afterwards with Louis the Stammerer, about A. D. 880. He wrote a book, 'De Corpore et Sanguine Domini,' so affirming therein, and teaching, as he knew that Bertram had taught a little before in France. This book the pope caused to be condemned in the synod of Vercelli. Of the life and conversation of this Johannes Scotus, and also of his death, read before.[3]

(1) Rabanus, De Institut. Clericorum i. cap. 21.
(2) Christian. Druthmarus, monachus ordin. Benev., In Matt. (3) See Vol. II p. 30.—Ed.

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In the year of our Lord 950, lived Odo, archbishop of Canterbury, in whose time, it appeareth, by the catholics' own confession, that many priests then affirmed, that the bread and wine, after consecration, did remain in their former substance, and that the said mysteries were only a figure of the body and blood of Christ, as we find it witnessed by Osberne himself, who did write the lives of Odo, Dunstan, and Elphege, at the bidding of Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, as reporteth Edmerus, Anselm's chaplain. The words of Osberne be these:[1] "About this time," saith Osberne, writing in the days of Lanfranc, "certain of the clergy, being seduced by wicked error, did hold and maintain that bread and wine, which are set upon the altar, after the consecration do remain in their former substance, and are but only a figure of the body and blood of Christ," &c. And no doubt but at that time the common opinion of most of the clergy was so, that the sacrament was the body and blood of Christ, and that the substance of bread and wine, notwithstanding, were not transubstantiated, as the Romish catholics do now teach. But this is the guise of these men, that in their writings and stories they still diminish the better number, whereby their faction may seem ever to be the bigger; and therefore to extenuate the common opinion then received in the church, he inferreth mention of certain of the clergy, &c.

The witness of Osberne.

And as he faileth in the number of these clergymen who then held against transubstantiation, so he upholdeth the same with as lying a miracle; which miracle he feigned to be wrought the same time, for the conversion of the said clergymen, by the blood dropping out of the host at mass, as Odo was breaking the host over the chalice. At the sight whereof, first, Odo himself (saith he) wept for joy; seeing his petition accomplished which he so earnestly prayed for.

A lying miracle to prove transubstantiation.

Secondarily, "All those clergymen," saith he, "who before believed not this transubstantiation, by and by were converted, and blessed the archbishop that ever he was born; desiring him to pray again, that the blood might return to his former shape; and straight it was done." And this was the miracle; which seemeth as true as that which William of Malmesbury writeth of the said Odo, how, by his prayers, he caused a sword to come flying from heaven into king Ethelstan's scabbard, when he had lost his own, as he would fight against Analanus; or else, as that miracle where the said Odo is said to cover and defend the church of Canterbury, that no drop of rain could touch it, so long as the roof thereof was in making.[2]

In this so miraculous a miracle, many things are to be marvelled. First, I marvel that at this great miracle of the archbishop in his cathedral church, amongst so many singing men, we read of no 'Te Deum' there to be sung after the doing thereof.

Reasons and proofs alleged against this miracle.

Secondly, I marvel that those priests and clerks who then denied transubstantiation, were suffered to be so near the archbishop at his mass, and that they were not committed rather to ward like heretics and traitors, if this article of transubstantiation had been then such a catholic doctrine, and so publicly received in the church, as they say it was.

(1) 'Hoc fere tempore, quidam clerici, maligno errore seducti, asseverare conabantur, panem et vinum quæ in altari ponuntur, post consecrationem, in priori substantia manere et figuram tantummodo esse corporis et sanguinis Christi,' &c. Osbernus in Vita Odonis.

(2) Ex Wil. Malm. vide supra, [Vol. II. page 49.—Ed.]

Thirdly, I marvel, seeing the time of miracles is expired, we, having the Scriptures to guide us, why the archbishop would seek to miracles and apparitions to convert men, rather than to the law and prophets, according as we are commanded: especially having no such examples of all the old doctors, who, in confutation of so many erroneous opinions, yet never sought to such miracles, or blind means. *Henry VIII.* A.D. 1540.

Fourthly, I marvel much at the discrepance in telling this tale, between Osberne and the others, who since have written Legends of Odo. For whereas Osberne, speaking of certain priests, nameth no place, but leaveth the matter at large; and speaketh absolutely, "quidam clerici;" all others, who have since written the Legends of Odo, do tell this tale against certain priests of Canterbury; adding to the words of Osberne, "quidam clerici Cantuarienses." But to convict the falsehood of them all, as well of Osberne as of the rest, there is a legend of the life of Odo, and of Oswald together, more ancient than this of Osberne, written (as it may seem) in the time of Elfric, archbishop of Canterbury, and Elphege, then bishop of Winchester, wherein mention is made indeed of this miracle, but after another sort than this of Osberne, and to another purpose than to dissuade certain priests, infected with that error, from the opinion before declared: which is only brought to show the holiness of Odo, as commonly the manner of legends is to do: so that in this old legend it is thus reported, that when this miracle was done, Odo disclosed not the matter to many priests of England that were in that error, as Osberne would,[1] "but called unto him a certain faithful servant who was near about him, and showed unto him the miracle secretly;" whereupon the priest (saith the legend), much rejoiced at the holiness of Odo, and desired him to make his prayer to Almighty God, that the body might return again to the former shape, &c. Out of this old lying legend Osberne, and others likewise that followed him, seemeth to have taken this tale, so that out of the error of one (as the manner is) springeth the error of a number more. The authors of this fabulous miracle do not agree with themselves. Lying legends.

But this much more I marvel, why this miracle is not storied in Henry Huntington, who professedly writeth of such miracles, nor in Roger Hoveden, and such others; but only in such blind legends, which commonly have no substance of verity, nor certainty of time or writer, to know when and by whom they were written, and for the most part are stuffed with lying visions and prodigious fables.

Finally, if this miraculous fiction of Osberne were true, that for the converting of priests of England who would not believe transubstantiation, this blood did drop out of the Host (of which blood peradventure came the blood of Hayles),[2] and by the sight thereof, the priests eftsoon were all converted (as Osberne pretendeth), how then came it to pass, that after the time of Odo, in the days of Elfric, who was after him archbishop of Canterbury, the third from Dunstan, and fourth from Odo, not only the priests of England, but also the archbishop himself, were not yet brought to the belief of this transubstantiation, but taught the very same doctrine of the sacrament then, which we do now: as most clearly appeareth both

(1) 'Sed vocat protinus fidelem servum, qui cominus erat, et miraculum secretum demonstrat,' &c.

(2) For the origin of the blood of Hayles, see the note upon the Phantasy of Idolatry on a subsequent page.—Ed.

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by the epistles and homilies of the aforesaid archbishop Elfric, which hereunder, for the more evidence (Christ willing) we will annex.

This Elfric, as saith Capgrave, in the life of Oswald bishop of Worcester, was first abbot of St. Alban's, and after made archbishop of Canterbury, about A.D. 996, in the time of king Etheldred, and of Wulfsine, bishop of Sherbourne. Elfric also (as witnesseth William of Malmesbury, in the life of Adelmus), was abbot of Malmesbury. Furthermore, the said William of Malmesbury, writing of Elfric, archbishop of Canterbury, saith, that he was before bishop of Wells, and afterwards bishop of Canterbury. So, that Elfric was archbishop of Canterbury, it is out of all ambiguity. But whether Elfric, who was abbot (of whom we do here entreat), were the same archbishop or not, by this diversity of Capgrave and Malmesbury, it may be doubtful. But whether he were or no, to this our present purpose is not greatly material, forasmuch as the said Elfric and Elfric, although they were divers persons, yet were they both in one age, and lived in one time together.

The writings of Elfric authentic.

Furthermore, the same Elfric of whom now we speak, of what calling soever he was, yet, notwithstanding, he was of such estimation and good liking in those days amongst the most learned, that for his learning, authority, and eloquence, his writings were accepted and authorized among the canons and constitutions of the church in that time, as hereby may appear. For whereas the bishops and priests, before the coming of William the Conqueror, had collected together a certain book of canons and ordinances to govern the clergy, gathered out of general and particular councils, out of the book of Gildas, out of the penitential books of Theodore, archbishop of Canterbury, out of the writings of Egbert, archbishop of York, out of the epistles of Alcuinus, as also out of the writings of the old fathers of the primitive church, &c.; among the same canons and constitutions be placed these two epistles of the said Elfric hereunder following, whereof the one was sent to Wulfsine, bishop of Sherbourne, the other to Wulfstane, archbishop of York; as yet are to be seen in two books belonging to the library of the church of Worcester, the one written in the old Saxons' tongue, entitled 'Beppeoꝛt ðinoþe,' the other for the most part in Latin, with this title, 'Admonitio Spiritualis Doctrinæ:' which book of Saxon canons and constitutions, sometime belonging to Wulfstane bishop of Worcester, was given by him, as for a great jewel, to the church of Worcester, as by the same book appeareth.[1]

Moreover, besides this book of Worcester above-touched, there is yet extant also another like book of canons, belonging to the church of Exeter, wherein the same two epistles of Elfric be contained in the old Saxon tongue, and also in Latin, and prescribed yearly to be read to the clerks and priests of that church; which book, in like manner, was given to the church of Exeter, by Leofric, the first and most famous bishop of that see.[2]

Of this Elfric, further, is to be understood, that he translated two books of fourscore sermons out of Latin into the Saxon speech, used then orderly to be read in churches on Sundays, and other festival

(1) Ex Archivis Eccles. Wigornensis. (2) Ex Archivis Eccles. Exoniensis.

days of the year; as by his own words may appear, in the end of one of the said books of sermons, whose words be these: *Henry VIII.* A.D. 1540.

Fela ꝑæȝene ȝoðꝑpell þe ꝑoplætað onþiꝑum ðihte. þa mæȝ apenðan ꝑe ðe þile; Ne ðunne þe ðaꝑ boc na micleꝑ þiþon ȝelængan. ðyleꝑ þe heo ungemetegoð ꝑý. ⁊ mannum æþnæt ðuþh hine mcielniꝑꝑe aꝑtiþȝe:

'We let pass, many good gospels, which he that listeth may translate. For we dare not enlarge this book much further, lest it be over great, and so be a cause of loathsomeness to men, through the bigness thereof,' &c.

Also, in another place, he confesseth the same of himself; whose words in the preface before his grammar be these:

Ic Ælꝼnic polde ða liꝼtlan boc apenðan to engliꝑcum ȝeꝑeopðe oꝼ ðam ꝼtæꝼ cꝑæꝼte ðe iꝑ ȝehaten ȝnammtica. ꝑýððan ic tꝑa bec apende on hund eahtatiȝum ꝑpellum: *Eighty sermons translated by Elfric into the English or Saxon tongue.*

'I, Elfric, was desirous to turn into our English tongue, from the art of letters called grammar, this little book, after that I had translated the two books of fourscore sermons,' &c.

Of his epistles especially we read of four which he wrote, one to the monks of Egnehsam, 'De consuetudine Monachorum;' another to Wulfstane, archbishop of York, wherein is touched the matter of the sacrament: the third he wrote against priests' marriage, to one Sygeferth, with whom there was a certain anchorite abiding, who defended the marriage of priests, affirming it to be lawful. The fourth he wrote to Wulfsine, bishop of Sherbourne, touching the matter of the sacrament; in the which epistle, he, taking occasion by a certain abuse in his time, which was, that priests, on Easter-day, filled their housel-box for sick persons, and so kept it for the space of a whole year, till Easter came again, writeth upon that occasion in these words, as follow in his own Saxon tongue. *Four Epistles written of Elfric in Saxon.*

The Words of Elfric, written to Wulfsine, Bishop of Sherbourne, against Transubstantiation.

Man ꝑceal healðen þæt haliȝe huꝑel miþ mẏcelne ȝẏmene ⁊ ne ꝼoꝛhealðan hiꝛ.ac halȝian oþeꝛ eðnipe to ꝑceocum mannum.a. embe vii.niht. oððe embe xiiii. niht þ hiꝛ huꝛu ꝼẏniȝ ne ꝑẏ.ꝼoꝛðon ðe eal ꝑpa haliȝ bið þ huꝑel ðe nu to dæȝ þæꝑ ȝehalȝoð. ꝑpa þ ðe on eaꝑtteꝛnæȝ þæꝑ ȝehalȝoð; Ðæt huꝑel iꝑ Cꝛiꝑteꝑ lichama na lchamlice ac ȝaꝑtlice; Na ꝑe lichama ðe he on ðꝛopodbe. ac ꝑe lichama ðe he embe ꝑꝼꝼæc.ða ða he bleꝑꝑode hlaꝼ ⁊ þin to huꝑel anne niht æꝼ hiꝑ ðꝛopunȝe. ⁊ cꝑæþ be þam ȝebleꝑꝑode hlaꝼe.ðiꝑ iꝑ min lichama. and eꝼt be ðam haȝan pine.ðiꝑ iꝑ min blode þe bið ꝼoꝛ manegum aȝoten on ꝑẏnna ꝼoꝛȝẏꝼeneꝑꝑe; Vnðeꝛꝑtandaþ nu þ ꝑe ðꝛiȝhten ðe niht apenðon ðone hlaꝼ æꝼ hiꝑ ðꝛopunȝe to hiꝑ lichaman. and þ þin to hiꝑ blode ȝaꝑtlice. þæt ꝑe ẏlca dæȝhpamlice bleꝑꝑah ðuþh ꝑaceꝼda handa hlaꝼ ⁊ þin to hiꝑ ȝaꝑtlican lichaman and to hiꝑ ȝiꝑtlican blode.

The same in English.

Men shall reserve more carefully that holy housel, and not reserve it too long, but hallow other of new, for sick men, always within a week or a fortnight, *The sacrament is*

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the Lord's body, not bodily but ghostly.

that it be not so much as hoary: for so holy is the housel which to day is hallowed, as that which on Easter-day was hallowed. That housel is Christ's body not bodily, but ghostly: not the body which he suffered in, but the body of which he spake, when he blessed bread and wine, to housel, the night before his suffering, and said, by the blessed bread, 'This is my body:' and again, by the holy wine, 'This is my blood which is shed for many in forgiveness of sins.' Understand now that the Lord, who could turn that bread, before his suffering, to his body, and that wine, to his blood ghostly, that the selfsame Lord blesseth daily, through the priest's hands, bread and wine, to his ghostly body and to his ghostly blood.

After this epistle of Elfric above prefixed, written to Wulfsine, bishop of Sherbourne, concerning the sacramental bread, how it is not Christ's body 'lichamlice,' that is 'bodily,' or, as we term it now, 'really;' and also how the same ought not to be over long kept in the pix; here followeth further another epistle of the said Elfric, written to Wulfstane, archbishop of York, both reprehending the said abuse above touched, and also containing matter more at large, against the bodily presence in the sacramental bread. The copy of his epistle, both in his own Saxon and our English, here followeth:

Another Epistle of Elfric, Archbishop of Canterbury, to Wulfstane, Archbishop of York; in Saxon.

Svme pꝛeoꝛtaꝛ ʒeꝼẏllað heoꝛa huꝛel box on eaꝛtꝛon. ⁊ healðaþ oꝼeꝛ tꝛelꝼ monaþ to untꝛimmum mannum. ꝛꝼẏlce ðæt huꝛel ꝛẏ haliʒne ðonne oþeꝛ. Ac hi ðoþ unꝼiꝛlice. ꝼoꝛðam he hit ꝼannað. oð ðe mid ealle ꝼoꝛꝛotað on ꝛꝼa lanʒum ꝼẏꝛꝛte. ⁊ he bið þonne ꝛcẏlðiʒ ꝛꝼa ꝛꝼa uꝛ ꝛæʒþ ꝛeo boc; ðe ðe huꝛel ꝼoꝛhẏlt. oð ðe hit ꝼoꝛlẏꝛt. oð ðe miꝛ eton. oð ðe oðꝛe nẏtenu. ꝛceaꝼa þa pœnitētialem. hꝼæt he ꝛæʒðe þiꝛum; Eal ꝛꝼa haliʒ iꝛ ðæt huꝛel ðe bið ʒehalʒoð to ðæʒ. ꝛꝼa ðæt ðe bið ʒehalʒoð on ðam halʒan eaꝛteꝛ ðæʒe; Healðaþ ꝼoꝛþiʒ ic biðde þone halʒan Cꝛiꝛteꝛ lichaman mid maꝼan ꝼiꝛðome to ꝛeocum mannum ꝼꝛam ꝛunnan ðæʒe to ꝛunna ðæʒe on ꝛꝼiþe clænum boxe. oð ðe be ðam mæꝛtan ꝼeoꝼeꝛtẏne niht. ⁊ ðicʒaþ hit þonne. and lecʒað ðæꝛ oþæꝛ; ꝼe habbaþ bẏ ꝛene be ðam on Moẏꝛeꝛ bocum. ꝛꝼa ꝛꝼa God ꝛẏlꝼ bebeað on Moẏꝛeꝛ æ. ðæt ꝛe ꝛaceꝛð ꝛceolðe on ælcum ꝛæteꝛneꝛ ðæʒe ꝼettan tꝛelꝼ hlaꝼaꝛ on ðam taberꝛnaculo ealle niꝼe bacene. ða ꝼæꝛon ʒehatene 'Panes propositionis.' ⁊ hiʒ ꝛceolðon ðæꝛ ꝛtanðan on ðam Goðeꝛ ʒetælðe oð oþeꝛne ꝛæteꝛneꝛ ðæʒ. ⁊ etan hi ðonne ða ꝛaceꝛðaꝛ ꝛẏlꝼe. ⁊ ꝛettan ðæꝛ oðꝛe;

Sume pꝛeoꝛtaꝛ nellað ðicʒan ðæt huꝛel ðe hi halʒiaþ; Nu ꝼille ꝼe eoꝼ ꝛecʒan. hu ꝛeo boc ꝛeʒð be þam; Pꝛeꝛbẏteꝛ miꝛꝛam celebꝛanꝛ. ⁊ non audenꝛ ꝛumeꝛe ꝛacꝛiꝼicium accuꝛante conꝛcientia ꝛua anathema eꝛt; Se mæꝛꝛeꝼꝛeoꝛt ðe mæꝛꝛaþ. ⁊ ne ðeaꝼ ðæt huꝛel ðiʒan. ꝼat hine ꝛcẏlðiʒne. ꝛe iꝛ amanꝛumoð; Læꝛꝛe pleoh iꝛ to ðiʒenne ðæt huꝛel. ðonne to halʒienne; ðe ðe tuꝼa halʒaþ ane oꝼletan to huꝛle. ꝛe bið þam ʒeðꝼolan ʒelice. ðe an cild ꝼullaþ tuꝼa; Cꝛiꝛt ꝛẏlꝼ ʒehalʒoð huꝛel æꝛ hiꝛ ðꝛoꝼunʒe. he bletꝛoðe ðone hlaꝼ. ⁊ to bꝛæc þuꝛ cꝼeþende to hiꝛ halʒum apoꝛtolum, etaþ ðiꝛne hlaꝼ. hit iꝛ min lichama: ⁊ he eꝼt bletꝛoðe ænne calic mid ꝼine. ⁊ cꝼæþ heom ðuꝛ to. ðꝛincaþ ealle oꝼ ðiꝛum. hit iꝛ min aʒen bloðe ðæꝛe niꝼan ʒecẏðnẏꝛꝛe. ðe bið ꝼoꝛ maneʒum aʒoten on ꝛẏnna ꝼoꝛʒẏꝼenẏꝛꝛe; Se dꝛihten þe halʒoðe huꝛel æꝛ hiꝛ ðꝛoꝼunʒe. ⁊ cꝼæþ þ ꝛe hlaꝼ ꝼæꝼe hiꝛ aʒen lichama. and þæt ꝼin þæꝛe þitoðlice hiꝛ bloð. ꝛe halʒaþ ðæʒhꝼamlice þuꝼʒh hiꝛ ꝛaceꝛða handa hlaꝼ to hiꝛ lichaman. ⁊ ꝼin to hiꝛ bloð on ʒaꝛtliceꝛe ʒeꝼẏne. ꝛꝼa ꝛꝼa ꝼe ꝼæðaþ on bocum; Ne bið ꝛe liꝼlica hlaꝼ lichamlice ꝛꝼa ꝼeah ꝛe ẏlca lichama.

ðe Cꞃiſt on ðꞃoꝑoðe; Ne ðæt haliȝe ꝑin niſ þæſ hælenðeſ bloð þe ꝑoꞃ uſ aȝoten ꝑæſ on lichamlice þinȝ. ac on ȝaſtlicum andȝÿte; Æȝþeꞃ bið ſoþlice ſe hlaf hiſ lichama. ⁊ ꝥ ꝑin eac hiſ bloð ſꝑa ſꝑa ſe heoꝑonlica hlaf ꝑæſ. ðe ꝑe hataþ manna ðe ꝑeoꝑeꞃtiȝ ȝeaꞃa afeððe Goðeſ ꝑolce. ⁊ þæt hlutꞃe ꝑæteꞃ ꝑæſ ꝑitoðlice hiſ blod. ðe aꞃ noꝑ ðam ſtane on ðam ꝑæſtene ða; Sꝑa ſꝑa Pauluſ aꝑꞃæt on ſumon hiſ piſtole: 'Omnes patres nostri eandem escam spiritualem manducaverunt: et omnes eundem potum spiritualem biberunt,' &c. Ealle uꞃe ꝑæðeꞃaſ æton on ðam ꝑæſtene þone ÿlcan ȝaſtlicam meꝛe. ⁊ ðone ȝaſtlican ðꞃenc ðꞃuncon; Þi ðꞃuncon oꝑ þam ȝaſtlican ſtane. ⁊ ſe ſtane ꝑæſ Cꞃiſt; Se apoſtol ſæðe ſꝑa ſꝑa ȝe nu ȝehÿꞃðon þæt hi ealle æton ðone ÿlcan ȝaſtlican meꝛe. ⁊ hi ealle ðꞃuncon ðone ȝaſtlican ðꞃenc; Ne cꝑæð he na lichamlice. ac ȝaſtlice; Næſ Cꞃiſt ða ȝÿt ȝeboꞃen ne hiſ bloð næſ aȝoten. ða þæt Iſꞃahela ꝑolc ȝeæt ðone meꝛe. ⁊ oꝑ ðam ſtane ðꞃanc. ⁊ ſe ſtan næſ lichamlice Cꞃiſt ðeah he ſꝑa cꝑæðe; Þit ꝑæꞃon ða ÿlcan ȝeꞃÿnu on ðæꞃe ealðam æ. ⁊ hi ȝaſtlice ȝetacnoðon þet ȝaſtlice huſel uꞃeſ hælenðeſ lichaman. ðe ꝑe halȝiaþ nu.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1540.

The same Epistle of Elfric to Wulfstane, touching the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper, in English.

Some priests fill their box for housel on Easter-day, and so reserve it a whole year for sick men, as though that housel were more holy than any other. But they do unadvisedly, because it waxeth hoary or altogether rotten, by keeping it so long space: and thus are they become guilty, as the book witnesseth to us. If any do keep the housel so long, or lose it, or mice or other beasts do eat it, see what the penitential book saith by this: 'So holy is altogether that housel which is hallowed to-day, as that which is hallowed on Easter-day.' Wherefore I beseech you to keep the holy body of Christ with more advisement, for sick men, from Sunday to Sunday, in a very clean box; or at the most not to keep it above a fortnight, and then eat it, laying other in the place. We have an example hereof in Moses' books, as God himself hath commanded in Moses' law, how the priests should set, every Saturday, twelve loaves, all new baked, upon the tabernacle, which were called 'Panes propositionis:' and those should stand there, in God's tabernacle, till the next Saturday; and then did the priests themselves eat them, and set others in the place.

Some priests will not eat the housel which they do hallow. But we will now declare unto you how the book speaketh by them: 'Presbyter missam celebrans, et non audens sumere sacrificium, accusante conscientia, anathema est:' 'The priest that doth say mass, and dare not eat the housel, his conscience accusing him, is accursed.' It is less danger to receive the housel, than to hallow it. He that doth twice hallow one host to housel, is like unto those heretics, who do christen twice one child. Christ himself blessed housel before his suffering: he blessed the bread and brake it, thus speaking to his apostles, 'Eat this bread; it is my body.' And again, he blessed one chalice with wine, and thus also spake unto them, 'Drink ye all of this; this is mine own blood of the new testament, which is shed for many for the forgiveness of sins.' The Lord who hallowed housel before his suffering, and saith that the bread was his own body, and that the wine was truly his blood, halloweth daily, by the hands of the priest, bread to his body, and wine to his blood, in ghostly mystery, as we read in books. And yet, notwithstanding, that lively bread is not bodily so; nor the self-same body that Christ suffered in; nor is that holy wine the Saviour's blood which was shed for us in bodily thing, but in ghostly understanding. Both be truly, that bread is his body, and that wine also is his blood; as was the heavenly bread which we call 'manna,' that fed forty years God's people; and the clear water, which did then run from the stone in the wilderness, was truly his blood, as St. Paul wrote in one of his epistles,[1] 'All our fathers did eat in the wilderness the same ghostly meat, and drink the same ghostly drink: they drank

Bodily presence denied.

(1) 'Omnes patres nostri eandem escam spiritualem manducaverunt, et omnes eundem potum spiritualem biberunt,' &c.

Henry VIII. A. D. 1540.

of that ghostly stone, and that stone was Christ.' The apostle hath said, as you have heard, that they all did eat the same ghostly meat, and they all did drink the same ghostly drink. And he saith not 'bodily,' but 'ghostly.' And Christ was not yet born, nor his blood shed, when the people of Israel did eat that meat and drank of that stone. And the stone was not bodily Christ, though he so said. It was the same mystery[1] in the old law, and they did ghostly signify that ghostly housel of our Saviour's body, which we consecrate now.

Eighty sermons translated out of Latin into Saxon, by Elfric.

A book of sermons selected out of them.

Besides these epistles above prefixed of Elfric to Wulfsine and Wulfstane, which fight directly against transubstantiation, mention was touched also before of certain sermons, to the number of fourscore, translated by the said Elfric out of Latin into the Saxon, that is, into our English tongue, as ye partly have heard before. Of the which fourscore sermons, twenty-four were chiefly selected to be read, instead of homilies or treatises, unto the people; in such order as the first twelve sermons or treatises, treating of general matters (as, De initio creaturæ, De auguriis, De die judicii, Unius confessoris, De vaniloquio et negligentia, De avaritia, De falsis diis, &c.) were appointed to be read at pleasure, and at the discretion of the minister. The other twelve sermons were prescribed of proper feasts (as, De annunciatione beatæ Mariæ, De nativitati Domini, De circumcisione Domini, De epiphania, De purificatione sanctæ Mariæ, Dominica prima in Quadragesima, Dominica palmarum die paschæ, &c.) Whereof this testimony remaineth in the same book yet to be seen, both in the Saxon tongue, and also in the preface of the latter twelve sermons in Latin, in these words following, 'In hoc codicillo continentur sermones Anglicè, quos accepimus de libris quos abbas Anglicè transtulit,' &c.

Furthermore, as touching these fourscore sermons aforesaid, which Elfric translated into English, here is to be understood, that among the said sermons, used then orderly to be recited by the people, there was one appointed to be read In Die Sancto Paschæ, that is, upon Easter-day; which sermon, being translated by the said Elfric, we have here exhibited both in Saxon speech and English, to the intent that the christian and indifferent reader, perusing the same, may judge thereby how the fantastical doctrine of transubstantiation, in those days of Elfric, and before his time, was not yet received or known in the church of England; forasmuch as the said sermon, being in Latin before, doth leave unto us an evident declaration, what was the common opinion of the sacrament in the church received, before Elfric did ever set hand to translate the same out of the Latin.

Latin books, written against transubstantiation, craftily by the papists abolished.

And though the Latin copies and exemplars of these aforesaid sermons are not remaining in our libraries, let that be no marvel to thee, loving reader! but understand thereby the crafty packing of the pope's clergy, who, in the time of Lanfranc and pope Innocent, studying by all means how to prefer and further this their new-come doctrine of transubstantiation, did abolish and rase out of libraries and churches all such books which made to the contrary. And therefore, because Lanfranc, and other Italian priests here in England, understood not the Saxon books as they did the Latin (all that which they understood they made away), the Saxon books, because they knew them not, they let remain: and this is the cause why our Saxon copies are now

(1) That is, a mystery of the same thing that was in the old law.

to be found: which to be true by three reasons conjectural it may be probably supposed. *Henry VIII.* A. D. 1540.

First, for that these Saxon sermons, being translated out of the Latin (as ye have heard by the words of Elfric already proved), we see only the Saxon books reserved: of the Latin none do appear.

Three conjectures proving this.

Secondly, there is yet remaining one certain piece or fragment of an epistle of Elfric in the library of Worcester; wherein, so much as maketh against the matter of transubstantiation, we found in the middle of the said Latin epistle utterly rased out, so that no letter nor piece of a letter doth there appear. The words cut out were these:[1] 'Notwithstanding this sacrifice is not the same body of his wherein he suffered for us, nor the same blood of his which he shed for us: but, spiritually, it is made his body and blood as that manna which rained from heaven, and the water which did flow out of the rock. As Paul,' &c. These words, so rased out, are to be restored again by another Saxon book found in Exeter: by the rasing of which one place, it may easily be conjectured what these practisers have likewise done in the rest.

Words craftily rased out by the papists, and restored by the Saxon book of Exeter.

Thirdly, by one Italian trick of Polydore Virgil in our days, the properties and doings of all other Italian papists of elder time may partly be conjectured: for so I am informed by such as precisely will affirm it to be true, that when Polydore, being licensed by the king to view and search all libraries, had once accomplished his story by the help of such books as he had compiled out of libraries; in the end, when he had taken out what he would, like a true factor for the pope's own tooth, he piled his books together, and set them all on a light fire. For what cause he so did, I cannot certainly pronounce; but whoso considereth well his religion, may shrewdly suspect him: for a probation whereof, this may serve for a sufficient trial; that whereas of all other writers of histories that have been in England, as of Fabian, Lanquet, Rastal, More, Leland, Bale, Hall, and such others, some of their books which they then occupied, yet remain in hands to be seen: only of such books as Polydore used, and which past his hands, what Englishman is he that hath seen, or can show me one? Whereby it may well be thought the aforesaid information to be true. As also by this one Italian trick of Polydore, may other Italians likewise be suspected, in making away such Latin books within this land, as made not for their purpose. But, forasmuch as those Latin books be now abolished, and cannot be had, let us return to our Saxon tongue again, and see what this Saxon sermon of Elfric's translation, doth say for transubstantiation; the copy whereof here ensueth.[2]

An Italian trick of Polydore, to burn his books.

(1) 'Non est tamen hoc sacrificium corpus ejus, in quo passus est pro nobis, neque sanguis ejus quem pro nobis effudit: sed spiritualiter corpus ejus efficitur et sanguis, sicut manna quod de cœlo pluit, et aqua quæ de petra fluxit. Sicut Paulus,' &c.

(2) This sermon, or homily, as it is more commonly called, was published separately by archbishop Parker, in the year 1566, and reprinted, afterwards, at Oxford, in 1675. See Strype's Life of Parker, vol. ii. book 4, page 503, Edit. Oxford, 1821; where Strype observes that Foxe 'hath left out several passages which contained some legendary miracles relating to the sacrament, and some particular passages which look favourably towards the doctrine of the church of Rome: which are not omitted in the archbishop's edition of the book.' The full title is this: 'A Sermon of the Paschal Lamb, and of the sacramental body and blood of Christ, written in the old Saxon tongue before the Conquest, and appointed in the reign of the Saxons to be spoken unto the people at Easter, before they should receive the Communion: and now first translated into our common English speech.'—Ed.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1540.

'IN DIE SANCTÆ PASCÆ.'

A SERMON TRANSLATED OUT OF LATIN INTO THE SAXON TONGUE, BY ELFRIC, AGAINST TRANSUBSTANTIATION. ANNO DOMINI, 996.

The Alphabet of the Saxon Tongue.

d. f. g. r. s. t. w. y.

ꝑ¶ a.b.c.ꝺ.e.ꝼ.ȝ.h.ı.l.m.n.o.p.ꝓ.ꝛ.ſ.ꝺ.p.x.ẏ.z.

Abbreviations.

Th. Th. S. W. and. th. th.

Ð.þ.8.p.ꝟ.ꝺ.þ.

This Sermon was usual to be read in the Church here in England in the Saxons' time.

Men ðæ leoꝛoꝛtan. ȝelome eop ıꝛ ȝeꝛæꝺ ẏmbe unet hælenꝺeꝛ æꝛıꝛte. hu he on þıꝛum anꝺpeaꝛꝺan bæȝe æꝛtep hıꝛ ðꝛopunȝe mıhtıȝlıce oꝛ ꝺeaþe aꝛaꝛ; Nu pille pe eop ȝeopenıan ðuph Goꝺeꝛ ȝıꝛe be þam halȝan huꝛle ðe ȝenu toȝan ꝛceolon. ꝟ ȝepıꝛꝛıan eopep anꝺȝẏt ẏmbe ðæne ȝepẏnu. æȝðep ȝe æꝛtep þæne ealꝺan ȝecẏþnẏꝛꝛe. ȝe æꝛtep þæne nıꝓan. ðẏ læꝛ. ðe ænıȝ tpeonunȝe eop ꝺeꝛıan mæȝe be ðam lıꝛlıcum ȝepeonꝺe;

Se almıhtıȝa Goꝺ bebeaꝺ þam henetoȝan on Ɇȝẏꝓta lanꝺe. ꝓ he ꝛceolꝺe bebeoꝺan Iꝛꝛahela ꝓoıce. ꝓ hı namon æt ælcum heoꝛþe aneꝛ ȝeapeꝛ lambe on þæne mıhte þæ hı ꝓepꝺon oꝛ tham lanꝺe to ðam behatenan eaꝛꝺe. ꝟ ꝛceolꝺon ꝓ lambe Goꝺe ȝeoꝛꝛꝓıan. ꝟ ꝛẏþþan ꝛmıþan. ꝟ pẏncan poꝺe tacn on heopa ȝeꝺẏþum. ꝟ oꝛepꝛleȝum mıꝺ ðæꝛ lambeꝛ bloꝺ. etan ꝛẏþþan þæꝛ lambeꝛ flæꝛꝛc ȝebpæꝺ. anꝺ ðeoꝛꝛe hlaꝛaꝛ mıꝺ ꝓelðlıcpe lactucan; Goꝺ cpæþ to Moẏꝛen. ne ete ȝe oꝛ þam lambe nan ðınȝ bpeap. ne on pætepe ȝeꝛoþen ac ȝebpæꝺ to ꝛẏne; Etaþ ꝓ heaꝛoꝺ. ꝟ þa ꝓæt. ꝟ ꝓ ınnepeaꝛꝺe. ne hıꝛ nan þınȝ ne belıꝛe oþ mepȝen. ȝıꝛ ðæp hpæt to laꝛe ꝛẏ. ꝓoꝛbæpneþ ꝓ. þıcȝaþ hıt on þaꝛ þıꝛan; Beȝẏꝺaþ eopepe lenꝺenu. anꝺ beoþ ȝeꝛceoꝺe. haꝺaþ eop ꝛtaꝛ on hanꝺe. ꝟ etaþ heaþolıce. ðeoꝛ tıꝺ ıꝛ Goꝺeꝛ ꝛæpelꝺ; Anꝺ peaꝛþ ða on ðæpe mıhte oꝛꝛlezen on ælcum huꝛe ȝeonꝺ eal Phaꝛaoeꝛ pıce. ꝓ ꝛpumcennepe cılꝺ. anꝺ pæꝛ ꝓ Goꝺeꝛ ꝓolc Iꝛꝛahel abneꝺ ꝛpam þam ꝛeþ ican ꝺeaþe. ðuph ðæꝛ lambeꝛ oꝛꝛpunȝe. anꝺ hıꝛ bloꝺeꝛ meaꝛcunȝe; þe cpæþ Goꝺ to Moẏꝛen. healꝺaþ ðıꝛnedæȝ on eoꝛꝛum ȝemẏnꝺe. ꝟ ꝛneolꝛıaþ hıne mæplıce on eoꝛꝛum cẏnpenum mıꝺ ecum bıȝencȝe. ꝟ etah ðeoꝛꝼne hlaꝼ ꝛẏmle ꝛeoꝛan ꝺaȝaꝛ æt þıꝛne ꝛneolꝛ tıꝺe;

Æꝼtep ðıꝛꝛepe ꝺæꝺe læꝺꝺe Goꝺ ꝓ Iꝛꝛahela ꝓolc oſ\ep þa neaꝺan ꝛæ. mıꝺ ꝺnıum ꝓotum. ꝟ aꝺꝛænecte ðæn on Phaꝛaꝺ. ꝟ ealne hıꝛ heꝛe ꝛamoꝺ ðe heoꝛa ehton. ꝟ apeꝺꝺe ꝛẏþþan ꝓ Iꝛꝛahela ꝓolc ꝓeoꝛꝛtıȝ ȝeaꝛa mıꝺ *heoꝛonlıcum* bıȝleoꝛan. ꝟ hım ꝓoꝛȝeaꝼ peteꝛ oꝛ heaꝛꝺum ꝛtan clube. oð ꝓ hı comon to þam behatenum epele; Sume haꝛ nace pe habbaꝛ ꝓetꝛahtnoꝺ on oþꝛe ꝛtoꝛeꝛume pe ẏllað nu ȝeopenıan. ꝓ þe belımpþ to þam halȝan huꝛle; Cnıꝛtene menn nemoton healꝺan nu þa ealꝺan æ lıchamlıce. ac hım ȝeꝺaꝼenaþ ꝓ hı cunnon hpæt heo ȝaꝛtlıce tacnıe; ꝓ unꝛcæþþıe lambe þe ꝛe ealꝺe Iꝛꝛahela þa oꝛꝛnaþ. hæꝛꝺe ȝetacnunȝe æꝛtep ȝaꝛtlıcum anꝺȝẏte Cnıꝛteꝛ ðꝛopunȝe ꝛe þe unꝛcæþþıȝ ꝓoꝛ unе alẏꝛeꝺnıꝛꝛe hıꝛ halıȝe bloꝺ aȝeaꝛ; Be þam ꝛınȝaþ Goꝺeꝛ ðeoꝛaꝛ æt ælceꝛe mæꝛꝛan 'Agnus Dei qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis;' ꝓ ıꝛ on unum ȝepeonꝺe. ðu Goꝺeꝛ lamb ðe ætbneꝛꝛt muꝺꝺan eaꝛꝺeꝛ ꝛẏnna ȝemıltꝛa uꝛ;

Ꝑ Iꝛꝛahela ꝓolc ꝑeaꝛþ alyneð ꝓam þam ꝓæꝛlicum beaꝛe. ⁊ ꝓam Phaꝛaoeꝛ ꝑeoꝛꝛe ðuꝛh ꝑæꝛ lambeꝛ oꝑꝑnunge. ꝑe hæꝑꝺe ꝛetacnunge Cꝛiꝛteꝛ ðꝛopunge. ꝺuꝛh ꝑa ꝑe ꝛinð alyꝛeꝺe ꝓam ðam ecum beaꝛ. ⁊ ðæꝛ neꝑan beoꝑleꝛ anꝑealꝺe. giꝑ ꝑe ꝛihtlice ꝛeliꝑaþ on ðone ꝛoꝑan alýꝛenð ealleꝛ miꝺðan eaꝛðeꝛ hælenð Cꝛiꝛt; Ꝑ lamb ꝑæꝛ ꝛeoꝑꝑnoꝺe on æꝑnunge. ⁊ uꝑe hælenð ðꝛopoꝺe on ðæꝑe ꝛixtan ýlꝺe þiꝛꝛeꝑe poꝛulꝺe; ðeo ýlð iꝛ ꝛetealð to æꝑnunge þiꝛeꝛ ateoꝛiꝛelican miꝺðan eaꝛðeꝛ; Hi meaꝛcoðan miꝺ þæꝛ lambeꝛ bloꝺe on heoꝛa ꝛeðýnum. ⁊ oueꝛꝛleꝛum tau. Ꝑ iꝛ noꝺe tacen. ⁊ ꝓuꝛðon ꝛꝓa ꝛ ꝛceilꝺe ꝓnam þam engle. ꝑe acpealꝺe ðæꝛa exiꝛtiꝛcꝛa ꝓnumcenneðan cilð; And ꝑe ꝛceolon meaꝛcian uꝑe ꝓoꝛꝑeaꝛꝺe heaꝑoð. and uꝑne lichaman miꝺ Cꝛiꝛteꝛ noꝺe tacne. Ꝑ ꝑe beon alyneꝺꝺe ꝓnam ꝓoꝛꝑýꝺe. ꝺonne ꝑe beoþ ge meaꝛcoꝺe ægþeꝛ ge on ꝓoꝛan heaꝑꝺe ge on heoꝛtan miꝺ bloꝺe þæꝛe ꝺuihtenlicam ðꝛopunge; Ꝑ Iꝛꝛahela ꝓolc æt þæꝛ lambeꝛ ꝑleꝛc on heoꝛa eaꝛteꝛ tiꝺe þa þa hi alyneꝺꝺe ꝓuꝺon. ⁊ ꝑe þiegaþ nu gaꝛtlice Cꝛiꝛteꝛ lichaman. and hiꝛ bloꝺ ꝺꝛincaþ. ðonne ꝑe miꝺ ꝛoꝺum geleaꝛan Ꝑ haligе huꝛel ðiegaþ; Ðone timan hi heolꝺon him to eaꝛteꝛ tiꝺe ꝛeoꝛan ꝺagaꝛ miꝺ micclum ꝓuꝺꝑmýnte ðe hi alyneꝺꝺe ꝓuꝺon piþ Phaꝛao. ⁊ oꝑ ðam eaꝛðe ꝑenꝺon. ꝛꝓa eac cꝛiꝛtene men healꝺaþ Cꝛiꝛteꝛ æꝛiꝛt uꝛ to eaꝛteꝛ tiꝺe ðæꝛ ꝛeoꝛan ꝺagaꝛ. ꝓoꝛþan þe ꝑe ꝛinꝛ ðuꝛh hiꝛ ðꝛopunge ⁊ æꝛiꝛt alýꝛeꝺe. ⁊ ꝑe beoþ ꝛeclænꝛoꝺe ðuꝛh ꝑæꝛ halꝛan huꝑel ꝛanꝛeꝛ. ꝛꝓa Cꝛiꝛt ꝛýlꝛ cꝑæþ on hiꝛ ꝛoꝺꝛꝑelle; ðoþ ꝛoþ ic eoꝛ ꝛecge. næbbe ge liꝛ on eoꝛ. buton ge eten min ꝑlæꝛc. and ðꝛincon min bloꝺ; ðe ðe et min ꝑlæꝛc. ⁊ min bloꝺ ðꝛincþ, he punaþ on me. and ic on him. ⁊ he hæꝑþ Ꝑ ece liꝛ ⁊ ic hine aꝛæꝛne on þam enꝺenexꝛan ꝺæge; Ic eom ꝛe liꝛlica hlaꝛ ꝑe oꝛ heoꝛonum aꝛꝛah. na ꝛꝓa ꝛꝓa eoꝑeꝛe ꝓoꝛþ ꝑæꝺeꝛaꝛ æꝛon ðone heoꝛonlican hlaꝛ on ꝑeꝛꝛene. ⁊ ꝛýꝑꝑan ꝛꝓulꝛon; ðe ðe et þiꝛne. hlaꝛ. he leoꝛaþ on ecnýꝛꝛe; He halgoꝺ hlaꝛæꝑ hiꝛ ꝑꝓopunge. ⁊ toꝺæleꝺe hiꝛ ðiꝛcipulum þuꝛ cꝑoꝑenꝺe; Cꝛaþ ðiꝛne hlaꝛ hit iꝛ min lichama. ⁊ ðoþ þiꝛ on mýnum ꝛemýnꝺe; Cꝛꝛ he bleꝛꝛoꝺe ꝑin on anum calice. ⁊ cꝑæþ; Dꝛincaþ ealle oꝛ ðiꝛum. ðiꝛ iꝛ min bloꝺ Ꝑ he biꝺ ꝓoꝛ meneguм aꝛoten on ꝛýnna ꝓoꝛgýꝑenýꝛꝛe; Ða apoꝛtoli ðýꝺon ꝛꝓa ꝛꝓa Cꝛiꝛt heꝛ. Ꝑ hi halgoꝺon hlaꝛ. ⁊ ꝑin to huꝛle eꝛꝛ ꝛýꝑꝑan on hiꝛ ꝛemýnꝺe; Cac ꝛꝑýlce he ona æꝛteꝛ ꝛenegan. and ealle ꝛaceꝺaꝛ be Cꝛiꝛteꝛ hæꝛe balgiaþ hlaꝛ ⁊ ꝑin to huꝛle on hiꝛ naman miꝺ ðæꝛe apoꝛtolican bleꝛꝛunge;

Nu ꝛmeꝺon ꝛehꝑilce men oꝛꝛ. and. giꝛ ꝛelome ꝛmeagaþ. hu ꝛe hlaꝛ ðe biꝺ oꝛ coꝛne ꝛeꝛeaꝛcoꝺ. and ðuꝛh ꝛýneꝛ hætan abacen maꝛe beon apenꝺ to Cꝛiꝛteꝛ lichaman. oꝺðe Ꝑ ꝑin ðe biꝺ oꝛ maneguм beꝑiuм apnunꝛen. ꝑeoꝛhe apenꝺ ðuꝛh aniꝛne bleꝛꝛunge to ðꝛihtneꝛ bloꝺ; Nu ꝛecge ꝑe ꝛehꝑilcum mannum Ꝑ ꝛume ðinꝛ ꝛinð ꝛecꝑeꝺene be Cꝛiꝛt ðuꝛh ꝛetacnunge. ꝛume ðuꝛh ꝛeꝑiꝛꝛum ðinge; ðoð ðinꝛ iꝛ. and ꝛeꝑiꝛ Ꝑ Cꝛiꝛt pæꝛ oꝛ mæðene acenneð, and ꝛýlꝛ ꝑilleꝛ ðꝛopoꝺe ꝺeaꝑ. and ꝑeꝛ beꝺýꝛigeð. and on ðiꝛum ꝺæge oꝛ ꝺeaꝑ anaꝛ; He iꝛ ꝛecꝑeꝺen hlaꝛ ðuꝛh ꝛetacnunge. and lambe. ⁊ leo. ⁊ ꝛehuelleꝛ; He iꝛ hlaꝛ ꝛehaten. ꝓoꝛþan ðe he iꝛ uꝑe liꝛ and engla; Hꝺ iꝛ lamb ꝛecꝑeꝺen ꝓoꝛ hiꝛ unꝛcæððiniꝛꝛe; Leo ꝓoꝛ ðæꝑe ꝛꝛhencꝑe. ðe he oꝑeꝛ ꝛꝑiꝑꝺe ðone ꝛꝛhanꝛan ꝺeoꝑol; Ac ꝛꝓa ðeah ꝛæꝑteꝛ ꝛoþum ꝛecýnꝺe niꝛ Cꝛiꝛt naþoꝛ ne hlaꝛ. nè lamb. ne leo; Hꝑi iꝛ ðonne Ꝑ haligе huꝛel ꝛecꝑeꝺen Cꝛiꝛteꝛ licꝺama. oꝺðe hiꝛ bloꝺ. giꝛ hit niꝛ ꝛoþlice Ꝑ Ꝑ hit ꝛehaten iꝛ; ꝺoþlice ꝛe hlaꝛ. and Ꝑ ꝑin ðe beoþ ðuꝛh ꝛaceꝺa mæꝛꝛan ꝛehalgoꝺe oðeꝛ ðinꝛ he æt eoꝑi ið menniꝛcum anꝺgitum piðutan. ⁊ oꝑeꝛ ðinꝛ hi cliꝑiað ꝑiþ

Henry VIII. A. D. 1540.

Henry VIII. innan ȝelaꝑullum moðum; þiþ utan hi beoþ ȝeþerene hlaf ⁊ þin æȝðer ȝeon hine ȝeon þþæcce. ac hi beoþ þoþlice æꝑter ðæne hal-
A. D. 1540. ȝunȝe Cþiꝑtes lichama. ⁊ hiꝑ blod ðuꝑh ȝaꝑtlice ȝeþýnu; Hæ ðen cild biþ ȝeꝑullod. ac hit ne bnæt na hiꝑ hiþ þið utan ðeah ðe hit beo þiþ innan apend; Hit bið ȝebnoht þýnꝑull ðuꝑh Adames þopȝæȝednýþþe to ðam ꝑant ꝑate; Ac hit biþ appoȝen ꝑnam eallum þýnnum þið innan. ðeah ðe hit þiþ utan hiꝑ hiþ ne apende; Ȝac þþýlce þ haliȝe ꝑant pæten ðe iꝑ ȝehaten liꝑes þýlþþing. iꝑ ȝelic on hiþe oðnum petenum. ⁊ iꝑ unden̄þeod bnoꝑnunȝe. ac ðes halȝan ȝaꝑtes mihꝑ ȝencalæcð ðam bnoꝑniȝendlicum pætene. ðuꝑh ꝑacenda bletꝑunȝe. and hit mæȝ þýþþan lichaman. and ꝑaple aðnean ꝑnam eallum þýnnum ðuꝑh ȝaꝑtlice mihꝑ; Ȝꝑne nu pe ȝeꝑeoþ tpa ðinȝ on ðinum anum ȝeꝑceaꝑte; Æꝑten noþum ðecýnde. þ pæten iꝑ bnoꝑnendlic pæte. ⁊ æꝑten ȝaꝑtlicpe ȝeþýnu hæꝑð halpende mihte; Spa eac ȝiꝑ pe ꝑceapiaþ þ haliȝe huꝑel æꝑten lichamlicum andȝýte. ðonne ȝeꝑeo pe þ hit iꝑ ȝeꝑceaꝑt bnoꝑnendlic ⁊ apendlic; Giꝑ pe ða ȝaꝑtlican mihte þæp on tocnapap ðonne undepȝite pe þ ðæp iꝑ hiꝑ on. and þoþȝiþ undeablicnýþþe. ðam ðe hit mið ȝeleaꝑan ðicȝaþ; Micel iꝑ betpux þæne unȝepepenlican mihte þæꝑ halȝan huꝑleꝑ. ⁊ þam ȝepepenlican hiþe aȝeneꝑ ȝecýndeꝑ; Hit iꝑ on ȝecýnde bnoꝑnendlic hlaf. ⁊ bnoꝑnendlic pin. and iꝑ æꝑten mihte Godcundes þoþdeꝑ. þoþlice Cþiꝑtes lichama ⁊ hiꝑ blod. na ꝑþeah lichamlice ac ȝaꝑtlice;

Micel is betpux þam lichaman þe Cþiꝑt on þpopode. ⁊ þam lichaman þe to huꝑle biþ ȝehalȝod; Se lichama þoþlice þe Cþiꝑt on ðnopode pæꝑ ȝebopen oꝑ Mapian ꝑlæpe. mið blod ⁊ mið banum. mið ꝑell ⁊ mið ꝑinum. on mennipcum limum. mið ȝeꝑceadpirne ꝑaple. ȝeliꝑæꝑt ⁊ hiꝑ ȝaꝑtlica lichama. þe pe huꝑel hatap iꝑ oꝑ maneȝum copnum ȝeȝaderod. buton blod. and bane. limleaꝑ. and papulleaꝑ. and niꝑ þoþþi nan þinȝ ðæp on to undepꝑtandenne *lichamlice.[1] ac iꝑ eal ȝaꝑtlice to undepꝑtandene*; Spa hpæt ꝑpa on þam huꝑle iꝑ þe uꝑ liꝑes ebpiꝑt þoþȝiþ. þ iꝑ oꝑ þæpe ȝaꝑtlican mihte. ⁊ unȝepepenliche ꝑpeinmincȝe; Foþþi iꝑ þ haliȝe huꝑel ȝehaten ȝeþýnu. þoꝑþan þe oþep þinȝ iꝑ þæþon ȝepepen. ⁊ oþep þinȝ undepȝiten; þ þ ðæp ȝepepen iꝑ hæfþ lichamlic hiþ ⁊ þ þ þe ðep on undepꝑtandað hæfþ ȝaꝑtlice mihte; petoblice Cþiꝑtes lichama ðe deaþ ðnopode. ⁊ oꝑ deaþ apaꝑ. ne ꝑþýlt næꝑne heonon þoþþ. ac iꝑ ece ⁊ unþnopiendlic; þ huꝑel iꝑ hþilpendlic. na ece; Bnoꝑniendlic. ⁊ bið ꝑcicc mælum todæled; Betpux toþum tocopen. and into ðam buce eꝑend. ac hit bið ðeah hpæþene æꝑten ȝaꝑtlicne mihꝑ on ælcum dæle eall; Maneȝa undepꝑop ðone halȝan lichaman. ⁊ he bið ꝑpa þeah on ælcum dæle eall eꝑten ȝaꝑtlicne ȝeþýnu; Þeah ꝑume men. ȝeꝑceote læꝑꝑe dæl ne bið ꝑpa ðeah namape miȝht on þam mapan dæle ðonne on ðam læꝑꝑan. þoþ ðan þe hit bið on ælcum men anꝑund æꝑten þæne unȝepepenlican mihte; ðeoꝑ ȝeþýnu iꝑ þedd. and hiþ; Cþiꝑtes lichama iꝑ þoþþæꝑtnýþþe; Ðiꝑ þedd pe healdað ȝeþýnnelice. oð þ pe becumon to ðæne þoþþæꝑtnýþþe. ⁊ ðonne bið þiþ þedd ȝeendod; Soþlice hit iꝑ ꝑpa ꝑpa pe æn cpædon Cþiꝑtes lichama. and hiꝑ blod. na lichamlice ac ȝaꝑtlice;

Vton nu ȝehýpan ðæꝑ Apoꝑtoleꝑ þonð embe ðæꝑ ȝeþýnu; Paulus ꝑe apoꝑtol cpæð be ðam ealdan þolce Iꝑnahela. ðuꝑ þnitende on hiꝑ piꝑtole to ȝeleaꝑꝑullum mannum; Ȝalle une þonð þæðenaꝑ peþon ȝeꝑlluðe on þolcne. and on ꝑæ. and eall hi æton ðone ýlcan ȝaꝑtlican mete. ⁊ ealle hi ðnuncon ðone ýlcan ȝaꝑtlican ðnenc; Hi ðnuncon þoþlice oꝑ æꝑten þilizendan ꝑtane. ⁊ þe ꝑtan pæꝑ Cþiꝑt; Næꝑ þe ꝑtan þe þ pæðen oꝑꝑleop lichamlice æniꝑt ac he ȝetacnode Cþiꝑt. ðe clýpode ðuꝑ to eallum ȝeleaꝑꝑullum mannum ꝑpa hpam

(1) See Edition 1576, page 1117.—Ed.

ꝼꝑa ðẏꝛꝛte come to me anð ðꝛince; ⁊ oꝼ hiꝛ innoþe ꝼleopþ liꝼlic pæten; þiꝛ he ꝛæðe be ðam halgan gaꝛꝛte ðe ða unðen ꝼengon. ðe on hine gelẏꝼðon; ðe apoꝛtol Paulus cꝑæþ ꝓ þ Iꝛꝛahela ꝼolc æte ðone ẏlcan gaꝛtlican mete. ⁊ ðꝛince ðone ẏlcan gaꝛtlican ðꝛenc. ꝼoꝛðan ðe ꝛe ẏlca heoꝼonlica mete ðe hi aꝑeðde. xl. geaꝛa. ⁊ þ pæten ðe oꝼ þan ꝛtane ꝼleop. hæꝼðe getacnunge Cꝛiꝛtes lichaman. ⁊ hiꝛ bloðes. ðe nu beoþ geoꝼꝼnoðe ðæghpamlice on Goðes cẏnca; Hit þæꝛion ða ẏlcan ðe pe nu oꝼꝼꝛiað. na lichamlice. ac gaꝛtlice;

Þe ꝛæðon eoꝛ hpene æꝛ ꝓ Cꝛiꝛt halgoðe hlaꝼ ⁊ pin æꝛ hiꝛ ðꝛopunge to huꝛle. ⁊ cpæð. ðiꝛ iꝛ min lichama. ⁊ min blod; Ne ðꝛopoðe he ða gẏt. ac ꝛꝑa ðeah he apenðe ðuꝛh ungeꝛepenlice mihte ðone hlaꝼ to hiꝛ agenum lichama. ꝛ ꝓ pin to hiꝛ blod; ꝛꝑa ꝛꝑa he æꝛ ðẏðe. on ðam peꝛtene æꝛðan ðe he to men geboꝛen puꝛðe. ða ða he apenðe ðone heoꝛonlican mete to hiꝛ ꝼlæꝛc. ⁊ ꝓ ꝼlopenðe pæten oꝼ ðam ꝛtane to hiꝛ agenum blode; Fela manna æton oꝼ ðam heoꝛonlican mete on ðam peꝛtene. ⁊ ðꝛuncon ðone gaꝛtlican ðꝛenc. ⁊ puꝛðon ꝛꝑa ðeah ðeðe. ꝛꝑa ꝛꝑa Cꝛiꝛt ꝛæðe; Ne mænðe Cꝛiꝛt ðone ðeaþ ðe nan man ꝓoꝛbugan ne mæg. ac he mænde ðone ecan ðeað ðe ꝛume oꝼ ðam ꝼolce ꝼoꝛ heoꝛa geleaꝼleꝛte geaꝛnoðon; Moẏꝛes ⁊ Aaꝛon. ⁊ manega oðꝛe oꝼ ðam ꝼolce ðe Goð gelicoðon. æton ðone heoꝛonlican hlaꝼ. ac hi næꝛon ðeaðe ðam ecum ðeað. ðeah ðe hi gemænum ðeaþ ꝼoꝛþ ꝼepðon; Hi geꝛapon ꝓ ꝛe heoꝛonlica mete pæꝛ geꝛepenlic. anð bꝛoꝛmenðlic. ac hi unðeꝛꝛtoðon gaꝛtlice be ðam geꝛepenlicum þinge. ⁊ hit gaꝛtlice ðigðon; Se hælenð cpæþ. ꝛe ðe æt min ꝼlæꝛc. anð ðꝛincþ min blod. he hæꝼþ ece liꝼ; Ne het he na etan ðone lichaman. ðe he mið beꝼangen pæꝛ. ne ꝓ blod ðꝛincan. ðe he ꝼoꝛ uꝛ ageat. ac he mænde mið ðam poꝛðe ꝓ haligе huꝛel. þe gaꝛtlic iꝛ hiꝛ lichama ⁊ hiꝛ blod. ⁊ ꝛe þe þæꝛ onbẏꝛigþ mið geleaꝼulne heoꝛtan. he hæꝼþ ꝓ ece liꝼ.

On þæꝛe ealðen æ geleaꝼulle men oꝼꝼnoðon Goðe miꝛtlice lac. þe hæꝼðon to peaꝛðe getacnunge Cꝛiꝛtes lichama. þe ꝛẏlꝼꝼon upum ꝛẏnnum ꝛẏþþan geoꝼꝼnoðe hiꝛ heoꝛonlicon ꝑæðen to onꝛegeðnẏꝛꝛe; Þiꝛðlice hiꝛ huꝛel þe nu biþ gehalgoðe æt Goðes peoꝛoðe. iꝛ gemẏnð Cꝛiꝛtes lichaman þe he ꝼoꝛ uꝛ geoꝼꝼnoðe. ⁊ hiꝛ bloðes þe he ꝼoꝛ uꝛ ageat. ꝛꝑa ꝛꝑa he ꝛẏlꝼ het. ðoþ ðiꝛ on minum gemẏnðe; Æne ðꝛopoðe Cꝛiꝛt þuꝛh hine ꝛẏlꝼne ac ꝛꝑa þeah ðæghpomlice biꝛð þiꝛ þꝓopunȝ geeðnipoð ðuꝛh ȝeꝛẏnu þæꝛ halgan huꝛleꝛ æt þæꝛe halgan mæꝛꝛan; Vꝛ iꝛ eac tepmeaȝene. ꝓ ꝓ haligе huꝛel iꝛ æȝðen ge Cꝛiꝛtes lichama. ge ealleꝛ geleaꝼulleꝛ ꝼolceꝛ. æꝛteꝛ ȝaꝛðlicne ȝeꝛẏnu; Spa ꝛꝑa ꝛe piꝛa Auȝuꝛtinuꝛ be þam cpæþ; Giꝛ ge pillaþ unðeꝛꝛtanðan be Cꝛiꝛtes lichaman. ȝehẏꝛaþ þone apoꝛtol Paulus þuꝛ cpeþende; Ge ꝛoþlice ꝛinðon Cꝛiꝛtes lichama. ⁊ leomu; Nu iꝛ eoꝑeꝛ ȝeꝛẏnu ȝeleð on Goðes mẏꝛan. anð ȝe unðeꝛꝛoþ eoꝑeꝛ ȝeꝛẏnu to þam þe ge ꝛẏlꝛe ꝛind; Beoþ ꝓ ꝓ ȝeȝeꝛeoh on ðam peoꝛoðe. ⁊ unðeꝛꝛoþ ꝓ ꝓ ȝeꝛẏlꝛe ꝛind; Eꝛt cpæþ ꝛe apoꝛtol Paulus be þiꝛum. þe maneȝa ꝛẏn ðon an hlaꝼ. ⁊ an lichama; Vnðeꝛꝛtanðaþ nu. ⁊ biꝛꝛiah. ꝑeala ꝛinðan hlaꝼ. ⁊ an lichama on Cꝛiꝛt; He iꝛ upe heaꝛoð. ⁊ þe ꝛiuð hiꝛ lima; Ne biþ ꝛe hlaꝼ oꝼ anum copne. ac oꝼ manegum; Ne ꝓ þin oꝼ anþe bepan. ac oꝼ manegum. Spa þe ꝛceolon eac habban annẏꝛꝛe on upum ðꝛihtne. ꝛꝑa ꝛꝑa hit appiten iꝛ be þam ȝeleaꝼullan peoꝛoðe. ꝓ hi þæꝛon on ꝛꝑa micelne annẏꝛꝛe. ꝛꝑilce him eallum pæꝛe on ꝛapul. ⁊ an heoꝛte; Cꝛiꝛt ȝehalgoðe on hiꝛ beoðe þa ȝeꝛẏnæ upe ꝛibbe. ⁊ upe anniꝛꝛe. ꝛe þe unðeꝛꝼehþ þæꝛe annẏꝛꝛe ȝeꝛẏnu. ⁊ ne hiꝛt ðe ne benð ðæꝛe ꝛoþan ꝛibbe. ne unðeꝛꝼehþ he na ȝeꝛẏnu ꝼoꝛ him ꝛẏlꝼum. ac ȝecẏðnẏꝛꝛe to ȝeaneꝛ him ꝛẏlꝼum; Micel Goð bið Cꝛiꝛtenum mannum. ꝓ hi ȝelome to huꝛle ȝan. ȝiꝼ hi unꝛcæþþiȝnẏꝛꝛe on heoꝛa heoꝛtan beꝛnaþ to þam peoꝛoðe. ȝiꝼ hi ne beoh mið lealiꝛtum oꝼꝼette; þam ẏꝼelan men ne becẏmþ to nanum ȝoðe. ac to ꝼoꝛꝛẏnðe. ðiꝼ he þæꝛ halgan huꝛleꝛ unpuꝛþe onbẏꝛigþ; Haligе bec beoðaþ ꝓ

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man ȝemæncȝe pæten to þam pine ðe to hurle rceal. ꝓonþan ðe ꝑ pæten hæꝑþ ðær ꝓolcer ȝetacnunȝe. rþa rþa ꝑ pin Cnirter bloder; and ꝓonþi ne rceal naþon butum oþnum beon ȝeoꝼꝼnoðe. æt þæne halȝan mærran. ꝑ Cnirt beo mid uꝛ. ȝ þe mid Cnirt. ꝑ heaꝓod mid þam leonum. and þa leomu mid þam heaꝓod;

Þe polðon ȝeꝼýnn tnahtnian be ðam lambe ðe re calde Irnahel æt heona earten týde ȝeoꝼꝼnoðon. ac pe polðon æꝛnirt eop ȝenæccan ymbe þær ȝenýnu. ȝ rýþþan hu hit man þicȝan rceal; ꝑ ȝetacnendlice lamb pær ȝeoꝼꝼnoðe æt heona earten tide. ȝ re apoꝛtol Paulur cpæþ on þirum dæȝhenlicum pirtole. ꝑ Cnirt ir une earten tide. re ðe ꝓon uꝛ pær ȝeaꝼꝼnod. ȝ on þirum dæȝe oꝼ deaþ anar; Irnahel þiȝde pær lamber ꝓlerc. rþa rþa God bebead. mid þeonꝼum hlaꝼum. ȝ ꝼelðlicum lactucum. ȝ pe rceolon þicȝan ꝑ halize hurel Cnirter lichaman. and hir blod buton beonman ýꝼelnýrre ȝ manꝼulnýrre; ðpa rþa re beonma apent þa ȝerceaꝼta oꝼ heona ȝecýnde. rþa apenðaþ eac lealtnar þær manner ȝecýnde ꝼnam unrcæþþiȝnýrre to ȝepemmednýrre; ðe apoꝛtol tæhte ꝑ pe rceolðon ȝepirtꝼullian na on ýꝼelnýrre beonman. ac on þeonꝓnýrrum rirennýrre. ȝ roþꝼærtnýrre; Lactuca hætte reo pýrt þe hi etan rceolðon mid þam þeonꝼum hlaꝼum. heo ir biten on þicȝen; ȝ re rceolon mid bitennýrre ronne behneorrunȝe une mod ȝeclænrian. ȝiꝼ pe pillaþ Cnirter lichaman þicȝan; Nær ꝑ Irnahela ꝓolc ȝepunoð. to hneapum ꝑlërc. þeah þe God him bebuðe. ꝑ hi hit hneap ne eton. ne on pæten ȝeroden. ac ȝebnæd to pine; ðe pile þicȝan Goder lichaman hneapne. re þe buton ȝerceaðe penþ ꝑ he þæne anꝼealð man uꝛ ȝelice. ȝ næne God; and re þe æꝼten mennircum pirdom pýle rmeaȝan ymbe þa ȝenýnu Cnirter ꝑlærclicnýrre. he deþ rrýlce he reoþe þær lamber ꝑlærc on pætene. ꝓonþan þe pæten ȝetacnaþ on ðirrene rtope mennirc ingehid; Ac pe rceolon pitan ꝑ ealle þa ȝenýnu Cnirter mennirenýrre pæpon ȝeꝼaðoðe þurh mihte pær halȝan ȝarter. þonne þicȝe pe hir lichaman ȝebnæðne to pine. ꝓonþan þe re halȝa ȝaꝛt com on pinef hipe to þam apoꝛtolum on nirtlic ȝeneondum;

Irnahel rceold etan þær lamber heoꝼod. ȝ ða ꝼet. ꝑ innepeanðe. ȝ ðæn nan þinȝ belipan ne morte oꝼer nihꝛ; Giꝼ þæn hpæt belipe. ꝓonbænnan ꝑ on pine. ȝ ne tobnæcan þa baan; Æꝼten ȝarrlicum and ȝite pe etaþ þær lamber heaꝓod. ðonne pe undernoþ Cnirter ȝodcundýrre on unum ȝelcaꝼan; Eꝼꝛ þonne pe hir mennirnýrre mid lure undenꝼoþ. ðonne ete pe ðær lamber ꝼet. ꝓonþan þe Cnirt ir anȝin ȝ ende. God æn ealle ponvlda. ȝ man on ðirrene ponulo ȝeendunȝe; Hæt ir ðær lamber innepeanðe buton Cnirter bizelan bebodu þa pe etaþ þonne pe lirer ponð mid ȝnædiȝnýrre undepꝼoþ; Nan þinȝ ne morte þær lamber belipan oþ menizen. ꝓonþan þe Goder epý dar rind to rmeaȝenne mid rþa mýcelre canꝼulnýrre. rþa ꝑ ealle hir beboda mid and ȝite ȝ peonce beon armeaðe on nihte ðirer andpeandan lirer. ænþan þe re endenex ta dæȝ þær ȝemænelican æꝛnirter æteopize; Giꝼ pe þonne ealle þa ȝenýnu Cnirter ꝑlærlicnýrre þurh rmeaȝan ne maȝon. þonne rceole pe þa lare betæcan þær halȝan ȝarter mihte mid roþne eadmodnýrre. ȝ na to dýrrtelice ymbe þa deopan dizelnýrre oꝼer uner andȝýter mæþe rmeaȝan;

Hi æton ꝑ lamb mid beȝýndum lendenum; On lendenum ir reo ȝalnýrre þær lichaman ȝ re ðe pile ꝑ hurel ðicȝan he rceal ȝerpýþan þa ȝalnýrre. ȝ mid clænnýrre þa halȝan ðizene onꝓon; Hi pæpon eac ȝerceode; Hpæt rind ȝercý buton deaðna nýtene hýda; þe beoþ ꝓoplice ȝercéode. ȝiꝼ pe epenlæcaþ mid upum ꝼenelo ȝ peonce ꝓorþꝼapenna manna lir þæna þe Gode ȝeþuȝon þurh ȝehealdrumnýrre hir beboda; Hi hæꝼdon him rtæꝼ on handa æt þæna

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þiȝene; Se ſtæf ȝetacnaþ ȝẏmene. ⁊ hẏrdnẏſſe; þa þe bet cunnon ⁊ maȝon. ſceolon ȝẏman oþra manna. ⁊ mid heora fultume undeppriþan; þan ȝemettum pæſ beboden þ hi ſceoldon caffliche etan. forþam þe God onſcunaþ þa fleacnẏſſe on hiſ þeȝnum. ⁊ þa he lufað þe mid modeſ cafneſſe þæſ ecanlifeſ mirþe ſecaþe; Hit iſ appiten. Ne elca þu to ȝecẏrranne to God. ðẏlæſ þe ſe tima loſie þurh þa ſleacan elcunȝe; þa ȝemettan ne moſton ðæſ lambeſ ban ſcænam. ne þa campan þe Criſt ahenȝon ne moſton tobræcan hiſ halȝan ſceancan. ſpa ſpa hi dẏdon þæra tpeȝra ſceaþena þe him on tpa healfa hanȝodon.

Ac driht araſ of deaþ ȝeſund buton ælceſe forro todnẏſſe; ⁊ hi ſceolon ȝeſeon æt þan micclan dome hpæne ȝepundodon pælhreoplice on rode; þeoſ tid iſ ȝehaten on ebreiſ cum ȝereorde Paſca. þ iſ on leden Tranſitus. ⁊ on engliſc færeld. forþan ðe on ðiſum dæȝe ferde Godeſ folc fram Egipta landa ofer ða readan ſæ. fram þeopte to þan behatenan earde; ure driht ferde eac on þiſne timan. ſpa ſpa ſe ȝodſpellere Iohnſ cpæþ fram þiſum middam earde to hiſ heofonlicum fæder; þe ſceolon fẏlian urunheaf de. ⁊ faram fram deofle to Criſt. fram þiſſere unſcæþþiȝan porulde. to hiſ ſta þelfæſtan rice. ac þe ſceolon æreſt on urum andþeardan life faran fram leahtrum to halȝum mæȝnum fram unþeapum to Godum þeapum. ȝiȝ þe pillaþ æfter þiſum lænan lif faran toþan ecam. ⁊ æfter urum æriſt to hælend Criſt; he uſ ȝelæd to hiſ lifliȝendam fæder. þe hine ſeald for urum ſẏnum to deaþ. Si him puldor ⁊ lof. þere peldeda on elra porulda. Amen.

The same Sermon, translated into English from the Old Saxon.

Men beloved! it hath been often said unto you about our Saviour's resurrection, how he, on this present day after his suffering, mightily rose from death. Now will we open unto you, through God's grace, of the holy housel, which ye should now go unto, and instruct your understanding about this mystery, both after the old covenant, and also after the new, that no doubting may trouble you about this lively food.

The Almighty God bade Moses, his captain in the land of Egypt, to command the people of Israel, to take to every family a lamb of one year old, the night they departed out of the country to the land of promise, and to offer that lamb to God, and after to cut it, and to make the sign of the cross,[1] with the lamb's blood upon the side posts and the upper posts of their door; and afterwards to eat the lamb's flesh roasted, and unleavened bread with wild lettuce. God saith unto Moses; 'Eat of the lamb nothing raw, nor sodden in water, but roasted at the fire. Eat the head, the feet, and the inwards, and let nothing of it be left until the morning; if any thing thereof remain, that shall you burn with fire. Eat it in this wise: gird your loins, and do your shoes on your feet; have your staves in your hands; and eat it in haste. The time is the Lord's passover.'[2] And there was slain on that night, in every house throughout all Pharaoh's reign, the first-born child: and God's people of Israel were delivered from that sudden death through the lamb's offering, and his blood's marking. Then said God unto Moses, 'Keep this day in your remembrance, and hold it a great feast in your kindreds, with a perpetual observation; and eat unleavened bread always seven days at this feast.'[3]

After this deed, God led the people of Israel over the Rea Sea with dry foot, and drowned therein Pharaoh and all his army, together with their possessions, and fed, afterwards, the Israelites forty years with heavenly food, and gave them water out of the hard rock, until they came to the promised land.[4] Part of this story we have treated of in another place, and part we shall now declare; to wit, that which belongeth to the holy housel. Christian men may not now keep that old law bodily, but it behoveth them to know what it ghostly signifieth. That innocent lamb which the old Israelites did then kill, had signification, after ghostly understanding, of Christ's suffering, who, unguilty, shed his holy blood for our redemption. Hereof sing God's servants at every mass, 'Agnus Dei!

This mass was not then like our popish and blasphemous masses now.

(1) The sign of the cross is beside the text, but here we must bear with the ignorance of that time. (2) Exod. xii. 11. (3) Exod. xiii. 6, 7. (4) Exod. xvii. 6

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qui tollis peccata mundi, miserere nobis;' that is, in our speech, 'Thou Lamb of God! that takest away the sins of the world, have mercy upon us.'

Those Israelites were delivered from that sudden death and from Pharaoh's bondage, by the lamb's offering, which signified Christ's suffering; through which we be delivered from everlasting death, and from the devil's cruel reign, if we rightly believe in the true Redeemer of the whole world, Christ the Saviour. That lamb was offered in the evening; and our Saviour suffered in the sixth age of this world. This age of this corruptible world, is reckoned unto the evening. They marked with the lamb's blood, upon the doors and the upper posts, 'Thau,'[1] that is, the sign of the cross, and so were defended from the angels that killed the Egyptians' first-born child. And we ought to mark our foreheads and our bodies, with the token of Christ's rood, that we also may be delivered from destruction, when we shall be marked both on forehead, and also in heart, with the blood of our Lord's suffering. Those Israelites did eat the lamb's flesh at their Easter time, when they were delivered; and we receive ghostly Christ's body, and drink his blood, when we receive with true belief that holy housel. That time they kept with them at Easter seven days, with great worship, when they were delivered from Pharaoh, and went from that land. So also christian men keep Christ's resurrection at the time of Easter these seven days, because, through his suffering and rising, we be delivered, and be made clean by going to this holy housel, as Christ saith in his gospel: 'Verily, verily I say unto you, ye have no life in you except ye eat my flesh, and drink my blood. He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, abideth in me, and I in him, and hath that everlasting life, and I shall raise him up in the last day. I am the lively bread that came down from heaven: not so as your forefathers did eat that heavenly bread in the wilderness, and afterwards died. He that eateth this bread liveth for ever.'[2] He blessed bread before his suffering, and divided it to his disciples, thus saying, 'Eat of this bread; it is my body: and do this in my remembrance.' Also he blessed wine in one cup, and said, 'Drink ye all of this. This is my blood that is shed for many, in forgiveness of sins.'[3] The apostles did as Christ commanded;[4] that is, they blessed bread and wine to housel again afterwards in his remembrance. Even so, also, their successors and all priests, by Christ's commandment, do bless bread and wine to housel in his name with the apostolic blessing.

That only cross is it wherewith we are marked of which St. Paul speaketh. 'Christ reconciled both to God in one body through his cross.'

Now men have often searched and do yet often search, how bread that is gathered of corn, and through fire's heat baked, may be turned to Christ's body; or how wine that is pressed out of many grapes is turned, through one blessing, to the Lord's blood.[5] Now say we to such men, that some things be spoken of Christ by signification, and some be things certain. True this is, and certain, that Christ was born of a maid, and suffered death of his own accord, and was buried, and on this day rose from death. He is said to be bread by signification, and a lamb, and a lion, and a mountain. He is called bread, because he is our life, and angels' life. He is said to be a lamb for his innocency; and a lion for strength, wherewith he overcame the strong devil. But Christ is not so, notwithstanding, after true nature; neither bread, nor a lamb, nor a lion. Why is then the holy housel called Christ's body, or his blood, if it be not truly what it is called? Truly the bread and the wine which in the supper by the priest are hallowed, show one thing without, to human understanding, and another thing within, to believing minds. Without, they be seen bread and wine, both in figure and in taste; and they be truly, after their hallowing, Christ's body and his blood, through ghostly mystery.

A necessary distinction.

Why is the housel called Christ's body, when it is not so truly?

A heathen child is christened, yet he altereth not his shape without, though he be changed within. He is brought to the font-stone sinful, through Adam's disobedience; howbeit he is washed from all sin within, though he hath not changed his shape without. Even so the holy font water, that is called the wellspring of life, is like in shape to other waters, and is subject to corruption; but the Holy Ghost's might cometh to the corruptible water, through the priest's blessing, and it may, after, wash the body and soul from all sin, through ghostly might. Behold now we see two things in this one creature: after true nature, that water is corruptible moisture; and after ghostly mystery, hath

The water in baptism, and bread and wine in the Lord's supper compared.

(1) This Hebrew letter 'Thau' was not marked for the sign of the cross, but for the word 'Torath;' that is, the law of God, the first letter for the whole word. Ezek. ix. That only cross is it wherewith we are marked, that St. Paul speaketh of Eph. ii.

(2) John vi. 58. (3) Matt. xxvi. 27, 28. Luke xxii. 17. Mark xiv. 24. (4) 1 Cor. xi. 20—34.

(5) Note how Christ's words were taken by signification before Berengarius' time.

wholesome virtue. So also, if we behold the holy housel after bodily understanding, then we see that it is a creature corruptible and mutable. If we acknowledge therein ghostly might, then understand we that life is therein, and that it giveth immortality to them that eat it with belief. Much is betwixt the invisible might of the holy housel, and the visible shape of proper nature. It is naturally corruptible bread,[1] and corruptible wine, and is, by might of God's word, truly Christ's body and blood; notwithstanding not so bodily, but ghostly.

Much is betwixt the body of Christ which he suffered in, and the body that is hallowed to housel. The body truly, that Christ suffered in, was born of the flesh of Mary, with blood and with bone, with skin and with sinews, in human limbs, with a reasonable soul living; and his ghostly body, which we call the housel, is gathered of many corns, without blood and bone, without limb, without soul, and therefore nothing is to be understood therein bodily, but all is ghostly to be understood. Whatsoever there is in that housel, which giveth substance of life, that is of the ghostly might and invisible doing. Therefore is that holy housel called 'a mystery,' because there is one thing in it seen, and another thing understood. That which is there seen, hath bodily shape; and what we do there understand, hath ghostly might. Certainly Christ's body, which suffered death, and rose from death, never dieth henceforth, but is eternal and unpassible. That housel is temporal, not eternal; corruptible and dealed into sundry parts, chewed between the teeth, and sent into the belly; howbeit, nevertheless, after ghostly might, it is all in every part. Many receive that holy body, and yet, notwithstanding, it is so all in every part, after ghostly mystery.[2] Though some chew the less, yet is there no more might, notwithstanding, in the more part, than in the less, because it is whole in all men, after the invisible might. This mystery is a pledge and a figure: Christ's body is truth itself. This pledge we do keep mystically, until that we be come to the truth itself; and then is this pledge ended. Truly it is, so as we before have said, Christ's body and his blood; not bodily, but ghostly.

Difference betwixt Christ's natural body and the sacrament.

First difference.

Not the body that suffered is in the housel.

Second difference.

Third difference.

Fourth difference.

Fifth difference.

But now hear the apostle's words about this mystery. Paul the apostle speaketh of the old Israelites, thus writing in his epistle to faithful men. 'All our forefathers were baptized in the cloud, and in the sea; and all they did eat the same ghostly meat, and drank the same ghostly drink. They drank truly of the stone that followed them, and that stone was Christ.'[3] Neither was that stone then from which the water ran, bodily Christ; but it signifieth Christ, that calleth thus to all believing and faithful men, 'Whosoever thirsteth, let him come to me and drink, and from his bowels shall flow lively water.'[4] This he said of the Holy Ghost, which they received who believed on him. The apostle Paul saith that the Israelites 'did eat the same ghostly meat, and drank the same ghostly drink;' because that heavenly meat that fed them forty years, and that water which from the stone did flow, had signification of Christ's body and his blood, that now be offered daily in God's church. It was the same which we now offer, not bodily, but ghostly.

Note this exposition, which is now adays thought new.

We said unto ye ere while, that Christ hallowed bread and wine to housel before his suffering, and said, 'This is my body and my blood.'[5] Yet he had not then suffered; but so notwithstanding he turned, through invisible might, the bread to his own body, and that wine to his blood, as he before did in the wilderness, before that he was born to be a man; when he turned that heavenly meat to his flesh, and the flowing water from that stone to his own blood. Very many did eat of that heavenly meat in the wilderness, and drank the ghostly drink; and were nevertheless dead, as Christ said. And Christ meant not that death which none can escape, but that everlasting death, which some of that folk deserved for their unbelief. Moses and Aaron, and many others of that people who pleased God, did eat that heavenly bread, and they died not that everlasting death, though they died the common death. They saw that the heavenly méát was visible and corruptible, and they ghostly understood by that visible thing, and ghostly received it. The Saviour saith, 'He that eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, hath everlasting life.'[6] And he bade them not eat that body wherewith he was enclosed, nor to drink that blood which he shed for us; but he meant with those words, that holy housel which ghostly is his body and his blood, and he that tasteth it with believing heart, hath that eternal life.

Now we eat that body which was eaten before he was born, by faith.

Here is no transubstantiation.

What body the faithful do now eat.

(1) No transubstantiation. (2) Matt. xv. 37. (3) 1 Cor. x. 4. (4) John vii. 37, 38.
(5) Matt. xxvi. 26, 28. Luke xxii. 17. Mark xiv. 24. (6) John vi. 54.

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In the old law faithful men offered to God divers sacrifices, that had foresignification of Christ's body, which, for our sins, he himself to his heavenly Father hath since offered to sacrifice. Certainly this housel which we do now hallow at God's altar, is a remembrance of Christ's body, which he offered for us, and of his blood, which he shed for us. So he himself commanded, 'Do this in my remembrance.'[1] Once suffered Christ by himself,[2] but yet, neverless, his suffering is daily renewed at this supper, through mystery of the holy housel. Therefore we ought to consider diligently, how that this holy housel is both Christ's body, and the body of all faithful men, after a ghostly mystery. As wise Augustine saith of it, If ye will understand of Christ's body, hear the apostle Paul thus speaking: 'Ye truly be Christ's body and his members.' Now is your mystery set on God's table, and ye receive your mystery, which mystery ye yourselves be. Be that which ye see on the altar, and receive that which ye yourselves be. Again, the apostle Paul saith by it, 'We many be one bread, and one body.' Understand now and rejoice: many be one bread, and one body in Christ. He is our head, and we be his limbs; and the bread is not of one corn, but of many; nor the wine of one grape, but of many. So, also, we all should have one unity in our Lord, as it is written of the faithful army, how that they were in so great a unity, as though all of them were one soul and one heart. Christ hallowed, on his table, the mystery of our peace and of our unity. He that receiveth that mystery of unity, and keepeth not the bond of true peace, receiveth no mystery for himself, but a witness against himself. It is very good for christian men, that they go often to housel, if they bring with them to the altar unguiltiness and innocency of heart; if they be not oppressed with sin. To an evil man it turneth to no good, but to destruction, if he receive unworthily that holy housel. Holy books command that water be mingled to that wine which shall be for housel, because the water signifieth the people, and the wine Christ's blood; and therefore shall neither the one without the other be offered at the holy mass, that Christ may be with us, and we with Christ; the head with the limbs, and the limbs with the head.

A signification before Christ; a sacrifice in Christ's time; a remembrance of Christ.

The housel is also the body of all faithful men.

No Scripture enforceth the mixture of water with the wine.

The wine signifieth Christ's blood.

We would before have treated of the lamb which the old Israelites offered at their Easter time,[3] but that we desired first to declare unto you of this mystery, and after, how we should receive it. That signifying-lamb was offered at the Easter. And the apostle Paul saith, in the epistle of this present day, that Christ is our Easter, who was offered for us, and on this day rose from death. The Israelites did eat the lamb's flesh, as God commanded, with unleavened bread and wild lettuce; so we should receive that holy housel of Christ's body and blood without the leaven of sin and iniquity. As leaven turneth the creatures from their nature; so doth sin, also, change the nature of man from innocency to uncleanness. The apostle hath taught how we should feast, not in the leaven of the evilness, but in the sweet dough of purity and truth. The herb which they should eat with the unleavened bread is called lettuce, and is bitter in taste: so we should with bitterness of unfeigned repentance, purify our mind, if we will eat Christ's body. Those Israelites were not wont to eat raw flesh, and therefore God bade them to eat it neither raw nor sodden in water, but roasted with fire.[3] He shall receive the body of God raw, that shall think without reason, that Christ was only man like unto us, and was not God. And he that will, after man's wisdom, search the mystery of Christ's incarnation, doeth like unto him that doth seethe lamb's flesh in water, because that water, in this same place, signifieth man's understanding. But we should understand that all the mystery of Christ's humanity was ordered by the power of the Holy Ghost; and then eat we his body roasted with fire, because the Holy Ghost came in fiery likeness to the apostles in divers tongues.

How we should come to the heavenly communion.

The Israelites should eat the lamb's head, and the feet, and the purtenance; and nothing thereof must be left over-night. If any thing thereof were left, they did burn that in the fire; and they brake not the bones. After ghostly understanding we do eat the lamb's head, when we take hold of Christ's divinity in our belief. Again when we take hold of his humanity with love, then eat we the lamb's feet, because that Christ is the beginning and the end, God before all worlds, and man in the end of this world. What be the lamb's purtenance, but Christ's secret precepts? and these we eat, when we receive with greediness the word of life. There must nothing of the lamb be left unto the

(1) Luke xxii. 19. (2) Heb. x. 10, 12, 14. (3) Exod. xii. 3—51.

morning, because that all God's sayings are to be searched with great carefulness; so that all his precepts may be known in understanding and deed in the night of this present life, before that the last day of the universal resurrection do appear. If we cannot search out thoroughly all the mystery of Christ's incarnation, then ought we to betake the rest unto the might of the Holy Ghost with true humility, and not to search rashly of that deep secretness, above the measure of our understanding. They did eat the lamb's flesh with their loins girded. In the loins is the lust of the body, and he who will receive that housel, shall cover or wrap in that concupiscence, and take with chastity that holy receipt. They were also shod. What be shoes, but of the hides of dead beasts? We be truly shod, if we match, in our steps and deeds, the life of men departed this life, who pleased God with keeping of his commandments. They had staves in their hands when they did eat. This staff signifieth a carefulness and diligent overseeing: and all they that best know, and ken, should take care of other men, and stay them up with their help. It was enjoined to the eaters, that they should eat the lamb in haste, for God abhorreth slothfulness in his servants, and that he loveth those, that seek the joy of everlasting life with quickness and haste of mind. It is written, 'Prolong not to turn unto God, lest the time pass away through thy slow tarrying.' The eaters might not break the lamb's bones. No more might the soldiers, that did hang Christ, break his holy legs, as they did of the two thieves that hanged on either side of him. And the Lord rose from death, sound, without all corruption: and at the last judgment they shall see him, whom they did most cruelly wound on the cross. This time is called in the Hebrew tongue, 'pascha,' and in Latin, 'transitus,' and in English 'a passover;' because that on this day, the people of Israel passed from the land of Egypt over the Red Sea, from bondage to the land of promise: so also did our Lord at this time depart, as saith John the Evangelist, from this world to his heavenly Father. Even so we ought to follow our Head, and to go from the devil to Christ; from this unstable world, to his stable kingdom. Howbeit we should first, in this present life, depart from vice to holy virtue, from evil manners to good manners, if we will, after this our lent life, go to the eternal life; and, after our resurrection, to Christ. He bring us to his everlasting Father, who gave himself to death for our sins! To him be honour and praise of well doing, world without end, Amen.

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And thus, I suppose, it standeth clear and evidently proved by course of all these ages afore recited, from the time of Tertullian and Augustine, unto the days of this Elfric above mentioned, and after him, that this new come miracle of Transubstantiation was not yet crept into the heads of men, nor almost came in any question amongst learned men, nor was admitted for any doctrine in the church (at least for any general doctrine of all men to be received) till a thousand years complete after Christ, that is, till Satan began to be set at large.[1] For who ever heard in all the primitive church, or ever read in the works of the old ancient doctors, this question once to be asked or disputed, whether any substance of bread and wine remained in the Lord's Supper? or what man was ever so doltish to believe any such thing, or ever called heretic for not believing the same, before the time of seduction, that is, before the thousand years aforesaid were expired? Wherefore they that stand so much on the antiquity of this article, as a doctrine which hath ever, since Christ's time, been received in the church, taught by the apostles, believed by all catholics, and confirmed by consent of all ages, of councils, of nations, and people unto this present day; these, I say, either show themselves very ignorant in histories, and in all state of antiquity, or else most impudently they do abuse the simple credulity of the people.

The matter of transubstantiation never called in question before A.D. 1000.

(1) Apoc. xx.

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To proceed now further in this discussion of antiquity, it followed that after the time of Elfric aforesaid, this matter of Transubstantiation began first to be talked of, and to come in question among a few superstitious monks; so that as blindness and superstition began more and more to increase, so the said gross opinion still more and more, both in number and authority, prevailed, insomuch that about the year of our Lord 1050, the denying of transubstantiation began to be counted heresy.

When it first came in question.

And in this number first was one Berengarius, a Frenchman and archdeacon of Angers, who, of all christian men whom we read of, was first called and counted a heretic for denying of transubstantiation, and troubled for the same, as ye shall hear.

This Berengarius lived in the time of pope Leo IX., Victor, and Nicholas II., which latter died in the year 1061. Albeit I do find our writers here in some discrepance; for the most of them do hold, that he first recanted under pope Leo IX., in the council of Vercelli, and afterwards again under pope Nicholas II., about the year 1062,[1] as is to be gathered of Gratian, De Consecrat. dist. 2. "Ego Berengarius," where he saith that pope Nicholas did send about to bishops and archbishops the copy of his recantation.[2]

Again, by the acts of the council of Rome, it there appeareth that the said Berengarius made this his said last recantation under pope Hildebrand, called Gregory VII. But this difference of times is no great matter to stand upon. The truth of the story is this; that when Berengarius had professed the truth of the sacrament, and had stood in the open confession thereof, according to the ancient verity of the doctrine received in the church before, he was so handled by certain malignant and superstitious monks, that, what by evil entreaty, and what for fear of death (such is the weak frailty of man), he began to shrink, and afterwards did indeed recant the truth.

Lanfranc a persecutor of Berengarius.

Of these malicious enemies against Berengarius, the chiefest troublers were Lanfranc, abbot of Caen, afterwards archbishop of Canterbury; Guimund, a monk likewise first of the abbey of Leufrede, and afterwards archbishop of Aversa; Algerius also, monk of Corbeny; Fulbert also, monk and bishop; and Hildebrand, some time monk of Cluni, and then archdeacon of Tours, and afterward bishop of Rome.

Paschasius the first beginner of the faction of transubstantiation.

By these, and such other monks of the like fraternity, the error and heresy of transubstantiation began first to be defended, and parts publicly, in writing, to be taken about that matter; of which sides and parts, the first that began to set up that faction by writing seemeth to be Paschasius, who was a little before Berengarius, about the time of Bertram, and likewise Lanfranc, the first that brought it into England.

On the contrary side again, the first that was openly impugned and troubled for denying transubstantiation, was this Berengarius; with whom Lanfranc, also, was supposed at the first beginning to hold and take part; but afterwards, to clear himself, he stood openly against him in the council, and wrote against him.

It followeth then in the act of the council, when the synod of

(1) This date is not in Gratian, and should be A.D. 1059.—Ed.
(2) Vid. Bulling. De Origine Erroris [libri duo; 8vo. Basil, 1529. Tiguri, 1579.—Ed.] Chronici Bibliandri.—Acta concilii Romæ habiti contra Berengarium.

archbishops, bishops, abbots, and other prelates were together assembled, the greater number (saith the story)[1] did hold that the bread and wine were turned substantially into the body and blood of Christ. Notwithstanding (saith he), divers there were in the said council who held the contrary with Berengarius, but at last were driven to give over. Berengarius, among the rest, after he had long stood in the constant defence of the truth, at last relented to their wills, confessing his error (where none was), and desired pardon of the council. And this was (as seemeth by William of Malmesbury) his first giving over; who afterwards, returning to himself again after the death of pope Leo, and pricked with the sting of conscience, was driven again to recognise the truth, which he before had denied.

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The story and recantation of Berengarius declared by Malmesbury.

The pope (saith Malmesbury),[2] perceiving this, would not leave him so, but sent into France Hildebrand, his cardinal chaplain, (as meet a mate for such a feat, as was in all Satan's court), and made him with a wanyand to come again 'coram nobis;' who so handled Berengarius, bringing him before the face of the council holden at Tours, that he made him to say, 'erravi,' once again: against whom stood up in that council Lanfranc, and Guimund aforesaid, impugning his assertion. And thus standeth the narration of Malmesbury. But, by the acts of council of Rome, appeareth another declaration, which is, that this latter recantation of Berengarius should be at Rome under Hildebrand being then pope, in the year of our Lord 1079, and in the month of February; and that in the same council, holden in the church of Our Saviour, this recantation of "Ego Berengarius," was made, and he enjoined by the said pope Hildebrand, upon his oath, never hereafter to teach or dispute contrary to that faith of the sacrament there holden,[3] &c.

The order of his recantation.

Council of Vercelli.

Again, Henry Bullinger in his book, De Origine Erroris,[4] following belike some other author, expresseth the order of the aforesaid recantation after this sort, and saith, that in the time of pope Leo IX., A. D. 1050, there was a Roman council, holden at Vercelli; in the which council Lanfranc being then present, the book of John Scotus was openly read, and there condemned. Also Berengarius was sent for, who, seeing the prejudicial proceeding of that council, refused himself to come,[5] but sent two clerks, who openly there defended his cause and quarrel, and were for the same committed unto prison. Such is the freedom of the pope's general councils, with prisons and violence to defend their verities. Against the doings of this council notwithstanding, the Frenchmen stood stiff, both at Angers and Tours, joining and consenting with Berengarius.

Council of Florence.

Council of Tours.

Not long after this died pope Leo; and after him succeeded pope Victor, by whom another synod was kept at Florence,[6] where the acts and doings of the aforesaid council of Vercelli were confirmed, and a legate also appointed to be sent to Tours in France. This legate was Hildebrand above mentioned, who, calling the clergy of France together in a synod, fell there in hand with the cause of the sacrament. Berengarius, not being ignorant of these Roman coun-

(1) Malmesbury, De Gestis Anglorum, lib. iii. (2) Ibid. (3) Ex Actis Romani concilii.
(4) Hen. Bulling. De Origine Erroris, cap. x. [libri duo, 8vo. Basil, 1529; Tiguri, 1579. Ed.]
(5) Malmesbury, De Gestis Anglorum, lib. iii. 'Sine retractione, a quibusdam habeatur sanctus,' &c.—Ed.
(6) The councils of Florence and Tours were held A. D. 1055.—Ed.

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cils,[1] so kept himself, that in all his actions he would give none other answer, but that he believed and consented with the faith of the catholic church; and so for that time did frustrate the purpose of the council, rather deluding the pretences of his enemies, than freely confessing the simple truth.

Council of Rome.

Again, after Victor, came pope Nicholas II., who, congregating another council at Rome, A. D. 1059, sent for Berengarius there to appear, who, being present, argued what he could for the justness of his cause, but all would not serve: in the pope's general councils such a stroke and mastership beareth authority above verity. Berengarius being thus borne down on every side by might and superiority, when no remedy would serve, but he must needs recant again (for the law of relapse was not yet in season), he desired to know what other confession of the sacrament the pope would require of him, besides that which he had there confessed. Then pope Nicholas committed that charge to Humbert, a monk of Lorraine, and, afterwards, a cardinal, that he should draw out in formable words the order of his recantation, after the prescription of Rome, which he should read, and publicly profess before the people; the form of which words is registered in the Decrees.[2] The effect thereof is this:

Might, beareth down right.

Another recantation of Berengarius.

'That he pretendeth with heart and mouth to profess, that he, acknowledging the true, catholic, and apostolical faith, doth execrate all heresy, namely that wherewith he hath lately been infamed, as holding that the bread and wine upon the altar, after the consecration of the priest, remain only a sacrament, and are not the very self body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, neither can be handled or broken with the priest's hands, or chewed with the teeth of the faithful, otherwise than only by manner of a sacrament: consenting now to the holy and apostolical church of Rome, he professeth with mouth and heart to hold the same faith touching the sacrament of the Lord's mass, which the lord pope Nicholas, with his synod here present, doth hold, and commandeth to be holden by his evangelical and apostolical authority; that is, that the bread and wine upon the altar after consecration, are not only a sacrament, but also are the very true and self body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ; and are sensibly felt and broken with hands, and chewed with teeth: swearing by the holy evangelists, that whosoever shall hold or say unto the contrary, he shall hold them perpetually accursed; and if he himself shall hereafter presume to preach or teach against the same, he shall be content to abide the severity and rigour of the canons,' &c.

This cowardly recantation of Berengarius, as it offended a great number of the godly sort, so it gave to the contrary part no little triumph, whereby, ever since, they have taken the greater courage to tread down the truth.

It happened shortly after this, that Hildebrand, the pope's grand captain in the behalf of his master, pope Nicholas, went in warfare against the Normans. This war being finished, shortly after he set upon a new voyage to fight for pope Alexander, against Cadolus; which victory being also achieved, it was not long but he put the new pope Alexander beside the cushion, and was made pope himself: so that during the busy stir of these wars, the pope's holiness had no leisure to attend the debating of this controversy of the sacrament.

(1) All the councils here mentioned are included in Labbe's collection (Lutet. Paris. 1671), tom. ix., col. 1055, 1079, &c. Also in Hardwine's Royal Collection (Ex. Topogr. regia, Paris, 1714), tom. vi. col. 1013 to 1584.—Ed.

(2) De Consecrat, dist. 2. cap. 'Ego Berengarius.'

At length, when all was quieted, and pope Hildebrand now was where he would be, his restless brain could not be unoccupied, but eftsoons summoneth a new council at Rome, in the church of Lateran, to revive again the old disceptation of Berengarius about the year, as some hold, 1079. Thus Berengarius, being tossed by these monks and Pharisees, was so confounded, and baited on every side, that partly for worldly fear straining him on the one side, partly for shame and grief of conscience, that he had now twice denied the truth, on the other side, the man (as is of him reported), after these such turbulent tragedies, forsaking his goods, his studies, learning, and former state of life, became a labourer, and wrought with his hands for his living, all the residue of his life.[1]

The opinion which Berengarius sustained touching the sacrament (as by his own words, in Lanfranc's book, may appear) was this:[2]

'The sacrifice of the church consisteth of two things: the one visible, the other invisible, that is, of the sacrament, and of the thing or matter of the sacrament. Which thing (which is to mean, the body of Christ), if it were here present before our eyes, it were a thing visible and to be seen: but being lifted up[3] into heaven, and sitting on the right hand of his Father, to the time of restoring all things (as St. Peter saith), it cannot be called down from thence. For the person of Christ consisteth of God and man: the sacrament of the Lord's table consisteth of bread and wine; which, being consecrated, are not changed, but remain in their substances, having a certain resemblance or similitude of those things, whereof they be sacraments,' &c.

True opinion and judgment of Berengarius of the sacrament.

By these words of Berengarius's doctrine, all indifferent readers may see and judge, that he affirmed nothing but what was agreeable to the holy Scripture, believing with St. Augustine, and all other ancient elders of the church, that in the holy supper all faithful believers be refreshed spiritually with the body and blood of the Lord, unto everlasting life. Wherefore most impudently they do misreport him (as they do many others besides), who falsely lay to his charge, as though his teaching should be, that in the sacred supper of the Lord nothing else were received of the faithful, besides only the bare signs, which are the bread and the wine.

His doctrine falsely slandered.

And now that you have seen the doctrine of Berengarius, let us also take a view of the contrary teaching of Lanfranc and his fellows, conferring and comparing together the institution on the one side, with the institution of the other, to mark and consider which of them soundeth nearer to the truth of the Scriptures. The words of Lanfranc be these:[4]

'I believe the earthly substances, which, upon the Lord's table, are divinely sanctified, through the ministration of the priest, to be converted unspeakably, incomprehensibly, and miraculously, by the operation of God's mighty power, into the essence of the Lord's body, the outward forms only of the things themselves, and certain qualities reserved, and that for two respects: the one, lest the sight of the raw and bloody flesh might otherwise make men to abhor from

Gross opinion of Lanfranc and the papists, on the sacrament.

(1) The doctrines of Berengarius engaged the attention of as many as ten, and, according to some accounts, twelve different councils. In the 'Acta Conciliorum,' (fol. Paris, 1714) it is stated that he abjured at Tours in 1055, and at Rome in 1059 and 1079. The same work represents him as recanting in 1059, for the *third* time. So that some doubt may exist, whether he did not recant earlier than 1055, and in consequence of the council of Vercelli (1050): though Malmesbury's words, 'sine retractatione,' in reference to that period, go far to establish the contrary. Berengarius died in 1088.—Ed.

(2) Ex lib. Lanfranci Archiepis. contra Bereng. (3) Edit. 1570: 'Lyste up,' or limited to.—Ed.

(4) In De la Bigne's Bibliotheca Patrum, tom. iv. col. 232, 233. Edition 1576.—Ed.

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eating thereof; the other, for that they who believe the thing they see not, might have the greater merit for their belief. The conversion of which earthly substances into the essence of the Lord's body notwithstanding, yet is the selfsame body of the Lord in heaven, and there hath its essential being at the right hand of his Father, immortal; inviolate, perfect, undiminished, and uncorrupted; so that truly it may be affirmed, the selfsame body both to be received of us, and yet not the selfsame. The selfsame, I mean, as touching the essence, property, and virtue of his true nature: and yet not the selfsame, as touching the forms of bread and wine, and other outward qualities incurring to our outward senses,' &c.

The impious and gross opinion of Guimund.

And thus have ye the confession of Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury. From this confession of Lanfranc, the opinion and assertion also of Guimund,[1] archbishop of Aversa, doth nothing differ in grossness and impiety, but rather passeth the same, thus affirming and defending: "that the body of Christ is pressed, and torn with teeth, even like as it was felt and touched with the hands of Thomas."

And moreover, the said Guimund (if his book be not rather counterfeited at Louvain), in the same place, answering to an objection put out, that it is not lawful for Christ to be torn in pieces with teeth, doubteth not to pronounce, that whether we take tearing for hard biting, or soft biting, it is not repugnant nor disagreeing, but that (by the will of God agreeing thereunto) the body of Christ may be touched with hands, bitten with mouth, crushed, yea and divided in pieces, with hard or soft pressing of the teeth: and that as he was bruised upon the cross, according to the prophet, saying,[2] "He was bruised for our iniquities," &c.; so the same body, for the health of the faithful, may devoutly be torn and rent with their teeth, any thing to the contrary notwithstanding, &c.[3] Judge now, all good studious readers, what is to be thought of this kind of doctrine, and how this opinion cohereth with the infallible voice of God's Word, saying, in Exodus, "And of him ye shall not break a bone," &c.

The great confirmation of this doctrine of transubstantiation was by miracles.

This rude and misshapen doctrine of these monks concerning transubstantiation, as ye have heard when and by whom it began first to be broached, so, if you would now know by what learning and Scriptures they did confirm and establish the same, ye must here think and understand, how their chiefest grounds and substance to persuade the people, were at this time certain miracles by them forged, and published both in their writings and preachings; whereof one was the same above recited of Odo, which Osberne (or some other monkish legend invented of him, how he should show unto certain the host, turned into the likeness of flesh and blood, dropping into the chalice, for the conversion of those clerks, who before would not believe it. Another like miracle is also told by the said Osberne of Dunstan,[4] in this order: how the said Dunstan appeared to a certain lame cripple in the night, willing him to resort unto his tomb, to have his limbs again restored; which cripple, according as he was willed, after he had there continued praying for health a long time, and could not obtain, began to return home again after long tarrying, without all hope of recovery. To whom the said Dunstan, appearing again by the way,

(1) Guimund, or Guitmund: his treatise is included in Bibliotheca Patrum; and in a collection of writers 'De corpore et sanguine Christi,' published at Louvain in 1561, to which Foxe refers soon afterwards.—Ed.

(2) Isa. liii. (3) Guimund. lib. Sacrament. fol. 30.

(4) Ex Osberno, lib. ii. De Vita Dunstan.

asked from whence he came, and whither he would. The cripple, answering, declared how he came thither upon hope of health, where he had long tarried; and because he could find no recovery, therefore he now was returning home. To whom then said Dunstan: "I am," saith he, "Dunstan, the fellow-servant of all God's servants, and have been occupied with certain necessary business, for which I could not be present there with my children: for Elfric," said he, "otherwise surnamed Bata, hath attempted to disherit my church; but I have so stopped him, that he could not prevail."[1] *Henry VIII.* A. D. 1540.

Many other fabulous miracles of the like stamp are rife in popish stories, counterfeited and forged under divers and sundry names, some referred to Gregory, some to Paschasius, and to others more, which, to recite all, would fill a whole sea full of lies and fables. Among many, one is thus invented of Paschasius. There was a priest of Almain (saith he), named Plegildus, who did see and handle with his hands visibly the shape of a child upon the altar; and so, after he had embraced and kissed it, it returned again to the likeness of bread, as he should come to the receiving thereof. This miracle when it was objected against Berengarius, he, merrily deriding the blind fable, answered in these words:[2] "A godly peace," quoth he, "of a false varlet; that whom he kissed before with his mouth, by and by he goeth about to tear him with his teeth."[3] A lying miracle of Paschasius to prove transubstantiation.

Another miracle is reported of a Jew boy, who, upon a time, entering into the church with another, a Christian lad, who was his playfellow, saw upon the altar a little child broken and torn in pieces, and afterwards, by portions, to be distributed among the people: which sight when the young Jew, coming home, had told unto his father to be true and certain, he was for the same condemned to be burned. Thus he, being enclosed in a house, and the door made fast where he should be burned, he was found and taken out from thence by the Christians, not only alive, but also having not one hair of his head blemished with the flames about him. Who then being of the Christians demanded, how he was so preserved from the burning fire, "There appeared," said he, "to me, a beautiful woman sitting on a chair, whose son the child was, which was before divided and distributed in the church among the people; who reached to me her hand in the burning flame, and with her gown-skirts kept the flame from me, so that I was preserved thereby from perishing," &c. Belike these monks lacked miracles among the Christians, when they were fain to borrow such figments of the Jews, to prove their feigned transubstantiation. And these commonly were then the arguments of these monks, wherewith they persuaded the people to believe their transubstantiation. But to leave these monks' fictions, and to return again to Berengarius, thus Malmesbury of him reporteth, that after he had once or twice recanted, as is aforesaid, yet, notwithstanding, this doctrine of the sacrament still remained in the mind of his hearers. And howsoever the tyranny of the pope did drive him, through fear, to deny his opinion, and wrought him much trouble, yet, notwithstanding, after his death he lacked not his well willers; in the num- Another monkish miracle.

(1) By this it appeareth that Elfric, the translator of the Saxon sermon, was archbishop of Canterbury.

(2) 'Speciosa, inquit, pax nebulonis, ut cui oris præberet basium, ei dentium inferret exitium.

(3) This and the succeeding story, are in Malmesbury.—Ed.

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ber of whom was Hilbert, bishop of Mans; whose verses in commendation of his master I thought here not unworthy to be preserved, being otherwise rare, peradventure, to be found in our story writers.

Verses in Praise of Berengarius.[1]

Quem modo miratur, semper mirabitur orbis,
Ille Berengarius non obiturus obit:
Quem sacræ fidei fastigia summa tenentem,
Tandem extrema dies abstulit, ausa nefas.
Illa dies damnosa dies, et perfida mundo:
Qua dolor et rerum summa ruina fuit.
Qua status ecclesiæ, qua spes, qua gloria cleri,
Qua cultor juris, jure ruente ruit.
Quicquid philosophi, quicquid cecinere poetæ,
Ingenio cessit eloquioque suo.
Sanctior et major sapientia, majus adorta,
Implevit sacrum pectus et ora Deo.
Pectus eam voluit, vox protulit, actio prompsit:
Singula factori sic studuere suo.
Vir sacer et sapiens, cui nomen crescit in horas:
Quo minor est quisquis maximus est hominum.
Qui census peperit paucos servavit honores:
Cui potior pauper divite, jusque lucro.
Cui nec desidiam, nec luxum res dedit ampla:
Nec tumidum fecit multus et altus honos.
Qui nec ad argentum, nec ad aurum lumina flexit,
Sed doluit quoties cui daret hæc, aberat.
Qui non cessavit inopum fulcire ruinas,
Donec inops dando pauper et ipse fuit.
Cujus cura sequi naturam, legibus uti,
Et mentem vitiis, ora negare dolis;
Virtutes opibus, verum præponere falso,
Nil vacuum sensu dicere vel facere.
Lædere nec quenquam, cunctis prodesse, favorem:
Et populare lucrum pellere mente, manu.
Cui vestis textura rudis, cui non fuit unquam,
Ante sitem potus, nec cibus ante famem.
Quem pudor hospitium statuit sibi, quamque libido,
Incestos superat, tam superavit eam.
Quem natura parens cum mundo contulit (inquit),
Degenerant alii, naseitur iste mihi.
Quæque vagabatur, et pene reliquerat orbem;
Inclusit sacro pectore justitiam.
Vir sacer à puero, qui quantum præminet orbi,
Fama, adeo famæ præminet ipse suæ.
Fama minor meritis, cum totum pervolet orbem,
Cum semper crescat, non erit æqua tamen.
Vir pius atque gravis, vir sic in utroque modestus,
Ut livor neutro rodere possit eum.
Livor enim deflet, quem carpserat antea nec tam,
Carpsit et odit eum, quam modo laudat, amat.
Quam prius ex vita, tam nunc ex morte gemiscit,
Et queritur celeres hujus abisse dies.
Vir vere sapiens, et parte beatus ab omni,
Qui cœlos anima, corpore ditat humum.
Post obitum secum vivam precor ac requiescam,
Nec fiat melior sors mea sorte sua.

Although in this time of Berengarius, which was about the year of our Lord 1050 (as ye have heard), this error of transubstantiation

(1) These verses are in Malmesbury, with a few trifling variations. Lib. iii.—Ed

began to grow in force and strength, by the supporting of certain popish monks above rehearsed, as Lanfranc, Guimund, Algerius,[1] Hugo bishop of Lincoln, Fulbert (of whom it is said in stories, that our Lady gave him suck, being sick, with her own breasts), and such others: yet, notwithstanding, all this while the said transubstantiation was decreed for no public law, nor doctrine to be holden by any general consent, either of the church of Rome, or any other council, before the council of Lateran, under pope Innocent III, who, A.D. 1215, celebrating in the church of Lateran a general council of thirteen hundred bishops,[2] enacted there divers constitutions, as of yearly confession, and the communion to be used by the whole multitude once a year through every parish church. Item, for the recovery of the holy land, with subsidy also to be levied for the same. Item, for the abolishing[3] of the books and writings of Joachim the Abbot, and also the opinions of Almaric before mentioned. Notwithstanding that the said Joachim did subscribe with his own hand, that he held the same doctrine which was in the church of Rome, and also submitted his books to be presented to the see of Rome, there to be corrected or approved, yet was he judged, though not a heretic, yet to be erroneous; and especially in those books which he wrote against Peter the Lombard, called afterwards the Master of Sentences.[4]

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Transubstantiation first decreed for a general law by pope Innocent III.

In the said council, besides divers other constitutions and the articles of the creed there in order repeated, as appeareth,[5] there was also enacted, decreed, and established the faith and belief of transubstantiation, in these words following.

The Words of the Council whereby Transubstantiation was first established.

There is one universal church of the faithful, without which none can be saved; in which church the selfsame Jesus Christ is both priest and also the sacrifice; whose body and blood are truly contained in the sacrament of the altar, under the forms of bread and wine, the bread being transubstantiated into the body, and the wine into the blood, by the power and working of God: so that to the accomplishing of this mystery of unity, we might take of his, the same which he hath taken of ours. And this sacrament none can make or consecrate, but he that is a priest lawfully ordained, according to the keys of the church, which Jesus Christ hath left to his apostles, and to their successors, &c.

And thus was the foundation laid for the building of Transubstantiation, upon the consent of these aforesaid thirteen hundred bishops in the year of our Lord above specified, under pope Innocent, and the doctrine thereof intruded for an article of faith into the church, necessarily to be believed of *all* men under pain of heresy.

But yet all this while, notwithstanding that the substance of bread and wine was now banished out of the sacrament, and utterly transcorporated into the substance of Christ's very body and blood, yet was not this body elevated over the priest's head, nor adored by the

Elevation and adoration brought in by pope Honorius III.

(1) 'Algerius.' The treatises of Algerius and Hugo, are found in the Bibliotheca Patrum, Lugduni, 1677, tom. xviii.—Ed.

(2) This number includes abbots and priors. See Collier's Historical Dictionary.—Ed.

(3) The words of the council are these: — 'Joachim omnia scripta sua nobis assignari mandaverit, apostolicæ sedis judicio approbanda seu etiam corrigenda.' See Acta Conciliorum, Paris, 1714, tom. vii. col. 19.—Ed.

(4) Ex Antonin. pars 3. tit. 19. cap. 1.

(5) Extr. De summa Trinit. 6. a. 1. 'Firmiter credimus,' et Fide Catholica, chap. 1. [The passage appears in the Decretals of Gregory IX., tom. ii. p. 1, of the 'Corpus Juris Canonici a Pithæo.' Paris, 1677.—Ed.]

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people, till the days of pope Honorius III., succeeding after Innocent, who, by his council, likewise commanded adoration and elevation to be joined with transubstantiation; as one idolatry commonly bringeth forth another.

Again, the said sacrament of the Lord's supper being now consecrated, transubstantiated, elevated, and adored, yet it was not offered up for a sacrifice propitiatory for the quick and the dead, nor for a remedy of the souls in purgatory, nor for a merit 'operis operati, sine bono motu utentis,' &c., before that other popes, coming after, added still new additions to the former inventions of their predecessors.

And thus have you the whole order and origin of these idolatrous parts of the mass described by their times and ages, which first began with consecration and the form thereof, which were words of the canon. Then came transubstantiation by Innocent, and afterwards elevation and adoration by Honorius; and, last of all, came the oblation, meritorious and propitiatory, for the quick and the dead in remission of sins, 'ex opere operato;' which things being thus constituted by the too much usurped authority of the church of Rome, shortly after followed persecution, tyranny, and burning among the Christians; first beginning with the Albigenses, and the faithful congregation of Toulouse, near about the time of the said Innocent, as is before remembered.

Persecution first beginning in these latter days.

And thus much for the first article of Transubstantiation, which, as you have heard, was not admitted into the church for any general doctrine of faith, before the year and time above assigned of pope Innocent III.: and therefore, if any have been otherwise persuaded, or yet do remain in the same persuasion still of this doctrine, as though it had been of a longer continuance than for the time above expressed, let him understand that by ignorance of histories he is deceived: and for the more satisfying of his mind, if he credit not me, let him believe the words of one of his own catholic sort, John Duns Scotus I mean, who, in his fourth book, writing of transubstantiation, in what time and by whose authority it was first established, hath these words, which also are before mentioned: "These words of the Scripture might be expounded more easily and more plainly without transubstantiation; but the church did choose this sense, which is harder, being thereto moved, as seemeth, chiefly because men should hold, of the sacraments, the same which the church of Rome doth hold," &c. And further, in the same place, the said Duns, expounding himself what he meaneth by the church of Rome, maketh there express mention of the said Innocent III., and of this Council of Lateran, &c. And furthermore, to the intent that such as be indifferent seekers of the truth may be more amply satisfied in this behalf, that this transubstantiation is of no antiquity, but of a late invention, I will also adjoin to this testimony of John Scotus, the judgment and verdict of Erasmus, where he writeth in these words:[1] "In the sacrament of the communion, the church concluded transubstantiation but of late days. Long before that, it was sufficient to believe the true body of Christ to be present either under bread, or else by some other manner," &c.

(1) 'In synaxi transubstantiationem sero definivit ecclesia. Diu satis erat credere sive sub pane consecrato, sive quocunque modo adesse verum corpus Christi,' &c. Erasm lib. Annot. in 1 Cor. cap. vii. Ser. 6.

THE SECOND ARTICLE: OF BOTH KINDS.

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As touching the second article, which debarreth from the lay-people the one-half of the sacrament, understanding that under one kind both parts are fully contained, forasmuch as the world well knoweth that this article is but young—invented, decreed, and concluded no longer since than at the Council of Constance, not two hundred years ago, I shall not need to make any long standing upon that matter; especially for that sufficient hath been said thereof before, in our long discourse of the Bohemians' story.

Objections of the papists against both kinds.

First, let us see the reasons and objections of the adversaries, in restraining the laity from the one kind of this sacrament. "The use," say they, "hath been of so long continuance in the church:" whereunto we answer, that they have no evident nor authentic example of any ancient custom in the church, which they can produce in that behalf.

Item, where they alleged the place of St. Luke, where Christ was known in breaking of bread,[1] &c.; citing, moreover, many other places of Scripture, wherein mention is made of breaking of bread: to answer thereunto, although we do not utterly repugn, but that some of those places may be understood of the sacrament, yet, that being granted, it followeth not therefore, that one part of the sacrament was only ministered to the people without the other, when, by the common use of speech, under the naming of one part, the whole action is meant. Neither doth it follow, because that bread was broken among the brethren, therefore the cup was not distributed unto them: for so we find by the words of St. Paul, that the use of the Corinthians was to communicate, not only in breaking of bread, but in participating the cup also: "The cup," saith he, "which we participate,"[2] &c.

Also, after the apostles, in the time of Cyprian, of Jerome, of Gelasius, and others successively after them, it is evident that both the kinds were frequented in the church. First Cyprian,[3] in divers places, declareth that the sacrament of the blood was also distributed. "How do we," saith he, "provoke them to stand in the confession of Christ, to the shedding of their blood, if we deny unto them the blood of Christ, when they prepare themselves to the conflict?"

The words of Jerome are plain:[4] "Priests," saith he, "who minister the Eucharist, and divide the blood unto the people."

In Historia Tripartita,[5] it was said to the emperor Theodosius, "How will you receive the body of the Lord with such bloody hands, or the cup of his precious blood with that mouth, who have spoiled so much innocent blood?"

In the canon of Gelasius, and in the pope's own decrees, these words we read: "We understand that there be some, who, receiving only the portion of the Lord's body, do abstain from the cup of his sacred blood; to whom we enjoin that either they receive the whole sacrament in both kinds, or else that they receive neither: for the dividing of that whole and one sacrament, cannot be done without great sacrilege," &c. So that this decree of pope Gelasius being con-

(1) Luke xxiv. (2) 1 Cor. x. (3) Cypria. lib. i. Epist. 2. De Laicis Martyrib. 'Scriberis.'
(4) Hieronymus, in Sophon. cap. 3. (5) Hist. Tripart. lib. ix.

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tradictory to the Council of Constance, it must follow, that either the pope did err, or else the Council of Constance must needs be a sacrilegious council; as no doubt it was.

The like testimony also appeareth in the Council of Toledo, that the laity did then communicate in both kinds, beside divers other old precedents remaining yet in the churches both of Germany and also of France, declaring likewise the same.[1]

The Council of Constance a sacrilegious council.

No custom may derogate from the Lord's express commandment.

And thus it standeth certain and demonstrable, by manifold probations, how far this new-found custom differeth from all antiquity and prescription of use and time. Again, although the custom thereof were ever so ancient, yet no custom may be of that strength to gainstand or countermand, the open and express commandment of God, who saith to all men, "Bibite ex hoc omnes," "Drink ye all of this," &c.

His testament ought not to be altered.

Again, seeing the cup is called the blood of the new testament, who is he that dare or can alter the testament of the Lord, when none may be so hardy to alter the testament of a man, being once approved or ratified?

Further, as concerning those places of Scripture before alleged, "De fractione panis;" that is, "Of breaking of bread;" whereupon they think themselves so sure that the sacrament was then administered but in one kind: to answer thereunto, first, we say, it may be doubted whether all those places in Scripture "De fractione panis," are to be referred to the sacrament. Secondly, the same being given unto them, yet can they not infer thereby, because one part is mentioned, that the full sacrament therefore was not ministered. The common manner of the Hebrew phrase is, under breaking of bread, to signify generally the whole feast or supper: as in the prophet Isaiah, these words, "Frange esurienti panem tuum," do signify as well giving drink, as bread, &c. And thirdly, howsoever those places, "De fractione panis," be taken, yet it maketh little for them, but rather against them. For, if the sacrament were administered among them "in fractione panis," that is, in breaking of bread, then must they needs grant, that if bread was there broken, ergo there was bread, forasmuch as neither the accidents of bread without bread can be broken, neither can the natural body of Christ be subject to any fraction or breaking by the Scripture, which saith, "And ye shall break no bone of him,"[2] &c. Wherefore take away the substance of bread, and there can be no fraction. And take away fraction, how then do they make a sacrament of this breaking, whereas neither the substance of Christ's body, neither yet the accidents without their substance can be broken, neither again will they admit any bread there remaining to be broken? And what then was it, in this their "fractione panis," that they did break, if it were not "panis," that is, "substantia panis, quæ frangebatur?" To conclude: if they say that this fraction of bread was a sacramental breaking of Christ's body, so by the like figure let them say that the being of Christ's natural body in the sacrament is a sacramental being, and we are agreed.

The natural body of Christ not to be broken.

Another objection.

Item, They object further, and say, that the church, upon due

(1) Thus the forbidding of both kinds of the sacrament hath no ground of ancient custom.
(2) Exod. xii

consideration, may alter as they see cause, in rites, ceremonies and sacraments. *Henry VIII.*

Answer:—The institution of this sacrament standeth upon the order, example, and commandment of Christ. This order he took: first, he divided the bread severally from the cup; and afterwards, the cup severally from the bread. Secondly, this he did not for any need on his behalf, but only to give us example how to do the same after him, in remembrance of his death, to the world's end. Thirdly, besides this order taken, and example left, he added also an express commandment, "Hoc facite," "Do this:" "Bibite ex hoc omnes," "Drink ye all of this," &c. Against this order, example, and commandment of the gospel, no church, nor council of men, nor angel in heaven, hath any power or authority to change or alter; according as we are warned: "If any bring unto you any other gospel beside that ye have received, hold him accursed," &c.[1] A. D. 1540. Order. Example. Commandment

Item, Another objection: And why may not the church (say they) as well alter the form of this sacrament, as the apostles did the form of baptism? where, in the Acts, St. Peter saith, "Let every one be baptized in the name of Jesus Christ," &c.[2] Another objection.

Answer:—This text saith not that the apostles used this form of baptizing, "I baptize thee in the name of Christ," &c.; but they used many times this manner of speech, "to be baptized in the name of Christ," not as expressing thereby the formal words of baptizing, but as meaning this: that they would have them to become members of Christ, and to be baptized as Christians, entering into his baptism, and not only to the baptism of John: and therefore, although the apostles thus spake to the people, yet, notwithstanding, when they baptized any themselves, they used, no doubt, the form of Christ prescribed, and no other. The Apostles changed not the form of baptism.

Item, Among many other objections, they allege certain perils and causes of weight and importance, as spilling, shedding, or shaking the blood out of the cup, or souring, or else sticking upon men's beards, &c.; for which, they say, it is well provided the half communion to suffice. Man's curiosity in magnifying his own devices above God's.

Whereunto it is soon answered, that as these causes were no let to Christ, to the apostles, to the Corinthians, and to the brethren of the primitive church, but that in the public assemblies they received all the whole communion, as well in the one part as in the other; so neither be the said causes so important now, to annul and evacuate the necessary commandment of the Gospel, if we were as careful to obey the Lord, as we are curious to magnify our own devices, to strain at gnats, to stumble at straws, and to seek knots in rushes, which rather are in our own fantasies growing, than there, where they are sought.

In summa: Divers other objections and cavillations are in popish books to be found, as in Gabriel, the difference made between the laity and priests; also the distinction used to be made between the priests' communion, and the laical communion: where is to be understood, that when priests were bid to use the laical communion,

(1) Gal. i. (2) Acts ii.

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thereby was meant, not receiving under one kind, as laymen do now, but to abstain from consecrating, and only to receive as the laymen then did. Some also allege certain special or particular examples, as of the cup only serving for the bread, or of the bread only sent to certain sick folk for the cup. And here they do infer the story of Sozomenus, touching the woman in whose mouth the sacrament of bread, which she only received without the cup, was turned to a stone, &c. Others allege other private examples likewise of infants, aged men, sick persons, men excommunicated, frantics, and madmen, or men dwelling far off from churches, in mountains or wildernesses, &c.[1] All which private examples neither make any instance against the ancient custom of public congregations frequented from the apostles' time; and much less ought they to derogate from the express and necessary precept of the Gospel, which saith to all men without exception, "Hoc facite," &c. "Bibite ex hoc omnes," &c.

Private example makes no instance against public usages of the church.

All must give place to the obedience of the word.

THE THIRD ARTICLE; OF PRIVATE MASSES, TRENTAL MASSES, AND DIRIGE MASSES.

Private masses, trental masses, and dirige masses, as they were never used before the time of Gregory, six hundred years after Christ, so the same do fight directly against our christian doctrine, as by the definition thereof may well appear. The mass is a work or action of the priest, applied unto men for meriting of grace, "ex opere operato;" in which action the sacrament is first worshipped, and then offered up for a sacrifice for remission of sins, "à pœna et culpa," for the quick and the dead. Of this definition as there is no part but it agreeth with their own teaching, so there is no part thereof which disagreeth not from the rules of christian doctrine; especially these, as follow.

Definition of the mass.

I. The first rule is: Sacraments be instituted for some principal end and use, out of which use they are no sacraments: as the sacrament of baptism is a sacrament of regeneration and forgiveness of sins to the person that is baptized; but if it be carried about to be worshipped and showed to others, as meritorious for their remission and regeneration, to them it is no sacrament.

Rule of christian doctrine.

II. No sacrament or ceremony doth profit or conduce but to them only, who take and use the same.

III. Only the death of Christ, and the work of his sacrifice upon the cross, is to be applied to every man by faith, for salvation and health of his soul. Besides this work alone, to apply any action or work of priest or any other person, as meritorious of itself, and conducible to salvation, to soul's health, or to remission of sins, it is idolatry, and derogatory to the testament of God, and to the blood of Christ prejudicial.

IV. To make idols of sacraments, and to worship dumb things for the living God, it is idolatry; "Fugite idola,"[2] &c.

V. Every good work, whatsoever it be, that a man doth, profiteth only himself, and cannot be applied to other men, "ex opere operato," to profit them unto merit or remissions; only the actions of Christ excepted.

(1) Hist. Eccle. lib. viii. cap. 5.

(2) 1 Cor. x.

VI. No man can apply to another the sacrifice of Christ's death by any work-doing, but every man must apply it to himself by his own believing: "Justus ex fide sua vivet."[1]

VII. The sacrifice of Christ's death doth save us freely by itself, and not by the means of any man's working for us.

VIII. The passion of Christ once done, and no more, is a full and a perfect oblation and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world, both original and actual: by virtue of which passion the wrath of God is pacified towards mankind for ever, Amen.

IX. The passion of Christ once done, is only the object of that faith of ours which justifieth us, and nothing else. And therefore, whosoever setteth up any other object beside that passion once done, for our faith to apprehend and behold the same, teacheth damnable doctrine, and leadeth to idolatry.

The sacrament of the Lord's supper put out of its right use, by private masses.

Against all these rules private masses directly do repugn. For first, besides that they transgress the order, example, and commandment of Christ (who divided the bread and cup to them all), they also bring the sacrament out of the right use whereunto, principally, it was ordained. For whereas the use of that sacrament is principally instituted for a testimonial and remembrance of Christ's death, the private mass transferreth the same to another purpose, either to make of it a gazing idol, or a work of application meritorious, or a sacrifice propitiatory for remission of sins, or a commemoration for souls departed in purgatory: according as it is written in their mass book, "Pro quorum memoria corpus Christi, sumitur: pro quorum memoria sanguis Christi sumitur," &c., whereas Christ saith contrary, "Hoc facietis in meam commemorationem."

Furthermore, the institution of Christ is broken in this, that whereas the communion was given in common, the private mass suffereth the priest alone to eat and drink up all; and when he hath done, to bless the people with the empty cup.

Christ's memory put out in dirige masses.

Secondly, whereas sacraments properly profit none but them that use the same, in the private mass the sacrament is received in the behoof not only of him that executeth, but of them also that stand looking on, and of them also that be far off, or dead and in purgatory.

An application.

Thirdly, when by the Scripture nothing is to be applied for remission of our sins, but only the death of Christ, cometh in the private mass, as a work meritorious done by the priest; which being applied to others, is available "ex opere operato," both to him that doth it, and to them for whom it is done, "ad remissionem peccatorum."

Adoration and oblation.

Fourthly, private masses, and all other masses now used, of the sacrament make an idol; of commemoration make adoration; instead of receiving, make a deceiving; in place of showing forth Christ's death, make new oblations of his death; and of a communion make a single sole supping, &c.

Meriting for others.

Fifthly, whereas, in this general frailty of man's nature, no man can merit by any worthiness of working for himself, the priest, in his private mass, taketh upon him to merit both for himself, and for many others.

(1) Hab. ii.

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Sixthly, it standeth against Scripture, that the sacrifice and death of Christ can be applied any otherwise to our benefit and justification, than by faith: wherefore it is false that the action of the mass can apply the benefit of Christ's death unto us, "ex opere operato, sine bono motu utentis vel sacrificantis."

Private masses against the free grace of God.

Seventhly, whereas the benefit of our salvation and justifying standeth by the free gift and grace of God, through our faith in Christ; contrarily, the application of these popish masses stoppeth the freeness of God's grace, and maketh that this benefit must first come through the priests' hands, and his "opus operatum," unto us.

The eighth contrariety between private mass and God's word is in this; that where the Scripture saith,[1] "With one oblation he hath made perfect them that be sanctified for ever:" against this rule the private mass proceedeth in a contrary doctrine, making of one oblation a daily oblation, and that which is perfectly done and finished, anew to be done again: and finally, that which was instituted only for eating, and for a remembrance of that oblation of Christ once done, the popish mass maketh an oblation, and a new satisfaction daily to be done for the quick and the dead.

They turn our faith from Christ's body crucified, to Christ sacrificed in their masses.

To conclude, these both private and public masses of priests, turn away the object of our faith from the body of Christ sacrificed, to the body of Christ in their masses. And whereas God annexeth no promise of justification, but only to our faith in the body of Christ crucified, they do annex promise of remission "à pœna et culpa," to the body in their masses sacrificed, by their application; besides divers other horrible and intolerable corruptions which spring of their private and public masses, which here I leave to others at their leisure further to conceive and to consider. Now let us proceed to the other articles following.

THE FOURTH AND FIFTH ARTICLES; OF VOWS AND PRIESTS' MARRIAGE.

As we have discoursed before, by stories and order of time, the antiquity of the three former articles above mentioned, to wit, of transubstantiation, of the half communion, and of private masses; so now, coming to the article of vows, and that of priests' marriage, the reader will look, perchance, to be satisfied in this likewise, as in the other before, and to be certified from what continuance of time these vows and unmarried life of priests have continued; wherein, although sufficient hath been said before in the former process of this history, as in the life of Anselm, also of pope Hildebrand, &c., yet, for the better establishing of the reader's mind against this wicked article of priests' marriage, it shall be no great labour lost, here briefly to recapitulate in the tractation of this matter, either what before hath been said, or what is more to be added. And to the intent that the world may see and judge the said law and decree of priests' single sole life, to be a doctrine of no ancient standing here within this realm, but only since the time of Anselm, I will first allege for me the words of Henry of Huntingdon,[2] here following:

(1) 'Unica oblatione consummavit eos, qui sanctificantur in perpetuum.' Heb. x.

(2) 'Eodem anno ad festum Michaelis tenuit Anselmus archiepiscopus concilium apud Londonias: in quo prohibuit sacerdotibus Anglorum uxores antea non prohibitas. Quod quibusdam

'The same year, at the feast of St. Michael, Anselm, the archbishop of Canterbury, held a synod at London; in which synod he forefended priests here in England to have wives, which they were not inhibited before to have: which constitution seemed to some persons very pure and chaste. To others again it seemed very dangerous, lest while that men should take upon them such chastity, more than they should be able to bear, by that occasion they might haply fall into horrible filthiness, which should redound to the exceeding slander of christian profession,' &c. *Henry VIII.* A.D. 1540.

Albeit I deny not but before the time also of Anselm, both Odo, and after him Dunstan archbishop of Canterbury, and Ethelwold bishop of Winchester, and Oswald bishop of Worcester, in the days of king Edgar, A.D. 959, as they were all monks themselves, so were they great doers against the marriage of priests, placing monks in churches and colleges, and putting out the married priests, as ye may read before; yet, notwithstanding, neither was that in many churches, and also the priests then married were not constrained to leave their wives, or their rooms, but only at their own choice. For so writeth Malmesbury,[1] "Therefore divers and sundry clerks of many churches, being put to their choice, whether to change their weed, or to part from their places, went their ways," &c. So also Elfric, after them (of whom mention was made before), was somewhat busy in setting forward the single life of priests, and Lanfranc likewise. But yet this restraint of priests' lawful marriage was never publicly established for a law here, in the church of England, before the coming of Anselm, in the days of William Rufus and king Henry I., writing in these words: "Boldly I command, by the authority which I have by my archbishopric, not only within my archbishopric, but also throughout England, that all priests that keep women, shall be deprived of their churches, and all ecclesiastical benefices," &c.; as ye may read more at large before: which was much about the same time when Hildebrand also, at Rome, began to attempt the same matter, as before hath been showed; and also besides him were other popes more, as pope Innocent III., Nicholas II., and Calixtus II., by whom the act against priests' marriage was brought at length to its full perfection, and so hath continued ever since.

Priests first restrained from their wives generally in England.

Long it were, and tedious, to recite here all such constitutions of councils provincial and general, namely, of the council of Carthage and of Toledo, which seemed to work something in that behalf against the matrimony of priests.

Again, longer it were to number up the names of all such bishops and priests, who, notwithstanding, have been married since that time in divers countries, as more amply shall be showed (the Lord willing) in the sequel hereof. In the mean season, as touching the age and time of this devilish prohibition for priests to have their wives, this is to be found by credible proofs and conferring of histories, that about the year of our Saviour 1067,[2] at what time pope Hildebrand began first to occupy the papal chair, this oath began first to be taken of archbishops and bishops, that they should suffer none to enter into

mundissimum visum est, quibusdam periculosum: ne dum munditias viribus majores appeterent, in immunditias horribiles ad Christiani nominis summum dedecus inciderent,' &c. De Historia Anglorum, lib. vii.

(1) 'Itaque clerici multarum ecclesiarum, data optione ut aut amictum mutarent aut locis valedicerent,' &c. Malmesb. in Vita Dunstani. (2) Hildebrand became pope, A.D. 1073.—ED.

Henry VIII. the ministry, or into any ecclesiastical function, having a wife; and likewise the clergy to be bound to promise the same.[1]

A. D. 1540. And this was, as I said, about A. D. 1067,[2] well approved and testified by course of histories: whereby appeareth the prophecy of St. Paul truly to be verified, speaking of these latter times, 1 Tim. iv., where he writeth in these words: "The Spirit speaketh plainly, that in the latter times there shall some depart from the faith, hearkening unto spirits of error, and to doctrines of devils, forbidding to marry, and commanding to abstain from meats, which the Lord hath created to be taken with thanksgiving," &c.

St. Paul prophesieth forbidding of marriage.

His prophecies found true for the count of times.

In this prophecy of St. Paul two things are to be observed; first, the matter which he prophesieth of, that is, the forbidding of marriage, and forbidding of meats, which God generally hath left free to all men. The second thing in this prophecy to be noted is, the time when this prophecy shall fall, that is, in the latter times of the world. So that this concurreth right well with these years of pope Hildebrand aforesaid, being a thousand years complete after the ascension of our Saviour; so that they may well be called the latter times.

The married life of priests more ancient than the single.

This prophecy of St. Paul, thus standing, as it doth, firm and certain, that is, that forbidding of marriage must happen in the latter times of the world, then must it needs consequently follow thereby, that the married life of priests is more ancient in the church than is the single life; than the law, I mean, commanding the single life of priests: which may soon be proved to be true, by the true count of times, and search of histories.

I. For first, at the council of Nice, A.D. 325, it is notorious that this devilish law of marriage to be restrained, was stopped by Paphnutius.

II. Before this council of Nice, we read of Polycrates, bishop of Ephesus, who, about A.D. 193,[3] dissenting from pope Victor about a certain controversy of Easter-day, allegeth for himself how his progenitors before him, seven together, one after another, succeeded in that see, and he now, the eighth after them, was placed in the same, using this his descent of his parents not only as a defence of his cause, but also as a glory to himself.

Syricius an enemy to priests.

III. Pope Syricius, about A.D. 390, wrote to the priests of Spain, about the same matter of putting their wives from them; if his epistle be not counterfeit. These Spanish priests had then with them a bishop of Tarragona, who, answering to Syricius in this behalf, alleged the testimonies of St. Paul, that priests might lawfully retain their wives, &c. To this Syricius replied again (if his writing be not forged) most arrogantly, and no less ignorantly, reproving the priests that were married; and, for the defence of his cause, alleged this sentence of St. Paul,[4] "If ye shall live after the flesh, ye shall die," &c. Whereby may appear, not only how they in Spain then had wives, but also how blind these men were in the Scriptures, who showed themselves such and so great adversaries against priests' marriages.

IV. To be short, the further we go, and the nearer we come to

(1) Ex actis Syn. Mediolan. [See note 4, page 330 of this volume.—Ed.]
(2) A.D. 1073, as noticed before.—Ed.
(3) Foxe gives A.D. 180; but Victor was not made pope till the year 193. See 'L'Art de verifier des Dates.' Paris, 1783, vol. i. p. 221.
(4) 'Si secundum carnem vixeritis, moriemini.' Rom. viii. 15.

the ancient and primitive time of the church, the less ancient we shall find the deprivation of lawful matrimony amongst christian ministers, beginning, if ye will, with the apostles, their examples and canons, who, although they were not all married, yet divers of them were, and the rest had power and liberty to have and keep their wives, witnessing St. Paul, where he writeth of himself,[1] "Have we not power to lead about a sister to wife, as also the other apostles have?" Whereby is to be seen, both what he might do, and what the other apostles did. Albeit Clement of Alexandria,[2] who was two hundred years after Christ, denieth not but that Paul was married, being an apostle, as well as Peter and Philip. And as the said apostles, in their doctrine, admonish all men to marry that cannot otherwise do, saying unto every one being in danger of temptation,[3] "Let every man have his own wife, lest Satan tempt you," &c. so likewise the same apostles, in their canons, (as in the pope's decrees is cited), do precisely charge, that no bishop or priest should sequester from him his wife for any matter or pretence of religion, saying, "If any shall teach that a priest, for religion's sake, ought to contemn his own wife, let him be accursed," &c.[4]

Divers of the apostles were married.

Canons of the apostles.

As for the gloss there in the margin, which expoundeth this word 'contemning' for exhibiting things necessary for her sustenance, all the world may see that, to be a gloss of mere sophistry. And because I have here made mention of Clement of Alexandria, it shall not be to our purpose impertinent, to infer the words of this worthy writer, wherewith he doth defend priests' lawful matrimony, against certain vain boasters of virginity in his time.[5] "These glorious braggers do vaunt themselves to be the followers of the Lord, who neither had wife, nor yet possessed any thing here in the world," &c. And it followeth,[6] "To these the Scripture maketh answer, God withstandeth the proud, and giveth grace to the humble. Again they consider not the cause why the Lord took no wife. First, he had his own peculiar spouse, which is the church. Moreover, neither was he as a common man, that he should stand in such need of a helper after the flesh," &c. And in the same book a little after, alleging against them that abhor matrimony, he inferreth the words of St. Paul, how that in the latter days, "Some shall fall from the faith, attending to spirits of error, and to doctrine of devils, forbidding to marry, and bidding to abstain from meats," &c.[7] Which place of St. Paul, Clement here applieth not against the Novatians, and them that condemn matrimony in general in all men as naught; but he applieth it only against such as forbid marriage in part, and namely in priests, &c. This Clement wrote after Christ two hundred years, and yet if we come downward to lower times, we shall find both by the council of Gangra[8] three hundred years, and also by the council

A sophistical gloss.

The cause why Christ had no wife.

(1) 'Non habemus potestatem sororem mulierem circumducendi?' &c. (2) Strom. lib. vii.
(3) 'Unusquisque suam uxorem habeat,' &c.
(4) Dist. xxviii. [Gratian (Paris, 1612,) col. 153.—Ed.]
(5) 'Dicunt gloriosi isti jactatores, se imitari Dominum, qui neque uxorem duxit, neque in mundo aliquid possedit, se magis quam alios evangelium intellexisse gloriantes.' Clemens Alexandrinus. [Strom. lib. iii. cap. 6. f. 49.—Ed.]
(6) 'Eis autem dicit Scriptura, Deus superbis resistit, humilibus autem dat gratiam. Deinde nesciunt causam cur Dominus uxorem non duxerit. Primum quidem, propriam sponsam habuit ecclesiam. Deinde vero nec homo erat communis, ut opus haberet etiam adjutore aliquo secundum carnem,' &c. (7) 1 Tim. iv. 3.
(8) According to some authorities, this Council was held A.D. 324 or 340, and Du Pin places it as late as A.D. 370. The Council of Nice, stated here to be 400 years after Christ, was held A.D. 325.—Ed.

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of Nice four hundred years, after Christ, the same liberty of priests' marriage, established and enacted as a thing both good and godly. The words of the council of Gangra be these:[1] "If any do judge that a priest, for his marriage' sake, ought not to minister, and therefore doth abstain from the same, let him be accursed."

Moreover, proceeding yet in times and chronicles of the church, we shall come to the sixth council, called the "Synod of Constantinople," almost seven hundred years after Christ; the words of which council be alleged in the Decrees, and be these;[2] "Because, in the order of the Roman canon we know it so to be received, that such as be deacons and priests shall profess themselves to have no more connexion with their wives; we, following the ancient canon of the diligent apostles and constitutions of holy men, enact that such lawful marriage, from henceforth, shall stand in force, in no case dissolving their conjunction with their wives, neither depriving them of their mutual society and familiarity together, in such time as they shall think convenient," &c. Hitherto ye have heard the decree: hear now the penalty in the same decree and distinction contained.[3] "If any man, therefore, shall presume, against the canons of the apostles, to deprive either priest or deacon from the touching and company of his lawful wife, let him be deprived. And likewise this priest and deacon, whosoever, for religion's sake, shall put away his wife, let him be excommunicated," &c. (and the council of Gangra saith: "let him be accursed.") By these words of the council recited, six things are to be noted:

Six things in this council to be noted.

I. First, how this council calleth the marriage of priests lawful, contrary to these six articles, and to a certain late English writer of our country, entitling his book "Against the Unlawful Marriage of Priests."

II. In that this council so followeth "the canons of the apostles, and constitutions of holy men," we have to understand what the censures both of the apostles and determination of other holy men were therein.

III. If the injunction of this council, agreeing thus with the apostles and holy men, stood with truth, the contrary canon of the Romans, and also of these six English articles, must needs be condemned of error.

IV. By this council it appeareth, that so long time, almost seven hundred years after Christ, this prohibition of priests' marriage was not yet entered into the Orient church, but stoutly was holden out.

V. By the Roman canon here mentioned, which began with Gregory, six hundred years after Christ, a little before this council, it cannot be denied but that the church of Rome began then to dissever, not only from the verity, but also from the unity of all other churches following the apostolic doctrine; albeit the said Roman canon at that

(1) 'Si quis discernit presbyterum conjugatum tanquam occasione nuptiarum, quod offerre non debeat, et ab ejus oblatione ideo se abstinet, anathema sit,' &c. Distinct. xxviii. [Canon 4. The words as quoted by Foxe are according to Isidore Mercator's translation: Labbe; Concilia General. tom. ii. col. 425. See also Gratian, (Paris, 1612,) col. 153.—Ed.]

(2) 'Quoniam in Romani ordine canonis esse cognovimus traditum, eos, qui ordinati sunt diaconi vel presbyteri debere confiteri, quod jam suis non copulentur uxoribus, nos antiquum sequentes canonem apostolicæ diligentiæ, et constitutiones sacrorum virorum, legales nuptias amodo valere volumus, nullo modo cum uxoribus suis eorum connubia dissolventes, aut privantes eos familiaritate ad invicem in tempore opportuno,' &c. Concil. Constantin. vi. [A. D. 680.—Ed.] dist. xxxii. ca. 'Quoniam.'

(3) 'Si quis igitur præsumpserit contra apostolicos canones, aliquos presbyterorum et diaconorum, privare contactu et communione legalis uxoris, deponatur,' &c. [See the above quotations Cat. Test. Veritatis. Francorf. 1666, p. 73; or in Catalogi Test. Verit. Auctarium, Cattapoli, 1667, p. 10. Also Gratian (Paris, 1612), col. 165.—Ed.]

time stood not long, but was shortly disannulled by the said Gregory again, by the occasion of infants' heads found in the fish pond; whereof (Christ willing) more shall be spoken hereafter. *Henry VIII.* A. D. 1540.

VI. Sixthly, here is to be noted and remembered the crafty false packing, and fraud of the Romans, who, in the Latin book of Councils, in divers new impressions, have suppressed this canon, because belike it maketh little with their purpose: playing much like with this, as pope Sosimus, Boniface, and Celestine played with the sixth council at Carthage, who, for their supremacy, would have forged a false canon of Nice, had not the council sent to Constantinople for the true exemplar thereof, and so proved them open liars to their faces. So likewise this canon above mentioned, although it be omitted in some books, yet, being found in the ancient and true written copies, being alleged of Nilus, a Greek bishop of Thessalonica, two hundred years ago;[1] and moreover being found and alleged in the pope's own book of Decrees, dist. 31, must needs convince them of manifest theft and falsehood. The crafty packing of the Romans, in suppressing and countervailing the canons of councils.

Thus it may stand sufficiently proved, that the deprivation of priests' lawful marriage, all this space, was not entered into the church, neither Greek nor Latin, at least took no full possession, before pope Hildebrand's time, A.D. 1067,[2] and especially pope Calixtus' time, A.D. 1119, who were the first open extorters[3] of priests' marriage. Aventine,[4] a faithful writer of his time, writing of the council of Hildebrand, hath these words:[5] First extorters of priests' lawful marriage.

'In those days priests commonly had wives, as other christian men had, and had children also, as may appear by ancient instruments, and deeds of gift, which were then given to churches, to the clergy, and to religious houses; in which instruments, both the priests and their wives, also, with them (who there be called Presbyterissæ), I find to be alleged for witnesses. It happened, moreover, at the same time (saith Aventine), that the emperor had the investing of divers archbishoprics, bishoprics, abbeys, and nunneries, within his dominions; pope Hildebrand disdaining against both these sorts aforesaid, (that is, both against them that were invested by the emperor, and also against all those priests that had wives), provided so in his council at Rome, that they who were promoted by the emperor into livings of the church, were counted to come in by simony: the others, who were married priests, were counted for Nicolaitans. Whereupon pope Hildebrand, writing his letters to the emperor, to dukes, princes, and other great prelates and potentates, namely to Berthold of Zaringia, to Rodulph of Suevia, to Welphon of Bavaria, to Adelberon, and to their ladies, and to divers others to whom he thought good, also to bishops, namely, to Otto bishop of Constance, with other priests and lay people, willeth them, in his letters, to refuse and to keep no company with, those Simoniacs and those Nicolaitan priests (for so were they termed then), who had either any ecclesiastical living by the emperor, or else who had wives: to avoid their masses; neither to talk, neither to eat or drink with them, nor once to speak to them, or to salute them; but utterly to shun them, as men execrable and wicked, no otherwise than they would eschew the plague or pestilence. Simoniacal and Nicolaitan priests.

'By reason hereof ensued a mighty schism and affliction among the flock of Christ, such as lightly the like hath not been seen: for the priests went against their bishops, the people against the priests, the laity against the clergy: briefly all ran together in heaps and in confusion. Men and women, as every one was set upon mischief, wickedness, contention, and avarice, took thereby occasion,

(1) Nilus was bishop of Thessalonica A.D. 1355.—Ed. (2) A.D. 1073, as noticed before.—Ed.
(3) 'Extorters,' denouncers of.—Ed.
(4) P. 346. Edit. Francof. 1627. The best edition of this writer, Jo. Aventini Annalium Boiorum, libri vii., is that published in folio, Lipsiæ, 1710. See Schelhorn's Amœnitates Literariæ, vol. v.—Ed.
(5) 'Sacerdotes illa tempestate publice uxores, sicut cæteri Christiani, habebant, filios procreabant, siouti instrumentis donationum, quæ illi templis, mystis,' &c. Aventinus in histor. Boiorum lib. v. [Cap. 6.—Ed.]

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upon every light suspicion, to resist their minister, to spoil the goods of the church. The vulgar people contemned the priests who had married wives, despised their religion, and all things that they did; yea, and in many places would purge the place where they had been with holy water, and burned their tithes. Also, such was the mischief of them, that they would take the holy mysteries which those married priests had consecrated, and cast them in the dirt, and tread them under their feet: for so then had Hildebrand taught them, that those were no priests, neither that they were sacraments which they did consecrate. So that by this occasion many false prophets rose, seducing the people from the truth of Christ by forged fables, and false miracles, and feigned glosses, wresting the Scriptures as served best for their own purposes: of whom few there were, that kept any true chastity. Many could make glorious boasts and brags thereof; but the greatest part, under the show and pretence of honesty and pureness of life, committed incest, fornication, adultery, every where almost, and no punishment was for the same,' &c.

To this testimony of Aventine above mentioned, we will also adjoin the record of Gebuilerus, a writer of this our latter time, and one also of their own crew, who doth testify, that in the time of the emperor Henry IV., A.D. 1057, the number of twenty-four bishops, both in Germany, Spain, and in France, were married, with the clergy also of their diocese. Of which Spanish bishops we read also in Isidore,[1] who wrote more than six hundred years after Christ (and the place is also cited in the pope's distinctions) in his book "De Clericorum Vita," how they ought either to lead an honest chaste life, or else to keep themselves within the band of matrimony, &c. Whereby is declared the single life of priests either to be then voluntary, or else their marriage not to be restrained as yet by any law.

All the apostles were married, except John and Paul.

Moreover, such Calixtian priests[2] as be now-a-days, counting priests' marriage as a new device, and not standing with ancient times, let them look upon the decree of pope Symmachus, and answer thereof to the Gloss, dist. 81; where it is written, "Let priests be all restrained from the conversation of all women, except it be their mother, sister, or their own wife," &c.: where the Gloss, in the margin, giveth a note, saying, "Hic loquitur secundum antiqua tempora."

Thus, if either the voice of Scripture might take place with these men that be so rigorous against priests' marriage; or if the examples of the apostles might move them (whom St. Ambrose witnesseth to have been all married, except only Paul and John), or else if the multitude of married bishops and priests might prevail with them, here might be rehearsed, that Tertullian was a married priest;[3] as witnesseth Jerome; Spiridion, bishop of Cyprus, had wife and children; Hilary, bishop of Poictiers,[4] was also married; Gregory, bishop of Nissa;[5] Gregory, bishop of Nazianzum;[6] Prosper, bishop of Rheggio; Cheremon, bishop of Nilopolis: all these were married bishops. Of Polycrates, and his seven ancestors, bishops and married men, we spake before. Epiphanius, bishop of Constantinople in Justinian's time, was the more commended, because his father and ancestors before him were priests and bishops married. Jerome saith, that in his time, "many priests were then married men."[7]

(1) Isidorus, De Vita Clericorum. Dis. xxiii. cap. 'His igitur.' [See also Gratian, col. 115. Isidore was archbishop of Seville for about forty years. He died A.D. 636.—Ed.]
(2) Calixtian priests, that is, of Calixtus's sect, who chiefly forbade priests' marriage.
(3) Ex Ambros.: 2 Cor. xi. (4) Ex Epist. Hilarii ad Abram filiam.
(5) Ex Rufino, lib. ii. cap. 9. (6) Ex Nazianzeno. Ex Novel. constit. iii.
(7) 'Plurimi sacerdotes habebant matrimonia.' Ex Hiero. adv. Jovinian. lib. i. dist. 5, 6. 'Osius.'

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Pope Damasus reciteth up a great number of bishops of Rome, who were priests' sons; as, Sylverius, A.D. 536; Deodatus, about the year 614; Adrian II., about the year 867; Felix III., about the year 483; Osius;[1] Agapetus, A.D. 535; Gelasius, A.D. 492; Boniface, A.D. 418; Theodore (whose father was bishop of Jerusalem), about the year 642; John X., A.D. 914; John XV., the son of Leo, a priest, about the year 985; Richard, archdeacon of Coventry; Henry, archdeacon of Huntingdon; Volusianus, bishop of Carthage; Thomas, archbishop of York, son of Sampson, bishop of Worcester.[2] And how many other bishops and priests in other countries, besides these bishops of Rome, might be annexed to this catalogue, if our leisure were such as to make a whole bead-roll of them all!

In the mean time the words of cardinal Sylvius, afterwards bishop of Rome, are not to be forgotten, which he wrote to a certain friend of his, who, after his orders taken, was disposed to marriage. To whom the aforesaid Sylvius answereth again in these words following:[3] "We believe that you, in so doing, follow no sinister counsel, in that you choose to be married, when otherwise you are not able to live chaste. Albeit this counsel should have come into your head before that you entered into ecclesiastical orders: but we are not all gods, to foresee before what shall happen hereafter. Now, forasmuch as the matter and case standeth so, that you are not able to resist the law, better it is to marry than to burn," &c.

All the premises well considered, it shall suffice, I trust, though no more were said, to prove that this general law and prohibition of priests' marriage, pretended to be so ancient, is of no such great time, nor long continuance of years, as they make it, but rather to be a late devised doctrine, gendered by the monks, and grounded upon no reason, law, or Scripture; but that certain who be repiners against the truth, do rack and wrest a few places out of the doctors, and two or three councils, for their pretensed purpose: whose objections and blind cavillations, I, as professing here but to write stories, refer to the further discussion of divines, in whose books this matter is more at large to be sought and searched. In the mean season, so much as appertaineth to the searching of times and antiquity, and to the conservation of such acts and monuments as are behoveable for the church, I thought hereunto not unprofitable to be adjoined, a certain epistle learned and ancient, of Volusianus, bishop some time of Carthage, tending to the defence of priests' lawful wedlock, which Æneas Sylvius, in Descriptione Germaniæ;[4] also Illyricus in Catalogo;[5] and Melancthon, Lib. de Conjugio,[6] do father upon Hulderic, bishop of Augsburg,[7] in the time of pope Nicholas II.[8] But as I find it in an old written example, sent by John Bale to Matthew, archbishop of Canterbury, as it is joined in the same book, so it beareth also the same title and name of Volusianus, bishop of Carthage; joining also

[1] (1) 'Osius.' No such bishop of Rome, but Foxe has had authority. See the note (Corr. Rom.) to cap. ii. dist. 56.; p. 77 of the 'Corpus Juris Canonici' (fol. Par. 1687).—Ed.

(2) Ex Vicelio, De Sacrificio Missæ.

(3) 'Creditnus te uti non insulso consilio, si, cum nequeas continere, conjugium quæris: quamvis id prius cogitandum fuerat, antequam initiareris sacris ordinibus. Sed non sumus dii omnes, qui futura prospicere valeamus. Quando huc ventum est, ut legi carnis resistere nequeas, melius est nubere quàm uri.' Ex Ænea Sylvio. Epist. 307. [See p. 809, Opera Omnia, (Basil. 1571.)—Ed.]

(4) Æneas Sylvius, Opera Omnia, Basil. 1571, p. 1058.—Ed.

(5) See pp. 972 to 984. Edit. 1608.—Ed.

(6) See p. 172. Pars. II. Witeb. 1601.—Ed.

(7) Hulderic bishop of Augsburg about A.D. 900.

(8) Rather Nicholas I., coinciding with the date, A.D. 859. See note 1, p. 314.—Ed.

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withal another Latin epistle (with the English), which perhaps hath not been seen in print before. The copies of both which epistles in Latin, as being pertinent to the purpose present, hereunder ensue, in form of a note.[1]

(1) *The Epistle in Latin of Volusianus, or, as some think, of Hulderic, Bishop of Augsburg, to Pope Nicholas, against the forbidding of Priests' Marriage.*

Epistola Volusiani Carthaginensis Episcopi ad Nicolaum Romanorum Episcopum.

*** Hæc est rescriptio Volusiani Carthaginensis Episcopi, in qua Papæ Nicolao, De Continentia Clericorum, non justè, sed impiè, nec canonicè sed indiscretè tractanti, ita respondit.

Nicolao Domino et Patri, pervigili sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ Provisori, Volusianus, solo nomine Episcopus, amorem ut filius, timorem ut servus. Cum tua, O Pater et Domine, decreta super clericorum continentiâ nuper mihi transmissa à discretione invenirem aliena, timor me turbavit cum tristitia: timor quidem—propter hoc,quod dicitur pastoris sententiam,sive justam sive injustam, timendam esse; timebam enim infirmis Scripturæ auditoribus, qui vel justæ vix obediunt sententiæ, ne, injustam conculcantes liberè, oneroso imo importabili pastoris præcepto prævarications se obligarent: tristitia verò vel compassio—dum considerabam, qua ratione membra cavere possent, capite suo tam gravi morbo laborante. Quid enim gravius, quid totius ecclesiæ compassione dignius, quam te, summæ sedis pontificem, ad quem totius ecclesiæ spectat examen, à sancta discretione vel minimum exorbitare? Non parum quippe ab hac deviasti, cum clericos, quos ob continentiam conjugii monere debebas, ad hanc imperiosa quadam violentia cogi volebas. Nunquid enim meritò communi omnium sapientum judicio hæc est violentia, cum contra evangelicam institutionem, ac Sancti Spiritus dictationem, ad privata aliquis decreta cogitur exequenda?

Cum ergo plurima Veteris ac Novi Testamenti suppetant exempla, sanctam (ut nosti) discretionem docentia, tuæ rogo ne grave sit paternitati, vel pauca ex pluribus huic paginæ interserl. Dominus quidem in veteri lege sacerdoti conjugium constituit, quod illi postmodum interdixisse non legitur. Sed idem in evangelio loquitur [Matt. xix.]: Sunt eunuchi, qui se castraverunt propter regnum cœlorum, sed non omnes hoc verbum capiunt: qui potest capere, capiat. Quapropter apostolus quoque ait [1Cor.vii.]: De virginibus præceptum Domini non habeo, consilium autem do. Qui etiam, juxta prædictum Domini, non omnes hoc consilium capere posse considerans, sed multos ejusdem consilii assentatores, hominibus non Deo falsa specie continentiæ placere volentes, graviora videns committere, patrum scilicet uxores subagitare, masculorum ac pecudum amplexus non abhorrere; ne morbi hujus aspersione ad usque pestilentiam convalescente nimium status labefactetur ecclesiæ totius, Propter fornicationem, dixit, unusquisque suam uxorem habeat. Quod specialiter ad laicos pertinere iidem mentiuntur hypocritæ: qui licet in quovis sanctissimo ordine constituti, alienis tamen uxoribus non dubitant abuti. Et quod flendo cernimus, omnes in supradictis sæviunt sceleribus. Hi nimirum non rectè Scripturam intellexerunt, cujus mammillam quia durius pressere, sanguinem pro lacte biberunt.(a) Nam illud apostolicum, Unusquisque suam habeat uxorem, nullum excipit vere, nisi professorem continentiæ, vel eum qui de continuanda in Domino virginitate prefixit.

Quod nihilominus tuam, Pater venerande, condecet strenuitatem, ut omnem, qui tibi manu vel ore votum faciens continentiæ postea voluerit apostatare, aut ad votum exequendum ex debito constringas, aut ab omni ordine canonica autoritate deponas; et ut hoc viriliter implere sufficias, me omnesque mei ordinis viros adjutores habebis non pigros. Verum ut hujus voti nescios omninò scias non esse cogendos, audi apostolum dicentem ad Timotheum: Oportet (inquit) episcopum irreprehensibilem esse, unius uxoris virum. Quam sententiam ne quis ad solam ecclesiam verteret, subjunxit, Qui autem domui suæ præesse nescit, quomodo ecclesiæ Dei diligentiam habebit? Similitèr, inquit, diaconi sint unius uxoris viri, qui filiis suis benè præsint, et suis domibus. Hanc autem uxorem à sacerdote benedicendam esse, Sancti Sylvestri papæ decretis scio te sufficientèr doctum esse. His et hujusmodi sanctæ Scripturæ senteutiis Regulæ clericorum scriptor non immeritò concordans ait: Clericus sit pudicus, aut certè unius matrimonii vinculo fœderatus. Ex quibus omnibus veracitèr colligit quòd episcopus et diaconus reprehensibiles notantur, si in mulieribus multis dividuntur. Si verò unam sub obtentu religionis abjiciunt, utrumque, scilicet episcopum et diaconum sine graduum differentia, hæ canonica damnat sententia: Episcopus aut presbyter uxorem propriam nequaquam sub obtentu religionis abjiciat, si verò rejecerit, excommunicetur; et si perseveraverit, dejiciatur.(b) Sanctus quoque Augustinus, sanctæ discretionis non inscius: Nullum (inquit) tam grave facinus est, quin admittendum sit, ut devitetur pejus.(c)

Legimus præterea in secundo *Tripartitæ* Ecclesiasticæ Historiæ libro, quòd cum synodus Nicæna hæc eadem vellet sancire decreto, ut videlicet episcopi, presbyteri, diaconi, post consecrationem à propriis uxoribus vel omnino abstinerent, vel gradum deponerent; surgens in medio Paphnutius (ex illis martyribus quos Maximus imperator, oculis eorum dextris evulsis et sinistris suris incisis, damnavit) contradixit, honorabiles confessus nuptias, ac castitatem esse dicens connubium cum propria uxore; persuasitque concilio ne talem ponerent legem, gravem asserens esse causam, quæ aut ipsis aut eorum conjugibus occasio fornicationis existeret. Et hæc quidem Paphnutius, licet nuptiarum expers, exposuit; synodusque ejus sententiam laudavit, et nihil ex hac parte sancivit, sed hoc in uniuscujusque voluntate, non in necessitate dimisit.

Sunt verò aliqui qui S. Gregorium suæ sectæ sumunt adjutorem; quorum quidem temeritatem rideo, ignorantiam doleo. Ignorant enim, quòd periculosum hujus hæresis decretum à S. Gregorio factum, condigno pœnitentiæ fructu postmodum ab eodem sit purgatum. Quippe cum die quadam in vivarium suum propter pisces misisset, et allata inde plus quam sex millia infantum capita videret, intima mox ductus pœnitentia ingemuit, et factum à se de abstinentia decretum tantæ cædis causam confessus, condigno illud, ut dixi, pœnitentiæ fructu purgavit: suoque decreto prorsus damnato, apostolicum illud laudavit consilium; Melius est nubere, quam uri [1 Cor. vii.]: addens ex sua parte, Melius est nubere, quàm mortis occasionem præbere. Hunc forsitan rei eventum si illi mecum legissent, non tam temere, credo, judicarent, Dominicum saltem timentes præceptum: Nolite judicare, ut non judicemini [Matt. vii.]. Inde Paulus dicit, Tu quis es, qui judicas alienum servum? suo Domino stat, aut cadit. Stabit autem; potens est enim Dominus

Notes upon the same.

(a.) Scripturæ perperam intellectæ. Durius premendo sanguis elicitur. (b.) Can. Apos. v.

(c.) If this rule of St. Austin be true, better it is for the papists to admit the marringe of priests, then that adultery and other like inconveniences should follow, as they do.

As touching the antiquity of the first epistle,[1] it appeareth by the copy which I have seen and received, of the above-named Matthew, *Henry VIII.* A. D. 1540.

statuere illum. [Rom. xiv.] Cesset ergo sanctitas tua cogere, quos tantum deberet admonere; ne privato (quod absit) præcepto tam Veteri quàm Novo contrarius inveniaris Testamento. Nam, ut ait S. Augustinus ad Donatum, Solum est quod in tua justitia pertimescimus, ne non pro lenitatis christianæ consideratione, sed pro immanitate facinorum censeas coercendum. Quod te per ipsum Christum ne facias obsecramus, sic enim peccata compescenda sunt, ut supersint quos peccasse pœniteat. Illud etiam Augustini volumus te recordari, quod ait, Nihil nocendi fiat cupiditate, omnia consulendi charitate: et nihil fiat immanitèr, nihil inhumaniter. Idem de eodem, In timore Christi, in nomine Christi exhortor, quicunque non habetis temporalia, habere non cupiatis: quicunque habetis, in eis non præsumatis. Dico autem, non, si ista habetis damnamini; sed, si in istis præsumatis damnamini; si propter talia magni vobis videamini; si generis humani conditionem communem propter excellentem unitatem obliviscamini. Quod nimirum poculum discretionis ex illo fonte apostolicæ hauserat prædicationis: Solutus es ab uxore, noli quærere uxorem; alligatus es uxori, noli quærere solutionem? Ubi et subditur, Qui habent uxores, sint tanquam non habentes; et qui utuntur mundo, tanquam non utantur [1 Cor. vii.] Idem dicit de vidua, Cui vult nubat, tantùm in Domino. Nubere in Domino est, nihil in contrahendo connubio, quod Dominus prohibeat, attentare. Jeremias [Jer. vii.] quoque ait, Nolite confidere in verbis mendacii, dicentes, Templum Domini, Templum Domini, Templum Domini est. Quod Hieronymus exponens, Potest, inquit, et hoc illis virginibus convenire, quæ jactant pudicitiam suam impudenti vultu: præferunt castitatem, cum aliud habeat conscientia, et nesciunt illam apostoli definitionem de virgine, ut sit sancta corpore et spiritu. Quid enim prodest corporis pudicitia, animo constuprato, aut si cæteras virtutes, quas propheticus sermo describit, non habuerit? Quas quidem, quia te aliquatenus habere videmus, et quia discretionem, licet in hac re neglectam, in aliis tamen vitæ tuæ constitutionibus honestè conservatam non ignoramus: hujus intentionis pravitatem te citò correcturum non desperamus. Et ideo non quanta possumus gravitate istam, licèt gravissimam, negligentiam corripimus vel judicamus. Quanquam enim secundum vocabula quæ usus obtinuit, sit episcopatus presbyterio major; tamen Augustinus Hieronymo minor est, et à minori quolibet non est refugienda vel dedignanda correptio: præsertim cum is qui corripitur, et contra veritatem et pro hominibus niti invenitur. Neque enim (ut ait S. Augustinus ad Bonifacium), quorumlibet disputationes quamvis catholicorum et laudatorum virorum velut Scripturas canonicas habere debemus, ut non liceat nobis, salva honorificentia quæ illis debetur, aliquid in eorum scriptis improbare atque respuere, si fortè invenerimus quod aliter senserint quàm veritas habeat, divino adjutorio vel ab aliis intellecta vel à nobis. Quid autem veritati magis contrarium potest inveniri, quam hoc, quòd—cum Ipsa Veritas de continentia loquens, non unius hominis, sed omnium (planè excepto numero professorum continentiæ) dicat, Qui potest capere, capiat [Matt. xix.];—isti (nescitur unde instigati) dicant, Qui non potest capere, feriatur anathemate.

Quid vero per homines fieri potest stolidius, quid divinæ maledictioni obligatius, quam cum aliqui, vel episcopi videlicet vel archidiaconi, ita præcipites sint in libidinem, ut neque adulteria, neque incestus, neque masculorum (proh pudor!) turpissimos amplexus sciant abhorrere; casta clericorum conjugia sibi dicant fœtere; et clericos ab eis non veræ justitiæ compassione, ut conservos regent continere, sed falsæ justitiæ dedignatione, ut servos jubeant ac cogant abstinere?[d] Ad cujus imperii, ne dicam consilii, tam fatuam tamque turpem suggestionem addunt, ut dicant, Honestius est pluribus occulte implicari, quàm apertè in hominum vultu et conscientia cum una ligari. Quod profecto non dicerent, si ex illo, et in illo essent qui dicit, Væ vobis Pharisæis, qui omnia facitis propter homines. Et per psalmistam [Psalm liii.]: Qui hominibus placent, confusi sunt, quoniam Dominus sprevit eos. Hi sunt, qui prius deberent nobis persuadere, ut in conspectu ejus, cui omnia nuda et aperta sunt, erubescamus peccatores esse, quam in conspectu hominum mundi esse. Licet ergo merito suæ pravitatis, nullius consilium mereantur pietatis, nos tamen memores humanitatis, divinæ eis consilium autoritatis, nunquam pietate vacantis, per viscera ministramus charitatis. Dicimus nempe, Ejice primum, hypocrita, trabem de oculo tuo, et tunc perspicies ut ejicias festucam de oculo fratris tui. [Matt. vii.]

Illud quoque rogamus eos attendere, quod Dominus dicit de muliere; Qui sine peccato est vestrum, primus in eam lapidem mittat [John viii.][e] quasi diceret: Si lex jubet, si Moses jubet, jubeo et ego, sed competentes legis ministros exigo. Attendentes quid adducitis, attendite quæso et quid estis: quia, si te ipsum, ut ait Scriptura, perspexeris, nulli unquam detraxeris. Significatum est autem nobis de quibusdam eorum, quod tanta apud se intumescant elatione, ut gregem Domini, pro quo boni pastores animas non dubitant ponere, isti verberibus etiam absque ratione præsumant laniare. Quorum sententiam S. Gregorius nimium deplorans ait, Quid fiet de ovibus, quando pastores lupi fiunt? Sed quis vincitur, nisi qui sævit? Quis verò persecutorem judicabit, nisi qui dorsum suum ad flagella patienter ministravit? Operæ pretium est autem, ut audiatur, quo fructu tantum ecclesia Dei scandalum, tantum clerus despectum, ab ipsis episcopis ut ab infidelibus patiatur. Nec enim eos infideles dicere dubitaverim, de quibus Paulus apostolus dicit ad Timotheum [1 Tim. iv.]: Quia in novissimis temporibus discedent quidam à fide, attendentes spiritibus erroris, et doctrinis dæmoniorum, in hypocrisi loquentium mendacium, et cauteriatam habentium conscientiam, prohibentium nubere.

Hic est autem, si diligenter inspiciatur, totus eorum manipulus zizaniæ, totus eventus insaniæ, ut dum clerici licita unius mulieris consortia, Pharisaico devicti (quod absit) furore, relinquere cogantur, fornicationis et adulterii et aliarum pravitatum turpissimi ministri ab ipsis efficiantur, qui hanc in ecclesia Dei hæresim sicut cæci duces cæcorum machinantur: ut videlicet illud impleatur quod psalmista [Psalm lxix.] eis, utpote doctoribus erroris, taliter imprecatur: Obscurentur oculi eorum ne videant, etc. Quia ergo nemo, qui te, ô apostolice, novit, ignorat, quod, si tu per tui decreti sententiam tantam futuram esse pestilentiam solitæ discretionis claritate perspexisses, nunquam quorumlibet tam pravis suggestionibus consensisses: debitæ tibi subjectionis fidelitate consulimus, ut vel nunc ad tanti scandali ab Ecclesia Dei propulsionem evigiles; et qua hosti discretionis disciplina Pharisaicam ab ovili Dei extirpes doctrinam, ne scilicet unica Domini Sulamitis,[2] adulterinis diutius usa maritis, gentem sanctam, regale sacerdotium, per irrecuperabile à sponso, Christo videlicet, avellat divortium: dum nemo sine castimonia, non tantùm in virginali flore sed etiam in conjugali habita conjunctione, visurus sit Dominum nostrum; qui cum Deo patre et Spiritu Sancto vivit et regnat per omnia sæcula sæculorum, Amen.

(*d.*) Turpis papistrorum vox. (*e.*) Christus legem non solvit, sed competentes legis ministros exigit.

(1) It is inserted in the Chronicum Abbatis Urspergensis, p. 436, folio. Argentorati. 1537.—Ed.

(2) See Canticles vi. 9, 13.—Ed.

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archbishop of Canterbury, to be of an old and ancient writing, both by the form of the characters, and by the wearing of the parchment, almost consumed by length of years and time.

And as concerning the author thereof, the superscription (if it be true) plainly declareth it to be the epistle of Volusianus, bishop of Carthage: albeit, heretofore, it hath commonly been taken and alleged by the name of Hulderic, bishop of Augsburg, and partly appeareth to be so, both by the testimony of Æneas Sylvius, in Descriptione Germaniæ, who, in the said treatise, affirmeth that Hulderic, bishop of Augsburg, did constantly resist the pope, abolishing the marriage of priests, &c.: and also by the record of Illyricus; testifying that the said epistle not only remaineth yet to this day in old monuments, but also that he himself did see two exemplars of the same, both pretending the name of the said Hulderic to be the author, notwithstanding this copy, hereunder to be seen, beareth the title, not of Hulderic, bishop of Augsburg, but of Volusianus, bishop of Carthage in Africa; as ye may see by the words of the preamble, saying, 'This is the rescript of Volusianus, bishop of Carthage, unto pope Nicholas, concerning priests not to be restrained from lawful marriage,' &c.

Furthermore, which pope Nicholas this was, to whom these epistles[1] were written, it is not plainly showed in the same; but that by probable conjecture it may be guessed rather to be pope Nicholas II., forasmuch as in his time, priests' marriage began somewhat earnestly to be called in, more than at other times before. Now as touching the English of this first epistle hereunder exhibited, forasmuch as the same is before inserted, we will refer the reader unto the same place:[2] wherein if the translation of the English do swerve any thing from the Latin here annexed, the cause was for that the Latin copy which here we have followed, came not before to our hands.[3]

(1) Illyricus, in his preamble to this letter, claims it for Hulderic, bishop of Augsburg in the year 859; he states this on the authority of Onuphrius Panvinius, an Augustine monk, in his Chron. Ecclesiastical. He states also, that an anonymous writer, in the year 1595, published a work entitled, 'Vita Sanct. Udalrici, August. Episcop.,' in which he ascribes this letter to him, while at the same time he confesses that the said Udalricus, or Ulric, was not born till A.D. 890, and was not made bishop till A.D. 923. Much diversity of opinion exists as to the author of these letters; "quæ apud Joan. Foxum, et ad calcem Calixti 'de conjugio clericorum,' p. 444. edit. Francof. 1653, qui diffuse illius meminit, pp. 358-59. Utraque autem epistola extat inter MSS. codices Univ. Cantab. num. 1144 in MSS. codicibus Coll. Caii et Gonvilli, codice 80 num. 7 et 8. Et prima etiam ibidem numero 1641 in MSS. codicibus Coll. D. Benedicti cod. 374, num. 8. Ambæ editæ a I. Fox., quas sub Volusiani Carthag. Episc. falso nomine illic latitantes eruit. Utrumque autem opusculum pertinere dubio procul ad Udalricum Augustanum Antistitem, constat ex Bortoldo Constantiensi Presbytero, in Historia rerum sui temporis ab anno 1053, ad an. 1100!" See Oudin. Comment. de. script. Eccles. tom. ii. p. 249; or in Cave. Hist. Eccles. tom. ii. p. 52.—Ed.

(2) See vol. ii. p. 11, of this edition.—Ed.

(3) *Another Epistle of the said Volusianus, concerning Marriage not to be restrained from Priests and Ministers of the Church.*

Cum sub liberi arbitrii potestate creati simus, et non sub lege sed sub gratia [Rom. vi.], qualiter creati sumus vivamus. Vos qui continentiæ legem nobis invitis imponitis, liberi arbitrii nos potestate privatis. Quod nolumus velle, et quod volumus nolle imperatis et imperando cogitis: et legis vinculo, à quo ipsa gratia liberati sumus, nos alligare, et spiritum servitutis iterum in timore accipere, ipsamque gratiam, sine qua nihil facere possumus, omninò evacuare satagitis; ita ut (sicut ait apostolus, Rom. ix. xi.) Ipsa gratia jam non sit gratia, et Dei donum non sit Dei donum; et non ex Deo, sed ex homine, nec ex vocante, sed ex operante; cum idem apostolus dicat, Quia non est volentis neque currentis, sed Dei miserentis.

Nam cum sint tria principalia et quasi effectiva, per quæ omnis anima humana capax et compos rationis, quicquid spiritualis boni apprehendere et percipere potest, apprehendit et percipit, et sine quibus nihil prorsus capere possit; liberum arbitrium videlicet, mandatum, et gratia (libero enim arbitrio bona a malis decernimus atque eligimus; mandato ad omnia faciendia provocamur ac incitamur; gratia promovemur et adjuvamur) horum omnium tamen gratia domina et magistra et quasi præpotens imperatrix et regina est, ad cujus nutum cætera pendent et ab ea vim et efficaciam expectant, et sine illa nihil prævalent, sed quasi stolida et mortua, sicut materia sine forma, jacent et subjacent. Loco enim materiæ, secundum propositionem aliquam, liberum arbi-

Henry VIII.

The Epistle of Volusianus, Bishop of Carthage, for Priests' Marriage. Translated from the Latin.

A. D. 1540.

Forasmuch as we are created under the power of free-will,[1] and not under the law, but under grace, let us so live as we are created. You, who lay upon

trium possumus accipere non incongruè; gratiam verò, loco formæ; mandatum autem, quod medium est quasi instrumentum, ad utramque respicere, quo summus artifex Dominus liberum arbitrium quasi stolidam materiam moveat et promoveat, et formam gratiæ illi componat. Et sicut materia sine forma est horrida et deformis, ita liberum arbitrium est horridum et deforme sine gratia superveniente, se movente et promovente, mandato medio quasi instrumento (ut diximus) interveniente. Quod ergò forma in materia, hoc in libero arbitrio per quandam similitudinem est gratia: et quod materia sub forma, hoc idem est libera voluntas sub gratia. Et item quod est instrumentum ipsorum, hoc est mandatum ad utrunque istorum. Instrumentum namque sordidam materiam, et horridam atque asperam, obscuram, et quasi cœcam, emaculat et expolit, et clarum, planam, ac lucidam, forma superveniente, reddit. Sic et mandatum, liberum arbitrium sordidum et horridum, asperum et incultum, obscurum et cœcum, nitidat, comit, lenit et excolit, lucidat et illuminat; sicut propheta dicit: Præceptum Domini lucidum, illuminans oculos, splendore gratiæ superveniente. [Psal. xix.] Et sicut materia et instrumentum sine forma nihil valent, ita libera voluntas et mandatum sine gratia nihil virtutis habent. Quid enim liberum arbitrium vel mandatum sine gratia præveniente et subsequente potest? Gratia namque ad liberum arbitrium mandatum quasi nuntium ac famulum mittit: mandatum liberum arbitrium provocat atque quasi sopitum excitat, ut ad bona facienda evigilet et exurgat, viamque ei, quam peragere debeat, quasi cœco deducendo demonstrat. Quorum utrunque si à gratia deseritur, nihil omninò per se potest. Quod si conatur, deficit, non proficit, neque etiam afficit, vel perficit. Si præsumit, non assumit, sed potius totam operam et laborem frustra consumit. Cùm enim mandatum seu per hominem sive per angelum mittitur, et etiam liberum arbitrium seu humano seu angelico mandati nuntio commovetur, provocatur, et instruitur; nisi divina gratia comitetur, præveniat, et subsequatur, quid valebit? Quid nempè valuit homini in paradiso posito mandatum quod audivit: Ex omni ligno paradisi comede, de ligno vero scientiæ boni et mali ne comedas [Gen. ii.]? Nihil prorsus ad salutem, sed potius ad condemnationem. Quare? Quia gratia salvatrix et auxiliatrix defuit, quam ille, injuste suis viribus fisus, contempsit. Aut quid valuit Israelitico populo in eremo constituto mandatum legis, quod per Mosem accepit, cui obedire neglexit? Aut quid profuit illi, qui Dominum sequi suo arbitrio et non illius vocatione præsumit, dicens: Domine, sequar te quocunque ieris. [Matt. viii.] Ex multis aliis divinæ Scripturæ locis Novi et Veteris Testamenti demonstrari potest, quòd neque mandatum neque liberum arbitrium per se quicquam valet, nisi divina gratia præveniendo et subsequendo adjuvet. Cùm igitur continentiæ bonum, imò omne bonum, sit solius divinæ gratiæ donum, nec per mandatum nec per liberum arbitrium comprehendatur, errant et frustra laborant qui se suis viribus illud apprehendere tentant. Illi etiam magis errant qui hoc invitis et nolentibus imperant, et non spontaneè sed coactè in sacrarium Dei dona offerre suadent, nescientes aut obliti illius quod Dominus Mosi, et Moses à Domino, præcepit, dicens: Separate apud vos primitias Domino, quisque voluntarius; ut bono animo offerat eas Domino. [Lev. xxii. 19, 29.] Quid est separare apud vos primitias Domino, nisi studiosa cogitatione et meditatione in cordibus nostris tractare, et cum discretione deponere et dividere, quid Domino de thesauro cordis nostri valeamus offerre? Si enim rectè offeras et non rectè dividas, peccasti. Et quid est prono animo offerre, nisi quod ait psalmista [Psal. liv.]: Voluntariè sacrificabo tibi? Et apostolus [2 Cor. ix.], Non ex tristitia aut necessitate; hilarem datorem diligit Deus. Et Salomon [Eccl. xxxv.]: Bono animo gloriam redde Domino, et in omni dato hilarem fac vultum tuum, et in exultatione sanctificationis decimas tuas, et in bono oculo facito ad inventionem manuum tuarum. Et apostolus Jacobus: Non amat Dominus (inquit) coacta servitia. Et, Maledictus qui opus Domini facit negligentèr [Jerem. xlviii.]; (id est) non curiose, neque voluntariè. Sicut nos ergo Dominus invitos aliquid offerre non jubet, ita vos invitos aliquos offerre aliquid cogere prohibet per eundem Mosen ubi ait [Lev. xix.]: Ne facias calumniam proximo tuo, nec vi opprimas eum. Calumniam proximo facere est, cum non compatiendo et miserando corrigere de peccato; sed dedignando et exprobrando et detrahendo arguere et accusare, et non in spiritu lenitatis instruere, sed in spiritu asperitatis et austeritatis destruere, cum apostolus dicat [Gal. vi.]: Si præoccupatus fuerit homo in aliquo delicto, vos qui spirituales estis instruite hujusmodi in spiritu lenitatis, considerans teipsum ne et tu tenteris. Vi opprimere proximum est, ultra vires suas aliquid exigere, et onus quod portare non potest imponere, imponentibus fortassis importabile, cum Dominus de pharisæis ad discipulos loquens, hoc eis prohibet dicens [Matt. xxiii.]: Super cathedram Mosis sedent scribæ et pharisæi, &c. Et apostolus Petrus [1 Pet. v.]: Pascite (inquit) qui in vobis est, gregem Domini, providentes, non coacte sed spontaneè, secundum Dominum; neque turpis lucri gratia, sed voluntarie; neque dominantes in clero, sed forma estote gregi ex animo. Hic pastor pastorum, princeps apostolorum, quid cæteri pastores vel apostoli debeant facere, quomodo gregem Domini sibi creditum tractare, apertè et piò demonstrat atque insinuat; et quantam solicitudinem et compassionem erga subditos habere oportent, eis inculcat; et omnem potestatem tyrannicæ dominationis vel ambitionem cupiditatis, quam quidam in subditos sibi exercent, ab eorum cordibus procul eliminat; et eos non dominos sed patres subditorum debere esse pronunciat; neque eis aliquid typo potentiæ imperare, sed zelo pietatis admonere et obsecrare juxta vires uniuscujusque, secundum Dominum, non secundum suæ voluntatis arbitrium vel potestatis imperium; et illos formam esse gregi debere, ut quid aliis imperant, ipsi priores faciant, et non minus exemplis, quam verbo proficiant. Ex animo (inquit) non ex imperio; ex voluntate, non coactione; ex charitate, non ex cupiditate. Sunt enim plerique qui zelo cupiditatis, non charitatis, accensi, aliis imperant quod implere non valent; et dum lucrum animarum quærere se simulant, lucrum potiùs terrenum captant. Quod benè Balaam propheta exprimit [Num. xxii.], qui prophetiæ donum et benedicendi gratiam, quam divinitùs acceperat, non ad utilitatem aliorum, sed ad usum suæ cupiditatis vertit; et sicut nonnulli qui dum alios corrigunt, hoc zelo Dei facere se ostentant, et dum meliores aliis se videri volunt, hoc præsumptione quadam et temeritate agunt, et ideo in ipso præsumptionis suæ et temeritatis actu corruunt. De quibus dicit apostolus [Rom. x.]: Qui zelum Dei habent sed non secundum scientiam. Zelum Dei secundum scientiam habere est, provide et consulte in divinis rebus aliquid agere. Quorum profecto Oza similitudinem gerit, qui dum Arcam Domini, calcitrantibus bobus qui eam portabant, inclinatam parumper erigere voluit, mox dum ad eam manum tetendit, mor-

(1) What he meaneth here by free-will, he expoundeth plainly in another place.

Henry VIII. A. D. 1540.

us the law of continency against our will, do deprive us of the liberty of free-will. You command us, and by commanding compel us, to will that we would

tuus cecidit. Aream Domini calcitrantibus bobus inclinari est, legem Domini quam ipsi sacerdotes portare et tenere debent, ab eis non observando contradici, et quasi à recto statu in diversam partem flecti, quam Oza, qui adjutor Dei interpretatur, erigere tentat. Quia sunt quidam prælati, qui dum sacerdotalem ordinem, ipsam legem divinam maligno excessu vel leviter à sua rectitudinis via quasi inclinare et in aliam partem flectere vident, eam inclinationem castigare et corrigere magis virtutis suæ ostentatione quàm divina æmulatione præsumunt; et quia hoc inconsulte agunt dum adjutores Dei videri appetunt, plerumque mortaliter in deterius cadunt. Sunt et alii, qui nullam infirmitatis humanæ considerationem, nec ullum misericordiæ respectum et compassionis affectum habent, et cum apostolo dicere nescientes: Quis infirmatur et ego non infirmor [2 Cor. xi.]? dum se subditis, non conditione qua pares, sed autoritate qua superiores sunt, conferunt, atque magistri videri, et plus præesse quàm prodesse cupiunt, illorum infirmitatem vi dominationis premunt, et eos sibi obedire compellunt. Quod nimirum illo facto figuratur, quod de Simone Cyrenæo in evangelio legitur [Luke xxiii.], quem angariaverunt persecutores Domini ut tolleret crucem ejus. Cujus etiam nomen huic figuræ convenienter aptatur. Simon namque interpretatur obediens. Simon verò, id est, obediens, crucem Domini portare angariatur, cum subjecti quique à suis magistris vi dominationis vel autoritatis vel anathematis pressi, et eis obedire compulsi, crucem continentiæ patiuntur inviti: ipsam crucem quam portant, non amant, quia ipsam plus ad perniciem suam, quàm ad salutem portant, nec ipsa cruce peccato moriuntur, sed potius ipsi peccato vivificantur: nam et alia peccata graviora exindè oriuntur. Inhibito enim naturali unius mulieris conjugio, surrepit non naturalis, sed contra naturam execrabilis Sodomitica fornicatio: surrepit illicita et damnabilis, non legitima sed contra legem alienæ uxoris contaminatio, nec non etiam et meretricabilis nefanda pollutio: quinetiam abominabilis omnibus parentalis incestatio, et aliarum multarum immunditiarum vel libidinum à Diabolo inventarum id genus, in quibus humana infirmitas periclitatur. Unde Lot de Sodomitico incendio angelo Domini educente ereptus, et uxoris consortio viduatus, dum suæ infirmitatis conscius ad montana non ausus est angelo monente ascendere, ipse in Segor, parva civitate quæ juxta erat, elegit habitare, ipso angelo præcipiente et sic ad eum loquente, Salva animam tuam; noli respicere post tergum, sed in monte salvum te fac, ne et tu simul pereas. Cui dixit Lot: Quæso Domine mi, quia invenit servus tuus gratiam coram te ut salvares me: Non possum in monte salvari, ne fortè apprehendat me malum et moriar. Est civitas juxta hic ad quam possum fugere parva, et salvabor in ea. [Gen. xix.] Quid est quod Lot à Sodomis fugiens, præcipiente angelo ut in monte salvaretur, montem ascendere, quia ibi mori timebat, noluit, sed Segor parvam civitatem juxta montem positam, ut in ea salvaretur, ad habitandum elegit, nisi quicunque fidelium, Sodomiticæ libidinis incendium et periculum evadere cupiens, dum celsitudinem virginalem non valet, et castitatis vidualis timet ascendere ne in ea periclitetur, ad conjugalem copulam, cùm ad utramque continentiam parvula est et utrique proximæ, confugit. Namque post continentias supradictas, hæc castitas probatur laudabilis et non privatur præmio regni cœlestis. Ad hanc castitatem, qui non potest continere, jubetur accedere et in ea salvari, ne forte si montem ascenderit, apprehendat eum malum et moriatur, et ne, si continentiam non sibi divinitus concessam suis viribus obtinere tentaverit, malum incontinentiæ, vel fornicationis, vel aliquarum supradictarum pestium eum apprehendat, et in eis mortaliter pereat. Sunt enim multi qui dum infirmitatem suam non considerant, et dum majora se apprehendere conantur, ipsa sua præcipitatione retroacti, in deteriora labuntur; quia dum majora inconsultius ambiunt, minora, quæ tenere videbantur, amittunt. Quod sane exemplo ipsius Lot aperte demonstratur; qui dum, relicta Segor quam ad habitandum elegerat et in qua salvari petierat, in montem ascendit ibique mansit, in incestum filiarum suarum, ipsarum surreptione corruit, sicut Scriptura dicit. Ita namque scriptum est: Ascendit Lot de Segor et mansit in monte, dederuntque filiæ patri suo bibere vinum nocte illa, et ingressa est major, dormivitque cum patre. Quod nequaquam sibi contigisset, si in Segor in qua salvari poterat, ad præceptum angeli, sicut ille postulaverat, remaneret. Sed quia hoc quod sibi ab angelo concessum fuerat, dereliquit, et quod concessum non fuerat, id postea sua voluntate contra præceptum angeli præsumpsit, salutis suæ dispendium pertulit, et grave incestus peccatum incurrit. Sic plerisque contingit, qui dum quod sibi concessum est à Deo relinquunt, et id quod sibi concessum non est ambiunt, et illud quod sibi concessum est perdunt, et illud quod sibi concessum non est apprehendunt. Quia sunt nonnulli, qui, dum conjugalem vitam, quæ sibi concessa est et in qua salvari possent, vel inviti vel volentes deserunt, et majoris profectus desiderio cœlibem vitam actitare satagunt, salutem quam in illa habere poterant, perdunt, et periculum maximum in ista incurrunt, et ex quo proficere conabantur, magis deficiunt et (sicut supra diximus) in majoris ruinæ voraginem vergunt. Quod bene doctor gentium Paulus considerans, ut infirmis quibusque benigne prospiciens Corinthiis, super his scriptis suis se consulentibus, ita rescribsit, dicens [1 Cor. vii.]: De quibus autem scripsistis mihi, bonum homini est mulierem non tangere; propter fornicationem autem vitandam, unusquisque uxorem suam habeat; et unaquæque virum. Et uxori vir debitum reddat; similiter uxor viro. Et post pauca, Nolite, inquit, fraudare invicem, nisi forte ex consensu ad tempus, ut vacetis orationi: et iterum revertimini in idipsum, ne tentet vos Satanas propter incontinentiam vestram. Quoniam, sicut ait poeta, Non omnia possumus omnes: et sicut apostolus in superioribus dixit [Rom. ix.]: Quia non est volentis neque currentis, sed Dei miserentis; et alibi [Ephes. iv.], Quia unicuique nostrum data est gratia secundum mensuram donationis Christi. Hanc mensuram unicuique tenendam nec transgrediendam esse docens, mox intulit [1 Cor. vii.]: Volo autem omnes homines esse sicut meipsum, sed unusquisque proprium habet donum ex Deo, alius quidem sic, alius autem sic. Qua videlicet mensura nos arcendos et debere esse contentos in sequentibus intimavit, dicens, Unumquem quesicut vocavit Deus, ita ambulet. Et unusquisque in qua vocatione vocatus est, in hac permaneat apud Deum. Et hoc idem repetit paulo inferius causa confirmationis: Unusquisque in quo vocatus est frater, in hoc permaneat apud Deum. Et quia infirmitatem humanam videbat non posse tolerare incentiva *gemini* caloris, nisi per gratiam Dei, neque vincere pugnam carnis adversus spiritum; et quia sic ipse dixit de se alibi, Videbam aliam legem in membris meis, repugnantem legi mentis meæ, hoc se misericorditer et compatienter, et unanimiter, non regulariter neque imperative dixisse monstrat: sicut in alia epistola monstraverat, ubi ait [Rom. vi.], Humanum dico propter infirmitatem carnis vestræ. Et in hac ipsa paulò superius, in eodem schemate, ubi ait [1 Cor. vii.]: Hoc autem dico secundum indulgentiam, non secundum imperium, subdendo demonstrat: De virginibus autem præceptum domini non habeo: consilium do tanquam misericordiam consecutus, ut sim fidelis. Id est, Ea misericordia qua mihi Dominus consuluit quando ad fidem me vocavit, et sibi fidelem fecit, et ego aliis consulo ut eandem misericordiam illis impendo. Et quoniam bonum est utrumque, cum uxore esse et sine uxore esse, et cum viro esse et cum viro non esse, neque peccatum est vel cum uxore esse, vel cum viro esse, mox subinfert dicens; Æstimo ergò bonum esse propter instantem necessitatem; quoniam bonum est homini esse sic, &c.

Quid est propter instantem necessitatem? Quæ est necessitas instans, nisi infirmitas præsens?

not, and not to will that we would do. You bind us to the law, from which by grace we are made free; and you constrain us to receive the spirit of bondage *Henry VIII.*

A.D. 1540.

Vel necessitas instans, est necessitas urgens et cogens prout necessitas extiterit vel cogerit. Vel instantem necessitatem dicit illius temporis necessitatem et angustiam, quæ tunc extabat et tum cogebat ut talia scriberet et eis sic indulgeret, causa scilicet vitandæ fornicationis, quæ tunc temporis acciderat, et aliarum multarum fornicationum supradictarum, quæ accidere possent. Pro qua fornicatione hoc incœpit, et sibi scribentibus rescripsit, et Corinthiis in superioribus hujus epistolæ vehementèr invectus, in hæc verba prorupit [1 Cor. iv.]; Quid vultis? In virga veniam ad vos, an in charitate et spiritu mansuetudinis? Omninò auditur inter vos fornicatio, et talis fornicatio qualis nec inter gentes, ita ut uxorem patris sui quis habeat. Propter hanc ergo necessitatem vitandæ fornicationis dico bonum esse homini sic esse, ut si continere non potest, nubat, vel uxorem accipiat. Quod exponendo subdit [1 Cor. vii.]: Alligatus es uxori? Noli quærere solutionem. Solutus es ab uxore? noli quærere uxorem. Si autem acceperis uxorem, non peccasti: et si nupserit virgo, non peccavit. Et hoc iterum non imperando sed indulgendo et compatiendo se dixisse ostendit; Ego autem vobis parco, id est, infirmitati vestræ cedo. Hoc itaque in potestate voluntatis uniuscujusque posuit, utrum velit eligere; nec se dicit cuiquam violentiam inferre, nec laqueum quo eum astringat et tenent, injicere; consequenter subjungens porrò: Hoc ad utilitatem vestram dico non ut laqueum vobis injiciam, sed ad id quod honestum est, et quod facultatem præbeat Dominum obsecrandi. Hoc dicit illis quos ad continentiam superius hortatus fuerat, et quos consortio uxoriæ conjunctionis impediri, vel solicitos esse nolebat. Aliis vero ita dicit: Si quis autem turpem videri se existimat super virginem suam, quod sit superadulta, et ita oportet fieri; quod vult, faciat: non peccat si nubat. Et iterum, utrumque bonum esse, unum tamen melius esse concludendo confirmat: Igitur qui matrimonio conjungit virginem suam, bene facit, et qui non jungit melius facit. Quod concordatur superiori sententiæ utrique sexui datæ, in qua ait [1 Cor. vii.], Si acceperis uxorem non peccasti, et si nupserit virgo non peccavit. Si ergo virum accipere uxorem, et virginem nubere, juxta apostolum, peccatum non est, et beatitudinem non aufert, sed affert; et quia uterque benè facit, ideò ambo beati: nos qui uxores propter infirmitatem habemus, quid habendo peccamus? Aut si apostolus uniculque propter fornicationem uxorem suam habere indulget et permittit, cur nos qui ex eadem massa sumus, et carnem peccati ex carne Adæ peccatrice traximus, et continere non possumus, propter eandem causam, et secundum eandem indulgentiam, uxores habere non permittimur, et habitas dimittere angarinamur? Aut itaque uxores nobis habere imitantes apostolum permittite, aut nos ex eadem massa non esse docete, aut nobis eandem indulgentiam, et permissionem non esse concessam ab apostolo demonstrate. Quod opinor dicturi estis, quia hæc indulgentia non fuit data ab apostolo clericis aut alicui nostri ordinis, sed solis laicis; hoc ex verbis apostoli, vel ex circumstantia epistolæ non potest defendi, cum nulla ibi certa distinctio vel denominatio habeatur personarum vel graduum sive professionum, nec ipse discernit seu nominibus, seu officiis, vel qui sibi scripserunt, vel de quibus, vel quibus ipse rescribebat, nisi tantum generalitèr omni ecclesiæ Corinthiorum, sicut ipse in principio hujus epistolæ his verbis demonstrat [1 Cor. i.]: Paulus vocatus apostolus Christi Jesu per voluntatem Dei, et Sosthenes frater ecclesiæ Dei quæ est Corinthi, sanctificatis in Christo Jesu, vocatis sanctis, cum omnibus qui invocant nomen Domini. [Et post nonnulla alia quæ compendii causa hic rescidimus, haud ita multum ad rem attinentia, subinfert mox ad hunc modum:] Infirmitatem nostram vos considerare ac misereri rogamus, et ne ei violentiam inferatis suppliciter imploramus. Nam sicut jam satis superius inculcavimus vobis, nullus ad continentiam invitus debet compelli. Neque hoc genus virtutis ulli per legem Dei necessario imperatum est, sed voluntaria devotione Domino offerendum, dicente ipso de hoc evangelio: Non omnes capiunt verbum istud, sed quibus datum est. Ad quam tamen benigna mox exhortatione eos qui possunt invitat, dicens [Matt xix.]: Qui potest capere capiat. Unde gratia distinctionis non Moses feminalibus vestire Aaron et filios ejus jubetur, ut in prioribus dicitur [Exod. xxi.]: Vestes iis Aaron fratrem tuum et filios ejus cum eo: sed facies (inquit) feminalia linea ut operiant carnem turpitudinis suæ. Ipsi (inquit) operiant carnem turpitudinis suæ, tu feminalia Pontifici et illis ejus facies; tu castitatis regulam docebis; tu abstinendum ab uxorio complexu eis qui sacerdotio functuri sunt, intimabis: nulli tamen violentum hujusmodi continentiæ jugum imponens; sed quicunque sacerdotes fieri ac ministerio altaris servire volunt, ipsi sua sponte uxori servi esse desistant. Quod ubi perfecerint, atque, suscepto semel continentiæ proposito, ministros se sanctuarii atque altaris fore consenserint, aderit divina gratia, quæ velut cæteris illis habitum sacerdotibus congruum imponens, quomodo vivere vel decere debeant, abundanter instituet. Qui sensus subsequentibus quoque Domini verbis affirmatur, quibus post pauca subjungit [Exod. xxix.]: Cumque lavoris patrem eum filiis aqua, indues Aaron vestimentis suis, id est, linea et tunica, et superhumerali, et rationali, quod stringes balteo, et pones tiaram, et oleum unctionis fundes super caput ejus, atque hoc ritu consecrabitur. Filios quoque illius applicabis et indues tunicis lineis, cingesque Aaron balteo, scilicet et liberos ejus; et impones eis mitras, eruntque sacerdotes mei in religione perpetua. Namque hoc de feminalibus à Mose accipiendis præcipitur. Unde liquido constat, quod se hoc genere vestimenti ipsi prius Aaron ac filii ejus induerant, et sic ad manum Mosi lavandi, induendi, unguendi, et consecrandi intrabant. Hic apertè ostenditur et docetur, nulli continentiæ jugum invito imponendum, sed à Deo prompta et devota voluntate accipiendum. Quod et Dionysius Areopagita, theosophus, id est, Deum sapiens, Pauli apostoli discipulus, et ab eo Atheniensium archiepiscopus ordinatus, in epistola quadam ad Pymtum Gnasiorum episcopum missa, in qua plurima de nuptiis et castitate commomorat, sicut ecclesiastica refert historia, monet, et precatur illum ne gravia onera discipulorum cervicibus imponat, neve fratribus necessitatem compulsæ castitatis inducat, in qua nonnullorum periclitatur infirmitas. Atque Pymtus Dionysio rescripsit sententiam se consilii melioris, quod ipse dabat, amplecti. Hoc itidem et Paphnutius, vir divinissimus atque castissimus, cùm in Niceno concilio (ut in Tripartita Historia invenimus) patres qui ibi aderant, hoc interdicere sacerdotibus voluissent, in medium eorum zelo commotus et humanæ infirmitatis conscius exurgens, hoc ne facerent rogavit, quin potius in voluntate uniuscujusque ponerent exoravit, ne forte per hoc locum darent et occasionem adulterio et fornicationi. Hac namque cautela sancti viri in religione utebantur, ut cum de instructione et ædificatione subditorum aliquid agerent, et eos ad meliorem vitam de divinis præceptis commoneri facerent, cum patientia et mansuetudine potius obedienda præciperent, quam cum potentia et austeritate imperarent, nullumque invitum sibi obedire compellerent. Quorum vos exempla sequentes, qui eorum loca tenetis et nomen, ne nobis infirmis importabilem sarcinam quæsumus imponatis, ne imprecatione dominica cum pharisæis et legisperitis suscipiamini, in qua ait [Luke xi.]: Væ vobis legisperitis, qui oneratis homines oneribus quæ non possunt portari, et ipsi uno digito vestro ea non tangitis. Et ne clamor filiorum Israel ascendat ad Dominum propter duritiam eorum qui præsunt operibus [Exod. iii.] Neque vos voletis facere eunuchos qui de utero matris sic nati sunt, vel eos eunuchos qui violenter ab hominibus facti sunt, sed potius eos eunuchos, qui seipsos sua sponte eunuchizaverunt propter regnum cœlorum [Matt. xix.]:

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again to fear; and go about to make the grace of God of no effect, without which we can do nothing; so that, as the apostle saith, 'Grace is now no grace, and the gift of God is not the gift of God; and not of God, but of man; not of him that calleth, but of him that worketh:' whereas the apostle saith, 'It is not in him that willeth, nor in him that runneth, but in God that showeth mercy.'[1]

Grace, lady and queen over the commandment and free-will. Free-will likened to 'materia,' grace to 'forma.'

For whereas there be three principal and effectual things, whereby every human soul, endued with reason, apprehendeth and perceiveth whatsoever spiritual thing it is able to apprehend and perceive, and without which it can perceive nothing; which three things be these: to wit, free-will, the commandment, and grace (for by free-will we discern and choose the good from the evil: by the commandment we are provoked and stirred up to do all things: by grace we are furthered and holpen to do the same): yet, of all these, grace is the lady and mistress, and, as a mighty empress and queen, upon whose beck the others do wait and give attendance, receiving from her both their strength and efficacy, and without her can do nothing, but remain as things of themselves dull and dead, much like as amongst the philosophers their 'materia' without 'forma' being thereto adjoined.

For in the stead of 'materia,' we may, after a manner, not unfitly place free-will; and in the place of 'forma' we may set grace, and the commandment (which is the mean between them both, as a certain instrument) to have respect to both; whereby the principal artificer, who is God, furthereth and setteth forward free-will as a rude dull matter, applieth to it his grace as the form thereof. And like as the said 'materia' without 'forma' is rude and shapeless, so free-will[2] is a thing rude and deform, if it be not holpen with grace coming

neve sacris ordinibus et divino mysterio, propter nos, tantam calumniam faciatis vel inferatis, qui propter nostram vitam improbam illud hominibus contemptibile facitis, dum eis ne à nobis illud audiant et percipiant, prohibetis: ac per hoc vitam improbam infamatis et odorem nostrum coram Pharaone et servis ejus fœtere facitis [Exod. v.] Quod vos non recte, si dici liceat (ne moleste accipiatis) videtur nobis facere, et contra divinam autoritatem et canonicam regulam hoc quod facitis, esse: cum Dominus per legislatorem dicat: Turpitudinem matris tuæ non reveles, et ignominiam ejus ne discooperias. Mater nostra ecclesia est: filii hujus matris quique fidelium sunt. Cujus tamen materna appellatio maxima in sacerdotibus est [Lev. xviii.]; nam ipsi generant fideles et verbo prædicationis et sacramento baptismatis. An non mater erat quæ dicebat: Filioli mei quos iterum parturio [Gal. iv.]? Turpitudo ergo et ignominia matris nostræ reprehensibilis est actio sacerdotalis vitæ. Quæ turpitudo tunc revelatur, et ignominia discooperitur, cum sacerdotalis vita publicè infamatur. Quod vos nimirum facitis, qui fragilitatem nostram, quasi hactenus latentem et coopertam (quia eam nullus ita cognoverat) hominibus diffamatis, et propter eam divina mysteria vel ministeria aspernanda sancitis. Quasi ad ea pertineat pollutio aliena, et ea polluat et commaculet immunditia nostra, cum psalmographus [Ps. xviii.] dicat, Lex Domini immaculata. Aut quasi illi nostra contagione contaminentur, qui ea ex nostro ore et ex nostro officio adipiscuntur. Quod si, ut dicitis, esset, nequaquam discipulis et turbis de pharisæis Dominus præciperet: Omnia quæcunque dixerint vobis, servate et facite [Matt. xxiii.] Et rursus, si ita esset, nequaquam Dominus Judam, quem furem esse sciebat et proditorem suum futurum, cum discipulis aliis ad prædicandum mitteret, neque potestatem signa faciendi et sanitates donandi, neque ad communionem sacrosanctæ cœnæ eum admitteret. Et si immunditia nostra divina mysteria et ministeria et eorum capaces et auditores inficeret et deterioraret, nequaquam Dominus leprosum, quem mundaverat, tangeret, neque ei osculum daret; et nequaquam cum Simone alio leproso manducaret; et nequaquam à Maria peccatrice pedes suos osculari, et lacrymis lavari, et capillis tergi, et caput suum ungi permitteret. Hinc sacrorum canonum veneranda autoritas sanxit, nullum qui etiam ab hæretico sacramenta dominica rectè perceperit, ullatenus ipsa hæretica pravitate corrumpi, nec ulla sacramenta illius contagione commaculari. Unde Romana ecclesia per Anastasium papam in quadam epistola ad Anastasium imperatorem directa, decrevit et scripsit, quod nullum de his vel quos baptizavit Acatius, vel quos sacerdotes vel levitas secundum canones ordinavit, ulla ex nomine Acatii portio læsionis attingat, quâ forsan per iniquum tradita sacramenti gratia minus firma videatur. Nam et baptismum (quod procul sit ab ecclesia) sive ab adultero, sive à fure datum fuerit, ad percipientem non minus pervenit illibatum. Quòd vox illa quæ sonuit per columbam omnem malitiam vel maculam humanæ pollutionis excludit, qua declaratur ac dicitur; Hic est qui baptizat, &c. [Matt. iii.] Nam si visibilis solis istius radii cum per loca fœdatissima transeunt, nulla contactus inquinatione maculantur: multò magis virtus illius qui istum visibilem solem fecit, nulla mysterii dignitate constringitur. Quicquid ergo ad hominum profectum quilibet in ecclesia minister pro officio suo videtur operari, hoc totum continetur implendo divinitatis effectu. Ita ille, per quem Christus loquitur, Paulus affirmat [1 Cor. iii.], Ego plantavi, Apollo rigavit; sed Deus incrementum dedit. A Deo non quæritur quis vel qualis prædicet, sed sic prædicet, ut invidos etiam bene de Christo prædicare confirmet. Tanta est namque divinæ potentia gratiæ, ut per malos acquirat bonos, et per reprobos et improbos acquirat et colligat probos. His itaque autoritatibus et aliis prædictis rationibus persuaderi debetis, neque nos à divini officii celebratione arcere, neque illos, quorum nihil interest, ab ejus communione suspendere. Quod si mali sumus, nobis ipsis sumus, et plus nobis quam aliis nocemus; et quos fortasse malos conspicitis, quid boni interius habeant ignoratis. Sunt enim plerique quos de incontinentia judicatis, qui continentiores sunt quam illi quos de continentia glorificatis. Qui habemus uxores, juxta apostolum, tanquam non habemus [1 Cor. vii.] Quam videlicet continentiam quin nobis non potestis dare, orate nobiscum et pro nobis ut Ille nobis donet, cujus hoc donum noscitur esse, et sine quo nemo poterit continens esse. Aliter enim illam habere non possumus, nisi ex totis præcordiis Illum oremus cujus hoc donum esse cognoscimus. Et hoc ipsum (inquit Salomon) [Sap. viii.] est sapientia, scire cujus hoc donum est, et quoniam super hoc nihil est.

(1) Rom. ix. 16. (2) Free-will, which after he calleth voluntary devotion.

thereunto, to move it and to further it: the commandment coming as a mean between them both, in the stead of the instrumental cause, as is before said. Therefore like as 'forma' is in respect of 'materia,' the like resemblance beareth free-will in respect of grace. And again, as 'materia' is in respect of 'forma,' the same also is free-will in respect of grace. And as the instrument serveth between the aforesaid 'materia' and 'forma,' so doth the commandment between free-will and grace. The instrument coming and working upon the said 'materia' being of itself ugly, rugged, and a thing without all shape and fashion, doth form it, shape, and polish it, and maketh it handsome, sightly, lightsome, bright, and clear: even so likewise the commandment, coming and working upon free-will, being of itself a thing rude, gross, unshapen, and deformed, blind, and obscure, doth clarify it, deck it, adorn it, beautify and enlighten it, through the brightness of grace coming unto it, according to the saying of the prophet, 'The commandment of the Lord is bright and clear, giving sight to the eyes.'[1]

Free-will without the law, and the law without grace, can do nothing.

And as the matter and the instrument without the form, can do nothing, even so free-will and the commandment without grace, have no power to work. For what can either free-will and the commandment do, except they be holpen with grace, both going before and following? For grace sendeth the commandment as a messenger and minister to free-will; the commandment provoketh free-will and stirreth it up, as out of a sleep, to do good works, and leadeth it as a blind man by the hand, teaching him the way wherein to go: which both, if they be destitute of grace, are able of themselves to do nothing. And if they begin, yet they proceed not, neither do they perform or accomplish any thing; and if they presume, it prospereth not, and is but labour lost. For where the commandment cometh, either by man or by angel, and also where free-will is moved, provoked, and informed either by the motion of man or of angel, yet, unless God's grace go withal, preventing and following the same, what is it able to do? For when man was put in paradise, what availed him the commandment which he heard, 'Thou shalt eat of every tree of paradise, but only of the tree of knowledge of good and evil thou shalt not eat;'[2] which commandment wrought not to his salvation, but to his condemnation. And why? because grace, grace, that saveth and helpeth, was wanting, which he, presuming unjustly upon his own strength, despised. Or what did the commandment of the law, given by Moses, profit the people of Israel in the wilderness, which law they refused to obey? or what profit wrought it to him who presumed to follow the Lord of his own free-will, and not of the Lord's calling, saying unto him, 'Lord, I will follow thee whithersoever thou goest.'[3] By these, and many other places of holy Scripture, both of the Old and New Testament, it may be proved that neither the commandment, nor free-will, have power to work of themselves, unless they be holpen, by God's grace preventing and following them.

The commandment, without grace, availed Adam nothing in paradise.

Seeing therefore the gift of continency, as all other gifts be, is the gift of God's grace only, and cometh not by the commandment, nor by free-will; they err, therefore, and strive in vain, who labour to obtain it by their own power: and much more they also do err, who by force constrain men against their will thereunto, moving them to offer gifts into the sanctuary of God, not of their own accord, but by coaction; either not knowing, or else not remembering, the saying of the Lord to Moses, 'Separate amongst you the first fruits unto the Lord, and let every man, of his own voluntary and willing mind, come and offer the same unto the Lord.[4] What is this, to separate with you the first fruits to the Lord, but only to weigh and consider diligently in your hearts, and with discretion to lay down and separate unto the Lord, what we ought to present unto him out of the treasure of our heart? For if thou offer rightly, and dost not rightly divide, thou sinnest. And what is it to offer with a willing and ready mind, but as the Psalmist saith, 'I will offer sacrifice unto thee willingly and cheerfully.'[5] And the apostle saith, 'Not grudgingly or of necessity: for God loveth a cheerful giver.'[6] And Solomon saith, 'Give the Lord his glory with a good and free heart, and in every gift thou givest, show a joyful countenance, and sanctify thy tithes with gladness: and with a cheerful eye do all that thou takest in hand.'[7] And the apostle James saith, 'The Lord loveth not con-

Continency the gift of God only.

(1) Psalm xix. 7. (2) Gen. ii. 16. (3) Matt. viii. 19. (4) Lev. i. 3; xxii. 19, 29.
(5) Psalm liv. 6. (6) 2 Cor. ix. 7. (7) Eccl. xxxv. 8, 9, 10.

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strained service;' and, 'Cursed be he that doth the work of the Lord negligently;'[1] that is, not carefully, and with a willing mind.

Wherefore, as the Lord willeth us not to offer any thing to him against our wills, so doth he forbid us to compel any man to offer any thing against his will by the aforesaid Moses, where he saith, 'Thou shalt not do thy neighbour wrong, neither oppress him with violence.'[2] To do wrong to thy neighbour, is to correct him for his sin, not of any compassion or mercy towards him, but to reprove him, and to accuse him, in disdaining, upbraiding, and rebuking him: not to inform him in the spirit of lenity, but to destroy him in the spirit of bitterness and rigour; as the apostle saith, 'If a man be taken in any fault, you that are spiritual, inform such in the spirit of lenity, considering thyself, lest thou also be tempted.'[3]

To oppress our neighbour with violence, is to exact any thing of him above his power, and to lay upon him more than he is able to bear, and more, peradventure, than they themselves are able to wield, who lay it upon him. Whereas the Lord, speaking of the Pharisees to his disciples, forbiddeth them the same, saying, 'The scribes and Pharisees do sit upon the chair of Moses,' &c.; and the apostle Peter, 'Feed,' saith he, 'as much as in you lieth, the Lord's flock;'[4] providing for them, not by constraint, but willingly, after a godly sort; and not for filthy lucre, but of a ready mind; not as though ye were lords over the clergy, but be you as an example to the flock of good will.'

Lordship over the clergy forbidden.

This shepherd of shepherds, and prince of the apostles, doth plainly and evidently declare and insinuate, what all other pastors and apostles ought to do: how to entreat the flock of the Lord committed unto them, and what great care and compassion of mind they ought to have towards their cure; and removeth far out of their hearts all power of tyrannical lordship, and all ambition, which some do exercise with greediness upon those that are committed to their charge; and pronounceth, that they ought not to be lords, but fathers over their flock; and not imperiously to command them, as exercising stately authority and power upon them, but gently to admonish them, and beseech them in the zeal of piety, according to the strength of every person, after the Lord, and not after the affection of their own will, or ambitiously setting forth their own power and jurisdiction; and that they ought to be an example to the flock, doing first themselves that thing which they command others, and so to teach them no less by examples than by words; willingly, saith he, and not by constraint; of charity, and not for greedy gain. For there be many, who being inflamed with affection, not of charity, but of covetous greediness and ambition, command others that which they are not able to accomplish; and while they pretend to seek the gain of souls, they hunt and seek rather for worldly lucre; which Balaam the prophet did well express,[5] who converted the gift of prophecy, and the grace of blessing which he had received of God, not to the profit of others, but to his own commodity.

And some there be, who, while they correct others, pretend to do it with the zeal of God; and while they would seem to be better than others, this they do with a certain presumption and rashness, and so fall in their own presumption and temerity: of whom the apostle speaketh; 'Which have a zeal of God, but not according to knowledge.'[6] To have a zeal of God according to knowledge, is to do any thing in God's matters prudently and circumspectly; of whom Uzzah beareth a type and resemblance, who, while he went about with his hand to stay the ark of the Lord, staggering a little by reason of the kicking of the oxen which carried it, fell down therefore dead.[7] The ark of the Lord to stagger or miscarry by the kicking of the oxen, signifieth the law of the Lord (which the priests themselves ought to bear and hold up) to be contraried of them in not observing the same, and to be turned out of the right course to the contrary part, which Uzzah (who is interpreted to be a helper of God) attempteth to hold up. For there be certain prelates, who, while they see the order of priesthood, by some enormity or excess, to strain the law of God ever so little out of the right course, and labour to redress and rectify that misorder rather by vain ostentation of their own strength, than for any pure zeal to God: while they thus presume inordinately to do, thinking to seem to be the helpers of God, many times thus do mortally fall, and incur thereby great danger and peril.

Zeal without knowledge, what it is.

Uzzah punished for holding up the ark.

(1) Jer. xlviii. 10. (2) Lev. xix. 13. (3) Gal. vi. 1. (4) 1 Pet. v. 2.
(5) Num. xxii. 7. (6) Rom. x. 2. (7) 2 Sam. vi. 6.

Some others also there be, who, having before their eyes no consideration of man's infirmity, neither being touched with any respect of mercy and compassion, nor knowing how to say with the apostle, 'Who is infirm and I am not infirm?' these, while they compare themselves to such as be under their charge, not in condition, wherein they are equal, but in authority, wherein they are superiors, and covet to be their masters, and more to rule over them than to profit them, they oppress the weakness of them, by force and violence of authority, and compel them to their obedience; which is rightly figured by the fact, which is read in the gospel of Simon the Cyrenean, whom the persecutors of the Lord constrained to take up the cross of Christ.[1] Whose name also doth fitly agree with the same figure: for Simon, by interpretation, is called 'Obedient.' Simon then, that is to say, the obedient man, is forced to bear the cross of the Lord, when subjects, being constrained by their masters, by the rigour either of lordship or authority, or fear of their curse, and so compelled to obey them, are driven to sustain the cross of continency against their wills; who neither do love the cross which they bear, because they bear it rather to their destruction than to their health; neither by bearing the cross do die unto sin; but by the bearing thereof are rather quickened unto sin: for thereof rise divers other more grievous sins. For, by the inhibiting of lawful and natural marriage with one woman, riseth the unnatural and most execrable Sodomitical fornication; riseth also the unlawful and damnable defiling of other men's wives; riseth, furthermore, cursed and whorish filthiness and pollution; and moreover riseth most abominable incest against all nature, with their own kindred; with a heap of manifold other filthy abominations and lecherous pollutions, whereby the frail infirmity of man is brought no doubt into great peril.

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What inconvenience riseth of coacted matrimony.

Wherefore Lot, being delivered from the burning of Sodom through the guiding of the Lord's angel, and bereaved of the fellowship of his wife, while he, considering his own infirmity, durst not ascend unto the mountain as the angel bade him, did choose rather to dwell in Zoar, a little city near by, the angel thus bidding him, and speaking unto him, 'Save thy soul, and look not behind thee, but save thyself in the mountain, lest thou also perish.' To whom Lot answered, 'I pray thee, Lord, because thy servant hath found such grace in thy sight, that thou wilt save me: I cannot be saved in the mountain, lest perhaps some evil take me, and I die: there is a little city hereby, whereunto I may fly and be saved in it.'[2]

Lot's refusing to go up to the mountain, what it meaneth.

What meaneth this, that Lot, flying from Sodom by the commandment of the angel, to be saved in the mountain, would not ascend up to the hill, fearing there to perish, but did choose rather to dwell in Zoar, a small city near unto the hill, there to be saved, but that every faithful man, coveting to eschew the burning and danger of Sodomitical lust, while neither he is able to mount up to the top of virginity, and also is afraid to ascend to the mountain of the state of widowhood, lest he perish therein, flieth therefore to the state of matrimony, which is a small continency in respect of the other two, and also near unto them both. For after those two kinds of continency, this chastity is also proved to be laudable, and is not deprived of the reward of the kingdom of heaven.

The chastity of marriage, as near to heaven as virginity.

Unto this chastity he is commanded to fly, who cannot otherwise contain, and to be saved in it, lest, peradventure, if he climb up to the mount, he fall into inconveniency and perish therein: that is, lest if he shall attempt to obtain, by his own strength, the continency which is not given unto him of God, the evil of incontinency, or fornication, or of some of the other evils before rehearsed, do fall upon him, and so he perish in them mortally. For there be many, who, while they consider not their own infirmity, and while they strive to achieve greater things than they are able to reach, in this their climbing do fall headlong into worse inconveniency; and while they foolishly seek for great things, do lose the less, which before they seemed to have: which we may well understand by the example of Lot aforesaid, who, what time he left the small city Zoar, which he chose before to inhabit, in which he sought to be saved, went up to the mountain, and there abiding, fell into the stolen incest of his own daughters, as the Scripture witnesseth, saying, 'Lot went up from Zoar, and remained in the mountain; and his daughters gave to their father wine to drink that night. And the elder of them went, and lay with her father:' which thing had not befallen him, if he had kept himself still in Zoar, where he might have been saved at the bidding of the angel, as he himself required. But because he forsook

(1) Luke xxiii. 26. (2) Gen. xix. 17—20.

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that which was granted to him of the angel, and presumed to that upon his own will, contrary to the precept of the angel, which was not granted, therefore, he fell into great danger of his soul, and committed the grievous sin of incest.

Every man ought to be contented with his own gift.

No otherwise doth it happen to many others, who, while either they forsake the thing which is granted them of God, or ambitiously climb after that which is to them not granted, both they lose that which they had granted unto them, and fall into that which to them was not granted. For divers there be, who, while they forsake, either willingly or against their will, the married life which is to them lawfully permitted, and in which they might be saved, and strive with a presumptuous desire to lead a single life, both they lose that health and safety which they might have had in the one, and incur great danger in the other: so that, whereby they suppose most to gain, by the same they lose and fall into the pit of greater ruin. Which thing St. Paul, the doctor of the Gentiles, well considering, and tenderly providing for the infirmity of the weak Corinthians, writing to him for counsel touching this matter, did write to them again in this wise, saying, 'As concerning the things whereof you wrote unto me, it is good for a man not to touch a woman. Nevertheless, to avoid whoredom, let every man have his wife, and let every woman have her husband. Let the husband give unto his wife due benevolence: likewise also the wife unto her husband.'[1] And a little after, 'Withdraw not,' saith he, 'yourselves one from another, except it be with consent for a time, that you may give yourselves unto fasting and prayer; and afterwards come together again, lest Satan tempt you for your incontinency.' For, as the poet saith, 'We cannot all do all things:' and as the apostle saith, 'It is not in him that willeth, nor in him that runneth, but in God that showeth mercy.'[2] Also in another place, 'For to every one of us is given grace, according to the measure of the gift of Christ.'[3] And that every one of us ought to keep, and not to transgress this measure, he teacheth anon after, saying, 'I wish that all men were as I myself am; but every man hath his proper gift of God, one after this manner, another after that.'[4]

And that we are to be kept within our compass and measure, and ought therewith to be content, he teacheth, moreover, as followeth, 'Let every man abide in that vocation wherein he is called.' And shortly after, for confirmation thereof, he repeateth the same again, and saith, 'Let every man, wherein he is called, therein abide with the Lord.' And because he perceived that the infirmity of man was not able to sustain the burning motions and heats of nature stirring in a man, but only by the grace of God, neither able to conquer the flesh fighting against the Spirit, according to that which he saith of himself in another place, 'For I see another law in my members, rebelling against the law of my mind,' he, therefore, of mercy and compassion, as condescending unto their weakness, and not by rigour of law and force of commandment, thus said. As also in another place in his epistles, he speaketh in like words, saying, 'I speak thus grossly, after the manner of men, because of the infirmity of your flesh.'[5] And in this aforesaid epistle, moreover, a little before, using the same manner of speech, he saith, 'This I say to you, as of favour and not of commandment.'[6] And adding moreover, he showeth, 'As touching virgins, I have no commandment of the Lord, but only do give counsel, as one that have found mercy with God, that I should be faithful:' that is, after the same mercy wherewith the Lord hath informed and instructed me, when he called me to the faith, and made me faithful to him, so I, likewise, do give counsel to others, and show the same mercy to them.

For present necessity to marry, what it meaneth.

And forasmuch as both are good, to wit, to have a wife, or not to have; to have a husband, or not to have; neither is there any sin in having wife or husband; shortly after he inferreth, saying, 'I suppose, therefore, this to be good for the present necessity: I mean, that it is good for a man so to be.' What meaneth this, 'for present necessity?' What is this necessity present, but present infirmity, or else instant necessity, compelling to do as the order of necessity requireth? Or else he meaneth by this present necessity, the distress of that time which then was instant, and compelled him to write; and so to bear with them: which was for the avoiding of fornication amongst them, and many other kinds of filthiness above touched, which might have happened. For which fornication he took occasion to write unto the Corinthians, and to answer to their letters; and therefore he vehemently, against the said

(1) 1 Cor. vii. 1—3. (2) Rom. ix. 16. (3) Eph. iv. 17. (4) 1 Cor. vii. 7. (5) Rom. vi. 19. (6) 1 Cor. vii. 6.

Corinthians, in the former part of the said epistle, uttereth these words: 'What will you? shall I come to you with a rod? or in love and in the spirit of meekness? There is heard among you to be fornication, and such fornication as is not named among the Gentiles, that one should have his own father's wife,'[1] &c. And therefore for this necessity of avoiding such fornication, he saith, 'It is good for a man so to be, that he which cannot contain, shall marry and take a wife;' which afterward he expoundeth, thus inferring, 'Art thou bound to a wife? seek not to be loosed. And if thou be loosed from a wife, seek not a wife. But if thou takest a wife, thou sinnest not; and if a virgin marry, she sinneth not,'[2] &c. And that he spake not this by way of commanding, but of sufferance and compassion, he showeth plainly in these words following: 'But I spare you;' that is to say, 'I bear with your infirmity;' and therefore he leaveth it in the free power and will of every man, to choose what he best liketh. Neither doth he enforce any man (he saith) violently, nor charge them with any strait commandment; and therefore addeth these words following: 'And this I speak for your own commodity, not to tangle you, as in a snare, but for that it is good and honest for you, that you may serve the Lord without separation.'

This he saith to them whom before he exhorteth to continency, and whom he would not to be let or troubled by matrimonial conjunction. But to others he saith thus: 'If any man think that it is uncomely for his virgin to remain overlong unmarried, and if need so require, let him do what he thinketh good: he sinneth not; let them marry.' And again, 'Both be good,' he saith; but yet the one to be better he concludeth, saying, 'Therefore, he that joineth in matrimony his virgin, doth well; but he that doeth not, doth better:' which agreeth well with the text above, speaking of both kinds, as well the man as the woman, where he saith, 'If thou take a wife, thou sinnest not; and if the virgin take a husband, she sinneth not.'

If, therefore, it be no sin for the man to take a wife, nor for the virgin to take a husband, after the apostle's mind, neither doth diminish their felicity, but rather increase it; and forasmuch as both do well, and so both be blessed; we then, who take wives for our infirmity, what do we sin in having them? or, if the apostle do suffer and permit to every man, for the avoiding of fornication, to have his wife, we then, who come of the same lump or mass, and taking our sinful flesh of the sinful flesh of Adam, are not able otherwise to contain: why are we not permitted for the same cause, and by the same permission, to have likewise our wives, but are enforced to forsake them, being married?

Wherefore, either do you permit us, following the apostle, to have our wives, or else teach us that we come not of the same mass; either else show us that the same sufferance and permission is not granted to us by the apostle, which is granted to others. Which cause, peradventure, you will thus pretend: that this sufferance was granted of the apostle, not to the clergy, or to any of our order, but only to laymen. This cannot well be defended, neither by the words of the apostle, nor by any circumstance of his epistle, forasmuch as there is no certain distinction or denomination either of persons, or degrees, or professions there mentioned, neither doth he make any difference either in names or offices of men, either of them that wrote unto him, either of those persons of whom he wrote, or else of those to whom he answered, but only in general to the whole church of the Corinthians; as he himself, in the beginning of his epistle, purporteth in these words: 'Paul, called the apostle of Jesus Christ, by the will of God, and Sosthenes, his brother, to the church which is at Corinth, such as be sanctified in Christ Jesus, called saints, with all that invocate the name of the Lord,'[3] &c.

Marriage is permitted to the infirmity of all men. Priests are infirm as other men be: ergo, marriage ought to be permitted to priests also.

And after a few other words, which here for brevity's sake we omit, as not being greatly to the purpose pertinent, thus he inferreth.

These premises being well considered, we beseech you to have regard and compassion of our infirmity, most humbly desiring you not to oppress us with this violence. For, as we have sufficiently before proved, no man ought to be constrained unto continency against his will, neither is this kind of virtue commanded of God to any man of necessity, but only of voluntary devotion to be offered to the Lord; as he himself speaketh in the gospel, 'All men cannot

Forced continency is no virtue.

(1) 1 Cor. iv. 21; v. 1. (2) 1 Cor. vii. 8, 9, 27, 28. (3) 1 Cor. i. 1, 2.

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receive this saying, but to whom it is given:'[1] whereunto he gently exhorteth them that can take it, saying, 'He that is able to receive this, let him receive it,' &c. Wherefore, for distinction's sake, Moses is not himself commanded to clothe Aaron and his sons with breeches, as in these words going before, 'Thou shalt clothe with these Aaron thy brother, and his sons with him,' &c.; but he thus saith: 'Thou shalt make linen breeches, that they themselves may cover the filth of their flesh.' 'That they themselves (saith he) may cover the filth of their flesh,' Thou (saith he) shalt make the breeches for the bishop and his sons: thou shalt teach the rule of chastity; thou shalt exhort them to abstain from the company of their wives, and shalt do the priest's office; yet laying upon none violently the said yoke of continency: but whosoever shall be priests, and shall serve the altar, shall of their own accord surcease from the use of matrimony; which when they shall do, and of their own voluntary consent shall take upon them the purpose of continency to serve the altar, then shall the grace of God be present, which, as it did apparel those other priests aforesaid with attire for them convenient, so shall it instruct these abundantly, how they ought to live and to teach. And this sense well agreeth with the text that followeth, saying, 'And when thou shalt wash the father and the sons with water, thou shalt take the garments, that is, the strait coat, the tunicle, and the breast-lap, and put them upon Aaron, and gird them to him with a broidered girdle of the ephod. Then thou shalt put the mitre upon his head, and shalt put the holy crown upon the mitre, and thus shall he be consecrated. Also thou shalt bring his sons, and put coats upon them, and shalt gird them with girdles, both Aaron and his sons, and shalt put bonnets on them; and the priest's office shall be theirs for a perpetual law.'[2]

The place of Moses, Exod. xxix. 4—9, applied.

Thus then you see a commandment of receiving of the linen breeches of Moses: whereby it plainly appeareth, that Aaron and his sons first did apparel themselves with this kind of apparel, and so entered in to be washed, inducted, anointed, and consecrated, by the hands of Moses.

By this we are plainly taught, that the yoke of continency is not to be enforced upon any man against his will, but is to be received of God with a prompt and devout will. Which thing also Dionysius the Areopagite, that godly wise man, the disciple of St. Paul, and ordained of him bishop of Athens, in a certain epistle of his sent to Pymtus, bishop of the Gnasians, in which he toucheth many things of marriage and chastity (as is in the Ecclesiastical History rehearsed), doth admonish the said Pymtus, and prayeth him that he will lay no grievous burdens upon the necks of the disciples, neither infer any necessity of compelled chastity upon the brethren, whereby the infirmity of some of them might be in danger. And Pymtus, answering to Dionysius again, showeth himself willing to embrace the sentence of his wholesome counsel. The same also did Paphnutius, that divine and chaste bishop, who, in the council of Nice (as the Tripartite History doth show us), when the fathers who there were present, went about to restrain priests from marriage, he, rising up among them, and moved with the zeal of man's infirmity, desired them that they would not so do, but rather to leave it unto the voluntary discretion of every man, lest, in so doing, they might, peradventure, give occasion of adultery and fornication. For those holy men did then use this cautel and moderation in religion, that when they treated any thing concerning instruction and edification of the people, and would have them stirred up to a better life by godly instructions, they would rather persuade things to be observed with patience and lenity, than command with rigour and authority; neither would they compel any man to their obedience against his will.

The spirit of lenity required in bishops.

Whose examples you also following, who succeed in their room and name, do you not lay upon us, infirm persons, such importable burdens, lest you be partakers with the pharisees and lawyers of the Lord's curse, who saith, 'Wo to you, lawyers, which lay burdens upon men which they cannot bear; and you yourselves touch not the burdens with one finger:'[3] and lest the cry of the children of Israel ascend up to the Lord, for the cruel dealing of them that are overseers of the works.[4] Neither do you make such eunuchs, who are so born from their mother's womb, or such eunuchs who are violently made by men, but rather those eunuchs, that, of their own accord, have made themselves such, for the kingdom of heaven.[5] Neither do you bring upon the holy order of God's

(1) Matt. xix. 11. (2) Exod. xxix. 4—9. (3) Luke xi. 46.
(4) Exod. iii. 7. Also read the Canons of the Apostles, Can. xxii. (5) Matt. xix. 12.

ministers, for us only, such an offence and slander, that for our wicked life you make the ministry to be despised of others, while you will not suffer them either to hear us, or to receive the sacraments of us; infaming thereby our lewd life, and causing the favour of us to stink before Pharaoh and his servants.[1] Wherein it seemeth to us that you deal not soundly and uprightly, if a man may so say, (I pray you take it in good worth that I speak), and also to be against the authority of God's word, and the canonical constitutions, which you do; whereas the Lord saith, by Moses the lawgiver, 'The shame of thy mother thou shalt not disclose, and her ignominy thou shalt not discover.'[2] Our mother is the church; the sons of this mother be all the faithful, which name yet most fitly is appropriate to priests, for they do beget the faithful, both by the word of preaching and sacrament of baptism. Was not he to be counted a right mother who said, 'My little children, of whom I travail in birth again?'[3] The shame and ignominy of our mother, what is it but the reprovable conversation of the life of priests? which shame and ignominy is then revealed when the life of priests is publicly infamed; which thing you do, that discover and notify to men our fragility, lying before as hid and covered, because before it was not known: and for the same you bring the holy ministry and mysteries of God into contempt and hatred; as though the polluted life of others did any thing pertain thereto to pollute the same, and as though our uncleanness did any thing blemish them, or diminish the pureness thereof; whereas the Psalmist saith, 'The law of the Lord is pure and immaculate;'[4] or, as though they were any whit polluted by our infection, who do receive the said mysteries either by our mouth or by our ministry: which if you grant, then the Lord would never have spoken so to his disciples, and the people, touching the pharisees, saying, 'Whatsoever they bid you observe, that observe and do.'[5]

The wickedness of the ministers makes not the ministry worse.

And again, if it were so, the Lord would not have sent forth Judas, who, he knew, should betray him, with the other disciples, to preach; neither would have committed to him the power of working miracles, and of giving health; nor have admitted him to the communion of the supper. And if our impurity should infect our holy mysteries or ministrations, and make them worse that hear and receive the same, then the Lord would never have touched the leper whom he had healed; neither would he have kissed him; neither would have eaten with Simon, another leper; neither would have suffered his feet to be kissed, and with the tears to be washed, and with the hair to be dried, and his head to be anointed of Mary the sinner.

Therefore the holy canons have thus decreed, that no man, who rightly receiveth the Lord's sacraments of a heretic, should be therefore any thing corrupted by his heretical pravity, nor the said sacraments should be any whit distained by the infection of him. Whereupon the church of Rome, in a certain epistle directed unto Anastasius the emperor, by Anastasius the pope, did so ordain and write, that none of all them whom Acatius did baptize, or whom he ordained canonically to be priests or Levites, should be any thing hurt by the name of the said Acatius; so that thereby the sacraments which by him were ministered, should seem the less firm and effectual. For the sacrament of baptism also, being ministered by an adulterer or a thief (which God forefend to be in the church), doth come unto the receiver never a whit the worse. What meant that voice which sounded by the dove, but that it excluded all evil and impurity of the corruption of man? in which it is declared and said, 'This is he which baptizeth,'[6] &c. For if the beams of this visible sun, passing by the filthy places, receive no spot of filthiness thereby, much more the grace of him who made this visible sun, is not tied to any worthiness of our works. Whatsoever, therefore, any minister of the church worketh in his function to the behoof of the people, all, that taketh its effect, is by the operation of God. Thus witnesseth Paul, by whom Christ speaketh: 'I have planted, and Apollos hath watered, but it is the Lord that hath given the increase.'[7] God regardeth not so much who or what manner of person doth preach, but that he so preach, that he may confirm them that be naught, and cause them to preach well of Christ. For such is the operation of God's mighty grace, that by evil men he winneth good men, and by reprobate and wicked persons, he getteth and gathereth together those that be good.

By these, and such other reasons and authorities above alleged, you ought to

(1) Exod. v. 21. (2) Lev. xviii. 7. (3) Gal. iv. 19. (4) Psal. xix. 8, 9.
(5) Matt. xxiii. 3. (6) John i. 33. (7) 1 Cor. iii. 6.

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be persuaded, neither to abandon from the administration of divine service us that be married, nor yet to excommunicate such from the communion thereof, to whom the matter nothing pertaineth. And if we be evil, we are evil to ourselves, and hurt ourselves more than others; and such as you suppose, peradventure, to be vicious, yet may have some good thing inwardly, which you know not of. For many there be whom you judge to be incontinent, who live more chastely than they whom you so greatly extol for their continency. We that have wives according to the apostle's mind, 'so have them, as though we had them not.'[1] Which gift of continency, forasmuch as you cannot give us, pray therefore with us and for us, that He will give it unto us, who only is the giver thereof, and without whom no man is able to live continently. For otherwise we cannot have it, unless we pray unto him, from the bottom of our hearts, who is known to be the author and giver thereof. And this same (saith Solomon) is wisdom,[2] to know whose gift it is, neither is there any gift above this.

These two epistles, written to pope Nicholas under the title of Volusianus, give us to understand by the contents thereof, first, that he himself was then a married bishop: secondly, that the liberty of priests' marriage ought not to be restrained by any general law of compulsion, but to be left to every man's free choice, and voluntary devotion: thirdly, the said epistles, being written to pope Nicholas (if the title be true), declare, that this law, prohibiting the lawful matrimony of churchmen, began first in this pope's time generally to be enacted.

And although it be not here expressed, which pope Nicholas this was, yet by the circumstance of time, and especially by the words of pope Alexander,[3] it may probably be esteemed to be Nicholas II., and not Nicholas I., as some do suppose; amongst whom is Illyricus,[4] and also John Bale,[5] with certain others: from whose judgments, although I am loth to dissent, yet, notwithstanding, modestly and freely to utter herein my opinion, this I suppose, that if the truth of this matter were throughly tried, it might, peradventure, be found that they be herein deceived, and all, by mistaking a certain place of Gratian: for the better explanation hereof here it is to be understood, that amongst the distinctions of Gratian, there is a constitution,[6] the tenor whereof is this, "No man shall hear mass of any priest whom he knoweth undoubtedly to have a concubine, or a woman privily resorting to him," &c.

Whether this Nicholas was first or second.

This decree, forasmuch as Gratian doth allege under the name and title of pope Nicholas, not naming what Nicholas he was, therefore John Bale, and Illyricus, one following the other, and they both following Volateran,[7] do vouch this constitution upon Nicholas I. The words of Volateran be these, writing of Nicholas I., "Multa hic utilia constituit, inter quæ, nequis concubinam habenti presbytero aut sacrificanti interesset, ut testatur Gratianus," &c.

In like effect follow also the words of Illyricus aforesaid, "Decretum fecit, ne quis à sacerdote sacramenta suscipiat, quem sciret habere concubinam, seu uxorem;" and he allegeth, as Volateran doth,[8] the said distinction of Gratian,[9] in alleging whereof they both seem to be deceived, in mistaking belike one Nicholas for another: as may be proved and made good by three or four reasons.

(1) 1 Cor. vii. 29. (2) Sap. viii. 21.
(3) Dist. 32, 'Præter.' [See Decret. Gratiani. Paris, 1612. cap. vi. col. 169.—Ed.]
(4) Flac. Illyric. cent. ix. cap. 10. (5) Johan. Baleus, de Scriptoribus, Cent. 2.
(6) 'Nullus missam audiat presbyteri, quem scit concubinam indubitanter habere, aut subintroductam mulierem,' &c. Dist. 32. [Gratian. cap. v. col. 169.—Ed.]
(7) Lib. 22. (8) Volateran. lib. 22. Dist. 'Præter.'
(9) Dist. 32. 'Nullus.' [See Gratian. cap. v. col. 169.—Ed.]

First, by the words of pope Alexander II., in the next chapter following, who, being the successor of Leo, and of Nicholas II., useth the same words in his synod of Mantua (which Gratian referreth unto Nicholas), and prosecuteth the same more amply and fully, alleging, moreover, the former constitution of both his predecessors, popes Leo and Nicholas, who, by all stories, are known to be Leo IX. and Nicholas II., who both were next before him. The words of Alexander II. be these; "Præter hoc autem præcipiendo mandamus, ut nullus missam audiat presbyteri quem scit concubinam habere indubitanter, vel subintroductam mulierem. Unde etiam sancta synodus hoc capitulum sub excommunicatione statuit, dicens: Quicunque sacerdotum, diaconorum, subdiaconorum, post constitutum beatæ memoriæ prædecessoris nostri sanctissimi papæ Leonis, et Nicolai de castitate clericorum, concubinam palam duxerit, vel ductam non reliquerit," &c.; by which words, speaking of Nicholas his predecessor, it is evident to understand this to be pope Nicholas II., who was his next predecessor, and not pope Nicholas I., who was about two hundred years before him.

The first reason to prove this to be Nicholas II.

The constitution of pope Alexander II. against priests' marriage.

The second reason.

The second reason, I take out of the chapter of Gratian next going before, where he allegeth again the same Nicholas, writing to Otho archbishop; which Otho was then, in the time of this Nicholas II., archbishop of Cologne, and was afterwards in the council of Mantua, under pope Alexander II., as witnesseth Johannes Quintius, the lawyer.[1] Whereby it must needs be granted, that this was Nicholas II. and not Nicholas I.

The third reason.

The third conjecture or reason is this, for that pope Nicholas I. never made any such act or decree, that neither priests that were entangled with a concubine, should sing mass, nor that any should resort to hear the mass of such, &c.; but rather the contrary. For so we read in the history of Antoninus,[2] and in the Decrees, c. 15. q. 8. "Sciscitantibus vobis, si à sacerdote, qui sive deprehensus in adulterio, sive de hoc solâ famâ respersus est, debeatis communionem suscipere, nec ne, respondemus. Non potest aliquis, quantumcunque pollutus sit, sacramenta divina polluere; quæ purgatoria cunctarum contagionum existunt," &c.[3]

And yet more plainly also afterwards he saith,[4] "Where ye demand concerning the priest that hath a wife, whether ye ought to sustain him, and honour him, or reject him from you: we answer, that albeit they be very much blameworthy, yet ye ought to be followers of God, who maketh his sun to rise both upon the good, and upon the bad. And therefore ye ought not to reject such away from you," &c.

And this Nicholas, Antoninus confesseth plainly to be Nicholas I.; whereby it is not only not unlikely, but also most certain, that Nicholas I. was not the author of this constitution, either to exterminate married priests from their churches, or to excommunicate the people from receiving their communion; much less then from hearing their service.

The fourth reason.

Fourthly: forasmuch then as it is undoubted that Nicholas II. and Alexander II., through the instigation of wicked Hildebrand, were

(1) In Speculo Sacerdotii. (2) Antonin. Part II. tit. 16. (3) See Decret. Grat. col. 1185.—Ed.
(4) 'Consulendum decernitis, utrum presbyterum habentem uxorem debeatis sustentare et honorare, an à vobis projicere? ad quod respondemus, quoniam licet ipsi valde sint reprehensibiles, vos tamen Deum convenit imitari, qui solem suum oriri facit super bonos et malos. Dejicere verò eum à vobis ideo non debetis,' &c. Dist. 28. [See Decret. Gratian. col. 153.—Ed.]

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the authors of that constitution whereof Gratian speaketh, it remaineth plain, by the words of Volusianus, in the latter end of his letter (wherein he maketh mention both of discharging the priest from singing mass, and the people from hearing), that the said epistle was written, not to pope Nicholas I., but to pope Nicholas II., because both these were decreed against married priests under Nicholas II., and Alexander II., as is before declared.

And further, lest my judgment herein should seem to stand alone and singular, without some to take my part, I will here produce for me a Parisian doctor, and a famous lawyer, Johannes Quintius above mentioned, who in his book 'De Clericorum Moribus' plainly accordeth with mine opinion touching this Nicholas, author of the decree aforesaid, where he writeth in these words;[1] "Pope Nicholas, writing to Otho, archbishop of Cologne, &c.—Gloss: There have been in all, five popes called by the name of Nicholas; of which five, this Nicholas, the writer hereof, must be either the first or second: the one a Roman, in the year 860; the other a Burgundian, in the year 1059, or 1060. The other Nicholases lived after Gratian, who wrote in the year 1151. In my judgment I suppose this to be Nicholas II., who, in the third Book of the Laws, called Pannomia,[2] tit. 'De Lapsis,' is named Nicholas the younger: which Nicholas, also, is author of the next decree that followeth," &c.

Objection answered.

Wherefore if any man shall object hereafter, that, because Gratian, in the distinction aforesaid, nameth pope Nicholas absolutely, without any addition, he is therefore to be taken for Nicholas I., unto this objection I set here these two lawyers to answer. Unto whose answer this I add also, that the common manner of Gratian lightly in all his distinctions is, that when he speaketh of popes, as of Innocent, Gregory, Leo, Lucius, and such others, very seldom he expresseth the difference of their names: so in the eighteenth distinction, 'Presbyteris,' where he bringeth in the decree of pope Calixtus in like manner, against the matrimony of priests, deacons, and sub-deacons, he addeth thereto no discrepance of his name; and yet all the world knoweth that this was Calixtus II., and not Calixtus I., &c. But whether he were or no, the matter forceth not much. The letters, no doubt, by their title appear to be written by Volusianus. Most certain this is, by whomsoever they were written, fruitful epistles they are, and effectual to the purpose.

But lest we should seem too much to digress from our purpose, let us return to the story and time of Nicholas II. again, who was about the year, as is said, 1059, a little before Hildebrand was pope. This Hildebrand, albeit he was then but a cardinal, yet was he the whole doer of all things, and concluded what him listed in the church of Rome, and also made popes whom he would, as appeareth both by this Nicholas, and also pope Alexander, who followed him. So that this dissolution of priests' marriage began somewhat to

(1) 'Nicolaus papa Othoni Coloniensi archiepisc. &c. Quinque fuerunt hoc nomine pontifices: primum secundumve oportuit esse, qui hæc rescripserit; ille Romanus an. 860; hic Burgundus, an. 1059. Reliquos Nicolaos antecessit Gratianus, qui scripsit hæc, an. 1150. Posteriorem fuisse credo, qui in Pannomia, lib. iii. tit. De Lapsis, nominatur Nicolaus junior, cujus est et aliud decretum sequens,' &c. Ex testimonio Joan. Quintii, De Clericorum Moribus. [See fol. 84. Edit. Basileæ 1499: it bears this title, 'Liber Decretorum, sive Pannomia Ivonis,' &c. He was bishop of Chartres.—Ed.]

(2) The author of this book of Pannomia was Ives de Chartres, in which book he compiled divers canons of popes and bishops.

kindle under this pope Nicholas, through the pestilent means of Hildebrand, and after him increased more under pope Alexander, as appeareth by the synod holden at Milan, in the year 1067.[1] But most of all it burst out under the said Hildebrand himself, being pope in the year, as is said, 1076.[2]

The times examined of Volusianus's epistle.

Although, as touching this prohibition of priests to be married, I am not ignorant that certain of the contrary faction, in searching out the reach and antiquity of this tradition, for priests to abstain from wives, do refer the same to the time of the second council of Carthage, which was about the time of pope Syricius, a great enemy to ministers' wives, as appeareth in the eighty-fourth distinction, "Cum in præterito;"[3] yet, notwithstanding, to the same may be answered,

First; that this was no universal or general council, but some particular synod, and, therefore, of no such great forcible authority.

Secondly; the same synod being about the time of pope Syricius, who was a capital enemy against priests' marriage, may seem to draw some corruption of the time then present.

Thirdly; neither is it impossible, but as divers bastard epistles have been falsely fathered upon certain ancient bishops of the primitive church, and divers canons also, as of the council of Nice, have been corrupted by bishops of Rome, so some falsehood, likewise, or forgery, might be used in this second council of Carthage.

Fourthly; although no false conveyance had been used therein, yet, forasmuch as the said canon of this second council of Carthage doth misreport and falsify the canons of the apostles, in so doing it doth justly diminish its own credit.

Priests and bishops married long after the second council of Carthage.

Fifthly; seeing the aforesaid canon of this second council of Carthage tendeth clean contrary to the canons of the apostles, to the council of Gangra, and other councils more, and commandeth that which *they* do accurse, the authority thereof ought to have no great force, but rather may be rejected.

Sixthly and finally; though this constitution of the council of Carthage were perfectly sound without all corruption, yet plain and evident it is, by this Volusianus, bishop also of Carthage, that the same constitution took no great hold in the church, forasmuch as we see that both this Volusianus was married, after that, in Carthage himself, and also, besides him, many hundred years after, marriage was a common matter through most churches of Christendom, amongst bishops and priests; as partly before hath been declared, and more may be seen in histories, what great tumults and business was long after that, in Hildebrand's time, and after him also amongst the clergymen, both in Italy, Spain, France, and in all quarters of Christendom, for separating priests from their liberty of marrying.

And again, if this tradition concerning the unmarried life of priests had stood upon such an old foundation from the second council of Carthage (as they pretend), what needed then, in the time of pope Nicholas II., pope Alexander II., pope Gregory VII., and other popes after them, so much labour to be taken, so many laws and decrees to be devised and enacted, for the abolishing of priests' marriage, if the same had been of such a long antiquity as they would make men believe?

(1) This synod was held under Nicholas II. A.D. 1059; see Note 4, p. 330.—Ed.
(2) Read before. [Vol. II. p. 115. Correct date 1073.—Ed.] (3) See Decret. Grat. col. 437.—Ed.

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By these things considered it may appear, that this detraction of priests' marriage, by public law compelling them to single life, was never received for a full law, generally to be observed in the church of Rome, but only since the beginning of Hildebrand; that is, since these five hundred years. About which time first is to be noted, that under pope Leo, and this pope Nicholas, Cranzius and certain German chroniclers do say, that simony and priests' marriage were prohibited. This pope Leo IX. was A.D. 1049.

When forbidding priests to marry first began.

After him pope Nicholas (to whom the aforesaid letter of Volusianus seemeth to be written) made this ordinance:[1] "Nullus missam audiat presbyteri, quem scit concubinam indubitanter habere, aut subintroductam mulierem." And presently, "Whatsoever priest, deacon, or sub-deacon, according to the constitution of pope Leo our predecessor, concerning the chastity of clerks, shall openly marry a concubine, or shall not put her away being married: in the behalf of Almighty God," &c., "we utterly charge and forbid the same, that he sing no mass, nor read the gospel or epistle at mass, nor execute any divine service,"[2] &c. And this was about A.D. 1059. Although, in this constitution of pope Nicholas, this word "concubine" may be understood for no wife, but so as Gratian[3] understandeth it in the seventeenth canon of the apostles, in these words, "Concubina intelligenda est præter uxorem:" that is, "For one besides a man's wife."

Then, after this pope Nicholas, cometh pope Alexander, and especially pope Hildebrand, who do expound this concubine forbidden, for a wife; and such priests as be married, they expound them for Nicolaitans; for so we read in the synod of Milan, under pope Alexander II.:[4] "Nicolaitæ autem dicuntur clerici, qui contra castitatis ecclesiasticæ regulam feminis admiscentur," &c. And further it followeth in the same synod, "Nicolaitarum quoque hæresim, nihilominus condemnamus, et non modo presbyteros, sed et diaconos et subdiaconos, ab uxorum et concubinarum fœdo consortio nostris studiis, in quantum nobis possibilitas fuerit, sub eodem quo supra testimonio arcendos esse promittimus," &c. And after it followeth in this wise, "Si hæc de Simoniaca et Nicolaitarum hæresi delenda, et funditus destruenda fideliter non observavero, ab omnipotenti Deo, et omnibus sanctis sim excommunicatus, et anathematizatus, et ab omni Christianorum consortio inveniar alienus."

Married priests called Nicolaitanes.

The synod of Milan against priests' marriage.

And moreover it followeth upon the same[5] in words which are as much as to say in English, "I do accurse all heresies extolling them-

(1) 'This ordinance.' Ex Romana Synodo 4. [See 'Concilia Generalia, studio Labbei.' (Lut. Paris, 1671.) Tom. ix. col. 1099. Also Gratian. (Paris, 1612.) dist. 32. c. v. col. 169.—Ed.]

(2) 'Quicunque sacerdotum, diaconorum, subdiaconorum, post constitutum beatæ memoriæ prædecessoris nostri sanctiss. papæ Leonis [ac Nicolai], de castitate clericorum, concubinam palam duxerit, vel ductam non reliquerit, ex parte omnipotentis Dei, et auctoritate beati Petri et Pauli præcipimus, et omnino contradicimus, ut missam non cantet,' &c. [See Gratian. col. 169. dist. 32. c. vi.—Ed.] (3) Dist. 33. 'Si quis post.' [See Gratian. cap. i. col. 177.—Ed.]

(4) This synod of Milan (suppressed, it is believed, in all the tables of Councils) was not held under pope Alexander II., but under pope Nicholas II., A.D. 1059. The evidence is conclusive, for cardinal Damian, who presided as legate, has left a full account of the proceedings, in his Opusculum V., entitled 'Actus Mediolanensis:' see his 'Opera Omnia,' (fol. Paris, 1743) tom. iii. pp. 39—41. Damian says of himself, that he gave great offence by placing Anselm, bishop of Lucca (afterwards Pope Alexander II.), on his right hand. He does not speak of Anselm, as being a cardinal at that time, and still less of his being a legate; and yet, by Puricelli, in his History of Milan, § CCLX., the same Ansolm is described as appearing in this synod in both these characters. Another writer, Tristanus Calchus, in the fourth book of his 'Historia Mediolanensis,' speaks of Hildebrand also, as having been sent to this synod as a legate along with Anselm and Damian. The 'Opusculum' of the latter, however, meets this point likewise; for Damian addresses his account to Hildebrand, as to an absent person.—The oaths at length, and all the passages quoted by Foxe, appear in Damian's narrative. The date 1059, is given by both the Italian chroniclers.—Ed.

(5) 'Anathematizo quoque omnes hæreses extollentes se adversus sanctam catholicam et apostolicam ecclesiam, specialiter vero et nominatim Simoniacam hæresim,' &c.: 'deinde Nicolaitarum

selves against the holy catholic and apostolic church; but especially and namely, the heresy of simony: and in like manner the abominable heresy of the Nicolaitans, which impudently barketh, that the ministers of the holy altar may and ought to use wives lawfully, as well as laymen," &c. And thus much concerning the synod of Milan, under pope Alexander II. A.D. 1067.[1] *Henry VIII.* A. D. 1540.

Next after this Alexander rose up pope Hildebrand, of all others the chiefest and most principal enemy against priests' marriage. For whereas all other approved canons and councils were contented that any clergyman, having a wife before his entering into his ministry, might enjoy the liberty of his marriage, so that he married not a widow, or a known harlot, or kept a concubine, or were twice married; now cometh in pope Hildebrand, making priests' marriage to be heresy, and further enacting, that "whatsoever clerk, deacon, or minister had a wife, whatsoever she was, maid or other, either before his orders, or after, should utterly put her from him, or else forsake his ministry," &c. Hildebrand the greatest enemy to priests' marriage.

Although, notwithstanding, the greatest part of ecclesiastical ministers, seeing this strange doctrine and proceedings (which St. Paul expressly calleth 'the doctrine of devils'[2]), did what they could to withstand the same: of whom Lambert of Aschaffenburg thus writeth:[3] "Against this decree, the whole number of the clergy did vehemently storm and grudge, crying out upon him as a pernicious heretic, and one that maintained fantastical doctrine: who, forgetting what the Lord saith, "All men cannot take this word; he that can take it, let him take it;" and also what the apostle saith, "Whoso cannot otherwise contain, let him marry; better it is to marry than to burn;" yet, notwithstanding, would he bind men to live like angels: who, if he continued as he began, they would (they said) sooner forsake the order of priesthood, than their order of matrimony," &c. The council of Rome against priests' marriage.

This Hildebrand, all this notwithstanding, yet ceased not still to call upon them, and to send to the bishops every where to execute his commandment with all severity; threatening to lay the apostolical censure upon them, if otherwise they showed not their diligence therein to the uttermost.[4] This was A.D. 1074. Of the same Hildebrand, Radulph also writing, hath these words:[5] "Pope Gregory VII., called Hildebrand, holding a synod, accursed such as committed simony, and removed married priests from saying service; forbidding also the laymen to hear their mass, after a new and strange example; and, as many thought, after an inconsiderate prejudice, against the sentence of holy fathers."

And thus much for the antiquity of bringing in the single life of priests, which, first springing from the time of pope Nicholas and Alexander II., began first with a custom, and afterwards was brought into a law, chiefly by pope Hildebrand, and so spread from Italy

æque abominalem hæresim, quæ impudenter latrat sacri altaris ministros debere, vel posse licenter uti conjugibus, quomodo et laicos:' &c.

(1) A.D. 1059. See Note 4 on the last page. (2) 1 Tim. iv. 1.

(3) 'Adversus hoc decretum protinus vehementer infremuit tota factio clericorum, hominem plane hæreticum, et vesani dogmatis esse clamitans, qui, oblitus sermonis Domini, quo ait: Non omnes capiunt hoc verbum: qui potest capere, capiat: et apostoli: Qui se non continet, nubat; melius est nubere, quam uri; violenta exactione homines vivere cogeret ritu angelorum,' &c.: quod si pergeret sententiam confirmare, malle se sacerdotium quam conjugium deserere,' &c. [Rerum Germanicarum Scriptores à S. Schardio collecti (Basil, 1574), tom. i. p. 768.—Ed.] (4) Ex Lamberto.

(5) 'Gregorius papa septimus Hildebrandus, celebrata synodo, Simoniacos anathematizavit, uxoratos sacerdotes à divino removit officio, et laicis missam eorum audire interdixit novo exemplo: et (ut multis visum est) inconsiderato præjudicio contra sanctorum patrum sententiam,' &c. Ex Radulpho de Diceto. [Hist. Anglicanæ Scriptores X. cura Twysden (Lond. 1652), col. 486.—Ed.]

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into other countries, and at length into England also; albeit not without much ado, as ye shall hear, the Lord willing.

A. D. 1540.

In the mean while, as pope Nicholas and Hildebrand were busy at Rome, so Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury, likewise, was doing here in England about the same matter; although he began not altogether so roughly as pope Hildebrand did, for so it appeared by his council holden at Winchester; where, though he inhibited such as were prebendaries of cathedral churches to have wives, yet did he permit, in his decree, that such priests as dwelt in towns and villages, having wives, should retain them still, and not be compelled to be separate from them; and they that had none, should be inhibited to have: enjoining, moreover, the bishops thus to foresee hereafter, that they presumed not to admit into orders any priests or deacons, unless they should first make a solemn profession to have no wives. The words of the council be these: "Decretumque est, ut nullus canonicus uxorem habeat: sacerdotum vero in castellis et in vicis habitantium habentes uxores, non cogantur ut dimittant: non habentes, interdicantur ut habeant." And then, "Caveant episcopi, ut sacerdotes vel diaconos non præsumant ordinare, nisi profiteantur ut uxores non habeant," &c.[1]

Lanfranc's law for priests not to marry.

And here, to note by the way of the said Lanfranc, for all his glorious gay show of his monkish virginity and single life, yet he escaped not altogether so unspotted for his part, but that the story of Matthew Paris, writing of Paul of Caen, whom Lanfranc preferred so gladly to be abbot of St. Alban's, thus reporteth of him:[2] "Paul, a monk of Caen, and nephew of the archbishop Lanfranc, yea, as some say further, more near in blood to him than so," &c.

Lanfranc supposed not to be a pure virgin.

Then, after Lanfranc, came Anselm into the see of Canterbury, who, taking to him a stouter stomach, more fiercely and eagerly laboured this matter, in abrogating utterly the marriage of priests, deacons, sub-deacons, and of the universal clergy; not permitting (as Lanfranc did) priests that had wives in villages and towns to keep them still, but utterly commanding, and that under great pain, not only priests and deacons, but sub-deacons also (which is against the council of Lateran),[3] who were already married, to be separated, and that none should be received into orders hereafter, without profession of perpetual chastity.

Anselm, archbishop of Canterbury, a constant doer against priests' marriage.

And yet notwithstanding, for all this great blustering and thundering of this Romish μισογάμος, the priests, yet still holding their own as well as they could, gave not much place to his unlawful injunction, but kept still their wives almost two hundred years after; refusing and resisting of long time the yoke of that servile bondage, to keep still their freedom from such vowing, professing, and promising, as may well appear by those priests of York, of whom Gerard, archbishop of York, speaketh, writing to Anselm in these words:[4]—

(1) Ex Actis Concilii Wintoniensis sub Lanfranco. [Anno 1076, in Wilkins's Concilia, Lond. 1737, tom. i. p. 367.—Ed.]

(2) 'Paulus monachus Cadonensis, archiepiscopi Lanfranci nepos, imo aliquorum relationibus, consanguinitate propinquor,' &c. Ex Mat. Paris. [The words here given are rather the sense than the actual words, in the Vitæ S. Albani Abbatum, p. 49, Lond. 1640.—Ed.]

(3) Conc. Later. can. 14. De Clericis matrimon. copulatis. [See Acta Concil. (Par. 1714), tom. vii. col. 31.—Ed.]

(4) 'Sitio clericorum meorum integritatem; sed, præterquam in paucis admodum, vel aspidis surditatem vel fabulosi cujusdam Protei mutabilitatem invenio. Variis linguarum aculeis, modò minas, modò convitia inpligunt. Sed hoc facilius in his qui remotiores sunt, tolero. Illud omnino grave genus mali est, quod hi qui quasi in sinu meo sunt, qui canonicorum nomine gaudent, canones aspernant, adversus concilii nostri statuta quasi sophistici disputatores argumentantur.

'I much desire the purity of my clergymen: howbeit, except it be in very few, I find in them the deafness of the serpent, aspis, and the inconstancy of Proteus, that the poet's fable spake of. With their stinging tongues they cast out somewhile threats, somewhile taunts and rebukes. But this grieveth me less in them that be further off. This grieveth me most of all, that they that be of mine own church, as in mine own bosom, and prebendaries of mine own see, contemn our canons, and argue, like sophistical disputers, against the statutes of our council. The prebendaries who inordinately have been taken into orders heretofore, without making vow or profession, refuse utterly to make any profession to me. And they that be priests or deacons, having married before openly wives or concubines, will not be removed, for any reverence, from the altar. And when I call upon any to receive order, stiffly they deny to profess chastity in their ordering,' &c.

Thus, for all the rigorous austerity of this Anselm. enforcing his decree made at London against the marriage of priests, yet the same had no great success, either in his lifetime, or after his life. For although sundry priests, during his lifetime, were compelled by his extremity to renounce their wives, yet many denied to obey him.[1]

Divers were contented rather to leave their benefices than their wives. A great number were permitted by king Henry, for money, to enjoy their wives; which was so chargeable unto them, saith Eadmer, in his fourth book, that at length two hundred priests, in their albes and priestly vestments, came barefoot to the king's palace, crying to him for mercy; and especially making their suit to the queen, who, using much compassion towards them, yet durst not make any intercession for them.

Anselm, at this time, was over the sea, making his voyage to the pope; who, hearing hereof, writeth to the king, declaring that such forfeitures appertained nothing to him, but only unto bishops, and in their default to the archbishops: whereof read more before.[2] So wilful was the blind zeal of this prelate, against all reason, against nature itself, against the example of his fore-elders, against public custom of his own time, against the doctrine of the apostles, the constitution of councils, against all honesty, and all God's forebode, that he, neither at the contemplation of the king, nor at the crying out and public dolour of so many priests, nor yet moved with the letters of pope Paschal himself, who, putting him in remembrance of so many priests' sons, willed him to consider the necessity of the time, would yet any thing relent from his stubborn purpose unto his latter end: in whom, as many great crimes may justly be noted, so of all others this is most principally in him to be reprehended, for that he, seeing and perceiving what sodomitical fedity and abomination, with other inconveniencies, did spring incontinently upon this his diabolical doctrine, yet, for all that, would not give over his pestilent purpose. For so the story recordeth, that when Anselm had established his synodal constitution,[3]

After the prohibition of matrimony followed the grossest vices.

Professiones verò mihi penitus abnegant canonici illi, qui sine professione ad sacros ordines inordinabiliter sunt provecti, et qui, in presbyteratu vel diaconatu constituti, uxores sive concubinas in publico hactenus habuerunt, atque ab altari nulla se reverentia continuerunt. Cum verò ad ordines aliquos invito, dura cervice nituntur, ne in ordinando castitatem profiteantur.'

(1) Hereby it appeareth that priests, in the old time here in England, never made vow of chastity at their orders, nor before this time. (2) See Vol. II. page 167.—ED.

(3) This 'synodal constitution' of Anselm, A.D. 1103, Foxe presently refers to, as issuing from a Council of Winchester, to which he frequently afterwards recurs; and at p. 339, he gives the Act itself, as if just come to his hands. The document is there headed 'The Act against Priests' Marriage, concluded in the Council at Winchester, anno 1104.' In the preamble to it, Gerard. archbishop of York, is mentioned as having been present.—There are several inaccuracies here. In the first place, it may not be irrelevant to observe that in a 'Synopsis Chronologica,' prefixed to one of the most complete editions of Anselm's works (fol. Paris, 1712), and which professes to give the important events in Anselm's life, there is no such council of Winchester named, but a council of London, A.D. 1102, and another there, in A.D. 1108. Foxe, however, himself, by giving the Act in question,

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in separating priests from their wives (which was A.D. 1103), not long after, rumours and complaints were brought to him, of the execrable vice of sodomitry, which then began especially to reign in the clergy, after this inhibition of matrimony. Whereupon Anselm was constrained to call another council at Paul's, within London,[1] to provide for this mischief; in which council this act was made:[2] "All them that commit the ungracious sin of sodomitry, and them also that assist them in their wicked purpose, with grievous curse we do condemn, till such time as they shall deserve absolution by penance and confession," &c.

See the Act of Anselm.

Thus ye have heard what abominable wickedness ensued after priests were debarred from marriage, and what sore punishment was dovised, by this maidenly prelate, for extirping that sinful wickedness; in the abolishing whereof, more wisely he should have removed away the occasion whereof he was the author himself, than by penalty to suppress it; which he could never do.

The penalty provided against that execrable vice.

Now let us hear further, what followed in that worthy council:[3] "It is enacted, that whosoever shall be publicly known to be guilty hereof, if he be a religious person, he shall from henceforth be promoted to no degree of honour, and that degree which he hath already, shall be taken from him. If he be a lay person, he shall be deprived of all his freedom within the whole realm of England, and that none under a bishop shall presume to assoil such as have been monks professed, of that trespass. It is also enacted, that every Sunday in the year, and in every parish church in England, this general curse aforesaid shall be published and renewed."

Is not here, trow you, good division of justice, that lawful wedlock of priests can find no grace or pardon, yea, is made now heresy, whereas adultery and horrible sodomitry are washed away with a little confession? And see yet what followeth more. After that this penal curse had now gone abroad, and been published in churches, the monks, perceiving this matter to touch them somewhat near, whispered in Anselm's ear, persuading him that the publication of that act might grow to great danger and inconvenience, in opening

The curse against that cursed vice called in again.

has shown that he was conscious of no error, for he has left the ready means of setting the whole matter right.—Florentius, Hoveden, and Eadmer, give the Act in question; Eadmer adding to it a tenth clause, about adultery. These chroniclers all supply the date A.D. 1108, and incidentally confirm it, by giving Thomas as the name of the archbishop of York, Gerard's death having occurred in May that year. (See Bishop Godwin 'De Præstulibus Angliæ,' fol. Cant. 1743, p. 667, n.) Eadmer is the only writer who particularizes the place, which he states was London All agree that the king and his barons were present. Malmesbury has no reference to this council, and John Trevisa, a very slight one; his last date (for he frequently runs the events of several years under one date) being 1107. It is almost needless to add, that Wilkins, in his 'Concilia,' and Hardwine, in his 'Acta Conciliorum,' follow our best English chroniclers. They both give the council as held at London, A.D. 1108.—See Florentius Wigornensis, in his 'Chronicon ex Chronicis' (4to. Lond. 1592), pp. 479—481.—Hoveden, in 'Scriptores post Bedam' (fol. Franc, 1601), p. 472.—Eadmer, in his 'Historia Novorum' (fol. Lond. 1623), p. 94.—Wilkins's 'Concilia' (fol. Lond. 1737), vol. i. pp. 387, 388.—Hardwine's 'Acta Conciliorum' (Par. 1714), vol. vi. col. 1889.—Ed.

(1) This council, which, by the extracts here given, there are again the means of clearly identifying, was summoned by Anselm, and held in St. Peter's, London, A.D. 1102. Malmesbury and Eadmer speak to these particulars, and give the canons, thirty, in all.—See Malmesbury, in 'Scriptores post Bedam' (fol. Franc. 1601), p. 228; Eadmer, as before, pp. 67, 68. Also Wilkins, in his 'Concilia,' as before, tom. i. p. 382, and Hardwine, in his 'Acta Conciliorum,' tom. vi. col. 1863, give these canons.—Ed.

(2) 'Sodomiticum flagitium facientes, et eos in hoc voluntariè juvantes, gravi anathemate damnamus, donec pœnitentia et confessione absolutionem mereantur,' &c. [See the next reference.—Ed.]

(3) [See Wilkins's 'Concilia,' tom. i. p. 383. The words cited are from the canons 29 and 30. Wilkins reads '*non* voverunt:' Eadmer, 'non *noverunt*,' (Hist. Novor. lib. iii. p. 64. Edit. Par. 1721.) See also Anselm's Letter 62, p. 390, in the same edition.—Ed.] 'Qui vero in hoc crimine publicatus fuerit, statutum est, si quidem fuerit persona religiosi ordinis, ut ad nullum amplius gradum promoveatur, et si quem habeat, ab illo deponatur; si autem laicus, ut in toto regno Angliæ legali suæ conditionis dignitate privetur. Et ne hujus criminis absolutionem iis, qui se sub regula vivere voverunt, aliquis nisi episcopus deinceps facere præsumat.—Statutum quoque est, ut per totam Angliam in omnibus ecclesiis, et in omnibus diebus dominicis, excommunicatio præfata publicetur ac renovetur,' &c. Ex Epist. Anselm, 278; et Rog. Hoveden.

the vice which before was not known; in such sort that in short time after, that curse was called in again.[1] *Henry VIII.*

And so cursed sodomitry and adultery passed free without punishment, or word spoken against it; where, contrarily, godly matrimony could find no mercy. A. D. 1540.

Virtue punished, vice escapeth.

Now, what reasons and arguments this Anselm sucked out of the court of Rome, to prove the matrimony of priests unlawful, were it not for cumbering the reader with tediousness, here would be showed. Briefly, the chief grounds of all his long disputation in his book entitled, 'Offendiculum Sacerdotum,' between the master and scholar, come to this effect.

The Reasons and Arguments of Anselm against the Marriage of Priests.

Argument: Priests of the old law, during the time of their ministration, abstained from their wives:

Ergo, Priests in the time of the Gospel, who every day minister at the altar, must never have any wives.

Argument: Moses, when he should sanctify the people, going up to the hill, commanded them to sequester themselves from their wives three days:

Ergo, Priests that must be sanctified to the Lord always, ought to live chastely always without wives.

Argument: David, before he should eat of the shew-bread, was asked whether he and his company had been without the company of their wives three days:

Ergo. Priests that be continually attending upon the table and sacraments of the Lord, ought never to have company with any such.

Argument: Uzzah, who put his hand to the ark,[2] was slain therefore, as it is thought, because he lay with his wife the night before:

Ergo, Priests whose hands be always occupied about the Lord's service, must be pure from the company of wife, or any woman.

Argument: Nadab and Abihu, who sacrificed with strange fire, were devoured therefore, because they companied with their wives the same night:

Ergo, Priests and sacrificers must have no wives to company withal.

Argument: The priests of the Gentiles in old time, when they sacrificed to their idols, are said to lie from their wives:

Ergo, Much more the priests that sacrifice to the living God, ought so to do.

Argument: Christ was born of a virgin, Christ lived ever a virgin, and commandeth them that will serve him, to follow him. 'Qui mihi ministrat, me sequatur;' id est, 'Si vis mihi ministrare, me castè vivendo imitare.'[3]

Ergo, Priests that have wives, are not meet to serve him.

The gross Expositions of Anselm upon the words of St. Paul.

Text: 1 Cor. vii. 2. 'Let every man have his own wife, for avoiding of fornication.'

Exposition: 'That is meant and granted of the apostle only to laymen: Hoc solis laicis eum concessisse, nemo ignorat.'

Text: 1 Cor. vii. 9. 'It is better to marry than to burn.'[4]

Exposition: 'It is a lighter fault to marry one lawful wife, than to be consumed with concupiscence of strange women.'[5]

Text: 1 Tim. iii. 2. 'A bishop ought to be unreprovable, the husband of one wife,' &c.[6]

Exposition: 'The apostle here commandeth, that none should presume to be priest, but he who, being a layman before, hath had no more but one wife: and after he be made priest, not to couple himself any more with her, but only to minister to her things necessary for her living,' &c.[7]

(1) Ex Johan. Trevisa. [See Higden's Polychronicon, lib. vii. cap. 13.—Ed.]
(2) 2 Sam. vi. 6, 7. (3) John xii. 26. (4) 'Melius est nubere quam uri.'
(5) 'Melius, id est, levius est legitimæ uxori nubere, quam uri, id est quàm alienarum mulierum concupiscentia consumi.'
(6) 'Oportet esse episcopum irreprehensibilem, unius uxoris virum,' &c.
(7) 'Præcipit apostolus, ne quis ad sacerdotium accedere præsumat, nisi is qui non nisi unicam uxorem laicus habuisset: accepto autem ordine, nunquam ei carnis commixtione se copularet, tantum vitæ necessaria ei subministraret.'

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And finally, after these things thus disputed and alleged, the said Anselm concludeth the matter with this final censure and determination, as followeth:[1] "In that these men (he speaketh of married priests) do put on the holy vestments, or do touch the holy vessels, they do lay violent hands upon Christ. And in that they presume impudently to offer, they do in a manner visibly crucify Christ upon the altar. The ministry of such is read to be a persecution, or rather a crucifying of Christ," &c.

His conclusion or censure.

ANSWER TO ANSELM'S REASONS AGAINST PRIESTS' MARRIAGE.

Lo! here, the mighty reasons, the strong timbered arguments, and the deep divinity, wherewith this Anselm, and all others that draw after his string, go about to impugn the lawfulness of priests' marriage. Because the Israelites, when they should appear before the Lord at mount Sinai, were commanded to keep from their wives three days; and because the priests of the old law in doing their function, as their turn came about, refrained the company of their wives for that present time; ergo, priests of the new law must at no time have any wives, but live always single, &c.

And why might not Anselm as well argue thus: The people of Israel, approaching to the mount, were commanded in like sort to wash their garments: ergo, priests of the new law, who are occupied every day about the altar, ought every day to wash all their garments.

Moses, approaching to the presence of the Lord in the bush, was commanded to put off his shoes: ergo, priests of the new law, who are ever approaching to the presence of their God, should never wear shoes.

Of king David and his company, who but once in all their life did eat of the shew-bread, it was demanded by the high-priest, whether they had kept them from their wives three days before: ergo, kings and the people of the New Testament, who every year eat the bread of the Lord's board, more precious than ever was that "panis propositionis," should abide all their life wifeless and unspoused.

But here Anselm should have considered how by these Scriptures, we are taught not to put away our wives, but wisely to distinguish times, when and how to have them. For, as Solomon teacheth that there is a time for all things, so is there a time to marry, and a time not to marry; a time to resort, a time to withdraw; a time of company, a time of abstinence and prayer, which St. Paul calleth, *πρόσκαιρον*; and as he speaketh of a time of prayer and abstinence, so he speaketh also of a time of resorting together, and addeth the cause why:[2] 'Lest Satan,' saith he, 'tempt you for your incontinency.'

A time for all things.

Special examples break no general orders.

And thus should Anselm, with Solomon and Paul, have considered the order and distinction of times. Oftentimes in Scripture, that is commanded to some, and at some time, which extendeth not to others; and that which for a time is convenient, is not, by-and-by, always convenient: neither that which for a time is forbidden in Scripture, is therefore forbidden for ever: neither ought special

(1) 'Per hoc autem quod sacras vestes induunt, vel sacra vasa tangunt, Christo violenter manus injiciunt. Per hoc autem quod impudenter offerre præsumunt, Christum quodam modo visibiliter in altari crucifigunt. Legitur ministerium eorum Christi persecutio, imo crucifixio appellatur.'

(2) 'Ne tentet vos Satanas propter incontinentiam vestram,' &c. 1 Cor. vii. 5.

examples to break general orders; neither again do extraordinary prohibitions make a universal rule. *Henry VIII.*

They were then commanded to sequester themselves from their wives at the coming of the Lord; not that the coming of the Lord did break wedlock, but his commandment did bind obedience; and therefore obeyed they, because they were commanded. And yet were they not commanded to put away their wives, but only to separate themselves for a time; and that not for months and years, but only for three days: which abstinence also was enjoined them, not in the presence, nor at the appearing of the Lord, but three days before his descending to them on the hill. Whereby it appeareth that the use of their wedlock neither displeased God, being present, nor yet did drive his presence away, when he was come; for he remained there present amongst them, on the hill, forty days notwithstanding. A.D. 1540. Separation of the Israelites from their wives for three days is no argument that priests should never marry.

Furthermore, this time of separation from their wives, as it was expressly commanded to them of God, so was it not long nor tedious, but such as was neither hard for them, nor inconvenient for the time: giving us thereby to understand, how to use separation in wedlock wisely, that is, neither at every time, nor yet too long.

For as they do not well, who never follow the time of St. Paul, called προσκαιρὸν, for abstinence and prayer; so do they worse, who fall into that παρακαιρὸν, whereof St. Paul again giveth us warning: 'Ne tentet vos Satanas per incontinentiam vestram.' But worst of all do they, who so separate their wives clean from them, and so abjure all matrimony, that they fall headlong into the devil's pitfall of fornication and all filthy abomination. And therefore the Lord, foreseeing the peril thereof, said unto the people, "Estote parati in diem tertiam, et ne appropinquetis uxoribus vestris,"[1] &c.; appointing indeed a separation from their wives; but yet, knowing the infirmity of man, he limiteth the time withal, adding, "in diem tertiam," and goeth no further. He saith not, as Anselm said in the council of Winchester,[2] "Jurabunt presbyteri, diaconi, et subdiaconi, uxores suas omnino abjurare, nec ullam deinceps cum iis conversationem habere, sub restrictione censuræ," &c. Separation in wedlock, how it is to be used.

The like order also was taken by the Lord with the priests of the Old Testament, who, although they were enjoined to withdraw themselves from their wives during the time of their priestly service, yet, for avoiding fornication, they were permitted to have their wives notwithstanding. So that both their absenting from their wives served to sanctification, and their resorting again unto them served to avoid adultery and fornication.

But here our priestly prelates will object, that because they be continually conversant about the priestly function, therefore a perpetual sanctification is of them specially required. Whereunto I answer, First: The priestly function of those high priests, sacrificing for the people in the old law, representeth only the function of Christ, the High Priest, sacrificing for the sins of the world, who truly and Objection of the papists. Answer to the objection.

(1) Exod. xix. 15.

(2) Of London, A.D. 1108, judging by the repeated references to a particular council; though the words here quoted have not been met with. See notes on pp. 333 and 339. Gabriel Cossartius is of opinion that we have the statutes of one at least of these councils, namely, that held in 1102, only in an abbreviated form. See the Acta Conciliorum (Par. 1714), tom. vi. col. 1863—Ed.

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only performed that pure chastity in his sanctified body, which the law then in those priests prefigured.

Secondly: Speaking now of the priests of the New Testament (and speaking properly), the Scripture neither knoweth nor admitteth any priest to sacrifice to God for the sins of man, but only the High King and Priest Christ Jesus.

No sacrificer but Christ.

Thirdly: Unto that Priest all others be but servants and ministers; of whom some be apostles, some prophets, some evangelists, some preachers having the gift of utterance, some interpreters and doctors having the gift of understanding, some deacons serving the Lord's board. The office of all whom chiefly consisteth in ministering the word, next in administering the sacraments.

Marriage more convenient for priests of the new law than of the old.

Fourthly: Forasmuch as in these, principally above all others, pureness and sanctification of life is required, as much as, and more too, than was in the priests of the old law, from whom all fornication, adultery, incest, and uncleanness of life ought most to be banished; therefore, in these especially, above the priests of the old law, matrimony and spousage is most requisite and convenient, whosoever he be, who otherwise cannot contain; according to the apostle, saying, "Unusquisque uxorem suam habeat propter fornicationem."[1]

Matrimony no hinderance, but a furtherance to sanctification.

Fifthly: Neither is this matrimony in these, any hinderance to their sanctification before God, but rather furthereth and helpeth their sanctification; forasmuch as where matrimony is not, there commonly reigneth adultery, fornication, and all kinds of filthiness; according to the true saying of Bernard,[2] "Take from the church honourable marriage and the bed undefiled, shalt thou not replenish it with concubinaries, with incestuous persons, Sodomitical vices, and finally with all kinds of beastly filthiness?"

The truth of which saying lacketh no kind of examples for confirmation, if we list here to ransack the lives of these glorious despisers of matrimony, even from Lanfranc, the first ringleader of this dance here in England, with Paulus,[3] monk of Caen, his nephew, whom Matthew Paris misdoubted to be his own son, even to Stephen Gardiner with his gold locks, the author and work-master of these six articles. But to the reasons of Anselm hitherto sufficient; which, of themselves, be so frivolous and gross, that only to recite them is enough to confute the same.

No public law in England against priests' marriage before Lanfranc and Anselm.

Permitting therefore the rest to the discussing of divines, it shall suffice for our purpose, professing here to write stories, to declare and make manifest, by process of times and histories, that this cruel law, compelling ministers of the church to abjure matrimony, entered not into this land before Lanfranc A.D. 1076, and Anselm his successor, as both may appear by the multitude of priests' sons lawfully begotten in matrimony, and succeeding in the churches here in England, testified by the epistle of pope Paschal to Anselm before, and also may appear likewise by the council of Anselm, holden at Winchester,[4] which partly was touched before, and now the full act[5] we have more largely

(1) 1 Cor. vii. 2.

(2) 'Tolle de ecclesia honorabile connubium et torum immaculatum, nonne replebis eam concubinariis, incestuosis, seminifluis, mollibus, masculorum concubitoribus et omni denique genere immundorum?' Bern. Sup. Cant. Serm. vi.

(3) 'Paulus monachus Cadonensis, Archiepis. Lanfranci nepos, imo aliquorum relationibus consanguinitate propinquior.' Matth. Paris.

(4) London (A.D. 1108), not Winchester. See the third note on page 333.—ED.

(5) This act is given, with some variation, by Florentius Wigorniensis in his 'Chronicon ex

expressed, to be read and seen of all posterity, as hereunder may be seen.[1] *Henry VIII.*

And yet this unreasonable statute of Anselm, so diligently defended with sharp censures and penalties, had no such great speed, neither in the lifetime of the said Anselm, nor long after his death; but that divers priests notwithstanding still kept their wives, or after his death they returned to their wives again, through the sufferance of the then famous and learned king, named Henry Beauclerk, who something stayed the importunity of this monkish prelate, and willed the priests should keep both their wives and their churches, as they did before in Lanfranc's days.[2] A. D. 1540. The cruel law of Anselm took no great place.

Then, after Anselm, followed Radulph, archbishop of Canterbury, in whose time was no great stir against the priests that were married. About the time of this archbishop, king Henry I. called a council at London, where he obtained of the spiritualty a grant to have the punishment of married priests (which the spiritualty afterwards did much repent); whereby the priests, paying a certain sum to the king, were suffered to retain their wives still, as is above storied.

Next after this Radulph, then succeeded William Corbeil, surnamed De Turbine, who renewed again the constitution of Anselm against married priests, especially by the help of Johannes, priest, and cardinal of Crema, the pope's legate, sent the same time into England, A.D. 1125. Of which cardinal of Crema, because enough hath been before declared,[3] how, after his stout replying, in the council of London, against the married state of priests, exclaiming what a shameful thing it was to rise from a polluted bed, to make Christ's body, the night following he was † shamefully taken with a notable whore, &c., as is apparent before.

I will therefore pass over that matter, returning again to William

chronicis,' p. 653. edit. Francof. 1601. For 'extra hortum,' upon which there is a marginal explanation in Foxe, given in the tail note *(a)*, Florentius reads 'extra chorum.' The same chronicler inserts A.D. 1108, as the date of this council, and confirms it by naming Thomas as the archbishop of York: Gerard having died in May that year. Florentius makes no reference to Winchester. See the third note on page 333.—Ed.

(1) *The Act against Priests' Marriage, concluded in the Council at Winchester, under Anselm,* A.D. 1104.*a*

Hæc sunt statuta de archidiaconis, presbyteris, et canonicis in quocunque gradu constitutis, quæ Wintoniæ statuerunt Anselmus Archiepiscopus Cantuariensis, et cum eo, Girardus Archiepiscopus Eboracensis, et omnes alii Angliæ episcopi, in præsentia gloriosi regis Henrici, assensu omnium baronum suorum. Statutum est, ut presbyteri et diaconi castè vivant, et fœminas in domibus suis non habeant, præter proxima consanguinitate sibi junctas, secundum hoc quod sancta Nicena Synodus definivit. Illi verò presbyteri, diaconi, sive subdiaconi, qui post interdictum Londinensis concilii fœminas suas tenuerunt, vel alias duxerunt, si elegerint in sacris ordinibus remanere, jurent quod cum eis carnale commercium non habebunt amplius. Statutum est etiam ut prædictæ fœminæ in domo cum eis scienter non conveniant, neque hujusmodi fœminæ in territorio ecclesiæ habitent. Si autem propter aliquam honestam causam eos colloqui oporteat, cum duobus ad minus legitimis testibus extra domum colloquantur. Si vero duobus aut tribus legitimis testibus, vel publica parochianorum fama, aliquis eorum accusatus fuerit, quod hoc statutum transierit, purgabit se adjunctis secum ordinis sui idoneis testibus, sex si presbyter, quinque si diaconus, quatuor si subdiaconus fuerit. Cui autem hæc purgatio defecerit, ut transgressor sacri statuti judicabitur. Illi verò presbyteri, qui divini altaris et sacrorum ordinum contemptores præelegerint cum uxoribus suis habitare, à divino officio remoti, extra hortum *b* ponantur, infames pronunciati. Eadem sententia archidiaconos et canonicos omnes complectitur, et de abjurandis uxoribus, et de vitanda earum conversatione, et restrictione censuræ si statuta transgressi fuerint. Jurabunt et archidiaconi omnes, quod pecuniam non accipient pro toleranda transgressione hujus statuti, neque ullo modo tolerabunt presbyteros uxoratos cantare, vel vicarios habere, et quod ipsi non dissimulabunt per archidiaconatus suos hoc inquirere, et fideliter episcopis suis renunciabunt, et attente, et fidelitèr de exequenda hujus rei vindicta episcopos suos adjuvabunt. Qui verò archidiaconus, vel diaconus hoc jurare noluerit, archidiaconatum vel diaconiam irreparabiliter perdet. Presbyteri vero, qui relictis uxoribus Deo et sacris ordinibus servire elegerunt, quadraginta dies ab officio cessantes, pro se vicarios habebunt, injuncta eis pœnitentia secundum quod episcopis eorum visum fuerit.

Notes upon the Act.

(a) Read, 'Council of London, A.D. 1108,' and for Girardus, 'Thomas.' See Note 5, on the last page (338), and also the third note on page 333.—Ed.

(b) Forte, 'extra hortum' paradisi intelligit.

(2) Ex Epist. Anselm. 77.

(3) Of this cardinal of Crema read before, vol. ii. page 181.

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the archbishop, who with the cardinal legate aforesaid, although he busily occupied himself in reproving the matrimony of priests, insomuch that he would give them no longer respite to put away their wives but from Michaelmas to St. Andrew's day following, yet could he not bring his purpose to pass but that the priests still continued with their wives by the king's leave, as the Saxon story plainly recordeth in these words: "Þiſ bebeòſc Aꝛcebiſcop Þilliam oꝼ Cantꝛebꝛiȝeꝛ. anò ealle þa leoò Biſcopeꝛ ðaðа þæꝛon on Engelonde. anò ne ꝼoꝛꝛtoò nohꝛ ealle ðа boòlaceꝛ. eall heolòon heꝛ piꝛeꝛ be ðæꝛ Kinȝeꝛ leue. ꝛþa ꝛþa hi eaꝛ biòon,"[1] That is to say in English, "This William, archbishop of Canterbury, and the bishops who were in England, did command, and yet all these decrees and biddings stood not: all held their wives by the king's leave, even so as they before did." So hard was this cause to be won, that the archbishop at length gave it over, and left the controversy wholly unto the king.[2] Whereupon he decreed that the priests should remain with their wives still. And so continued they after that, in the time of Theobald after him, of Thomas Becket, Richard Baldwin, Stephen Langton, Richard, Edmund, Boniface, Peckham, and others, during well-near the time, after Anselm, of two hundred years.

The priests kept their wives, contrary to the archbishop's commandment.

And, lest the quarrelling adversaries, being peradventure disposed here to cavil, should object and say that such marriage amongst the spiritual men might be private and secret, but not openly known, nor quietly suffered by any law of this realm: to avoid, therefore, what may be by them objected, I thought it good, and as a thing neither impertinent nor unprofitable to this story, and for the further satisfying of the reader's mind herein, to infer and make known, by good record, not only that the liberty of marriage, amongst spiritual men, hath continued within this realm during the time aforesaid, to wit, two hundred years, or thereabouts, after Anselm; and that not in secret wise, but also openly; and being known, the same to be suffered, and lawfully allowed of, in such sort as both they, their wives, children, and assigns, might inherit and enjoy lands, tenements, and other hereditaments, by way of feoffment, deed of gift, or any other assurance, in such sort, manner, and form, as laymen, their heirs and assigns, at this day lawfully may do: as by divers writings and instruments, showed to us at the writing hereof, by divers men whose names hereafter follow (some to this day remaining fair sealed, some by antiquity and long keeping much worn, and their seals mouldered and wasted), is very evident and manifest to be seen. The copies whereof, being by us truly and faithfully excerpted out of the very originals (being yet extant), we have hereunder inserted.[3]

Priests with wives, how long they continued in England after Anselm.

(1) Chronic. Saxon. (2) An. 25. Henry I.

(3) *Certain Instruments and Evidences of ancient Record, declaring the Marriage of Priests to have stood, in times past, both with ancient Custom, and public Laws of this Realm.*

Carta feoffamenti Wil. de Blund. Mil. facta Stephan. de Saxlingham, Clerico, et Matild. uxori suæ, de terris in Neuton in Com. Norf.

Sciant præsentes et futuri quod ego Williel. de Blunwel, miles, concessi, dedi, et hac præsenti charta mea confirmavi Stephano de Saxlingham, clerico, et Matildæ uxori suæ pro homagiis et servitiis suis et pro sex marcis argenti quas mihi dederunt in gersumam, unam peciam terræ arabilis, quæ jacet in campo de Neuton in cultura, inter messuagium Galfridi Sulyard, et cœmeterium ecclesiæ de Neuton, inter terram Radulphi Malherbe, et terram Joannis de Neuton, et abuttat super regiam stratam versus orientem, et super terram quæ fuit Henrici Popiltele versus occidentem: habendam et tenendam de me et hæredibus meis, illis et hæredibus suis aut quibuscunque dare, legare, vendere vel assignare voluerint, in quocunque statu fuerint, liberè et quietè, in feodo, perpetuè et hæreditariè; reddendo inde annuatim mihi et hæredibus meis duos denarios, scilicet ad festum Sancti Andreæ unum denarium, et ad nativitatem Sancti Joannis Baptistæ unum

Although these instruments and evidences here specified be of themselves evident and plain enough, so that no man can reasonably *Henry VIII.* A.D. 1540.

denarium; et ad scutagium domini regis quando evenit unum obolum tantum et non amplius pro omnibus servitiis, consuetudinibus, sectis curiæ et exactionibus secularibus. Et ego Willielmus de Blunwel et hæredes mei warrantizabimus, acquietabimus, et defendemus prædictam peciam terræ prænominatis Stephano et Matildæ uxori suæ et hæredibus suis aut cuicunque dare, legare, vendere, vel assignare voluerint, contra omnes gentes tam Judæos quam Christianos in perpetuum per præfatum servitium. Et ut hæc mea concessio et donatio rata sit et stabilis in perpetuum, hanc chartam sigillo meo roboravi; his testibus, Radulpho Malherbe, Willielmo de Reynestorp, Joanne de Neuton, Willielmo Canebot, Joanne filio Simonis, Milone le Mech, Radulpho de Kinegham, Willielmo de Champo, Thoma Croce, Andrea Waleys, Willielmo Valiant, et aliis.

This said piece of evidence, called a Deed of Feoffment of Lands, remaineth in the keeping of Thomas Blundevil, of Neuton Flotman, in the county of Norfolk, esq. at this present, to wit, 22 die Novembris, anno reginæ Elizabeth. reginæ decimo, et A.D. 1567; who, I know, will not refuse to show the same to any man that shall desire the sight thereof.

I. *Eleven other Deeds and Instruments of like Antiquity, declaring the same, received of Master John Forde.*

Carta Will. filii Walteri de Ridware facta Joan. de Edinghal clerico, et Matildæ uxori suæ, de terris in Edinghal in Com. Darb.

Sciant omnes præsentes et futuri, quod ego Willicl. filius Walteri, dominus de Ridware Hamstal, concessi et tradidi Joanni filio Galfridi de Edinghal, clerico, et uxori suæ Matildæ filiæ Henrici Colbein, unam dimidiam virgatam terræ in Edinghal, cum omnibus pertinentiis in toftis et croftis, pratis et pasturis in villa et in territorio de Edinghal; illam scilicet quam Thomas Palmer aliquando de me tenuit: habend. et tenend. de me et hæredibus meis, sibi et uxori suæ Matildæ, ad totam vitam eorum liberè, et quietè, benè et pacificè, &c. Et ego vero Willielmus et hæredes mei prædictam dimidiam virgatam terræ cum pertinentiis prædictis Joanni et uxori suæ prædictis ad totam vitam eorum contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus, &c. In hujus concessionis et traditionis robur et testimonium uterque nostrum alterius scripto sigillum suum apposuit; his testibus, Roberto Salvein de Haselour, Andrea Salvein de eadem, Joanne filio Radulphi de Edinghal, Richardo de Ykebrom, Rob. de Fryeford, et aliis.

II. *Another Evidence touching the same, of Lands in the County of Leicester.*

Carta feoffament. Radulphi Wilscarde de Sceyle facta Agneti de Willintona et pueris suis de Will. parsona de Lollinton procreatis.

Sciant præsentes et futuri, quod ego Radulphus filius et hæres Joannis Wilscarde de Sceyle, dedi, et concessi, et hac mea præsenti charta confirmavi Agneti de Willintona unam acram terræ in territorio de majori Sceylæ quæ jacet super le Wovelondis, inter terram monachorum de Merival, extendentem se ad unum caput super foreram monachorum de Merival, et aliud caput versus villam de Sceyle: Habend. et tenend. de me et hæredibus meis vel assignatis et eorum hæredibus, præd. Agnet. de Willintona et pueris suis de Wil. parsona de Lollinton procreatis, videlicet Wil. filio suo primogenito si supervixerit matri suæ, deinde Galfrido fratri ejus, postea Roberto fratri eorum juniori, deinde sororibus eorum si frater superstes non fuerit; ita quidem quod quilibet eorum alteri succedat in dictam terram, cum pertin. licentialiter sine omni recognitione mihi et omnibus meis prædit faciendа: et quod hæred. vel assign. ultimi vel ultimæ possidentis remaneat ulterius in perpetuum, liberè et quietè, benè et in pace, jure perpetuo: Reddendo inde annuatim mihi et hæred. meis vel assignatis meis et eorum hæredibus unum obolum argenti ad pascha, pro omnibus servitiis et exactionibus wardis, maritagiis, releviis legatis tallagiis, et omni modis sectis comitatus, hundredorum, et curiæ meæ, et hæredum meorum et aliorum, et servitiis forinsecis et exigentiis humanis. Ego vero Radulphus et hæredes mei vel assignati et eorum hæredes, totam prædict. terram cum pertinent. præd. Agneti et filiis suis et filiabus, post decessum præd. Agnetis, singulis eorum de dicto parsona genitis uni post alterum successive, et hæred. vel assignatis ultimi vel ultimæ possidentis (ut prædictum est) contra omnes mortales in perpetuum warrantizabimus, acquietabimus, et defendemus. Et ut hæc omnia supradicta rata et inconcussa permaneant in posterum, præsentem chartam sigilli mei impressione corroboravi; his testibus, Willielmo tunc parsona de Stretton, Petro de Vorantisthorp, Richardo et Roberto filiis suis, Henrico filio Richardi clerici de Sceyle, Willicl. filio suo, Joanne filio Radulphi Aky, Wil. clerico de eadem, et multis aliis. [Note, the wife and children of this parson of Lollington being known, might enjoy and inherit according to his deed.]

III. *Another Evidence touching the same.*

Carta Radulphi Wilscarde de Sceyle facta Agneti de Willing. et pueris suis de Wil. parsona de Lollint. procreatis de terris in Sceyle, in Com. Leicest.

Sciant præsentes et futuri, quod ego Radulphus Wilscarde, filius et hæres Joannis Wilscarde de Sceyle, dedi et concessi, et hac mea præsenti charta confirmavi Agneti de Willington, quatuor acras et unam rodam terræ meæ arabilis in campo de majori Sceyle; Quarum una acra jacet super Wodde-Hulles, &c. [et paulo infra:] Habendum et tenendum de me et heredibus meis vel assignatis et eorum hæredibus, prædictis Agneti de Willington et pueris suis de Willicl. parsona de Lollinton procreatis, videlicet Willielmo filio suo primogenito si supervixerit matri suæ, deinde Galfrido fratri ejus, postea Roberto fratri eorum juniori, deinde sororibus eorum si frater superstes non fuerit; ita quidem quòd quilibet eorum alteri succedat in dictam terram cum pertinentiis, licentialiter sine omni recognitione mihi et omnibus meis prædictis faciendo, et quod hæredibus vel assignatis ultimi vel ultimæ possidentis remaneat ulterius in perpetuum, libere et quiete, bene, et in pace jure perpetuo: Reddendo inde annuatim mihi et hæredibus vel assignatis et eorum hæredibus, unum obolum argenti ad pascha, aut unum paralbarum chirothecarum de protio unius oboli apud Sceyle, ad voluntatem solventis, pro omnibus servitiis et exactionibus, wardis, maritagiis, releviis, legatis, tallagiis, et omnimodis sectis comitatus, hundredorum, et curiæ meæ et hæredum meorum et aliorum, et servitiis forinceeis vel exigentiis humanis. Ego vero Radulphus et hæredes mei vel assignati et eorum hæredes, totam prædictam terram cum pertinentiis, prædictæ Agneti et filiis ejus et filiabus, post discessum prædictæ. Agnetis, singulis eorum de dicto parsona genitis, uni post alterum successive, et hæredibus vel assignatis ultimi vel ultimæ possidentis (ut prædictum est) contra omnes mortales in perpetuum warrantizabimus, acquietabimus, et defendemus. Et ut hæc omnia supradicta rata et inconcussa permaneant in posterum præsentem cartam sigilli mei impressione corroboravi: his testibus, Will. tunc parsona de Stretton, Petro de Vorantisthorp, Rich. et Rob. filiis suis. Henr. filio parsonæ de Sceyle, Joanne filio Radulphi Aky, de eadem, Rob. Hasting, Wil. Grym, et aliis.

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object any thing to the contrary; yet, to stop the mouths of all such wranglers and cavillers, who, being satisfied with no truth, will here,

IV. *Another Evidence touching the same.*

Carta Henrici de Apleby facta Henrico de Aldolester clerico et Amiciæ uxori suæ, de terris in territorio de Apleby in Com. Leicest.

Sciant præsentes et futuri, quod ego Henricus filius domini Willielmi de Apleby militis, dedi, concessi, et hac præsenti carta mea confirmavi Henrico de Aldolester clerico et Amiciæ uxori suæ, illud messuagium quod Mattheus Gilbert quondam de me tenuit in parvo Apleby, in longitudine, juxta altam viam: tenendum et habendum de me et hæredibus meis sibi et Amiciæ uxori suæ et eorum hæredibus, et cui vel quibus communibus horis quandocunque dare vel assignare voluerint liberè, quietè, benè, et in pace, &c. Et ego præd. Henricus et hæredes mei prædictum messuagium cum omnibus aisiamentis et pertinentiis suis, præfatis Henrico, et Amiciæ uxori suæ, et eorum hæredibus et assignatis (ut supra scriptum est) contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus et defendemus in perpetuum, &c. Ut hæc omnia subscripta robur obtineant in futuro, huic presenti scripto sigillum meum apposui his testibus, Joanne de Norton, Will. Huelin de Apleby, &c.

V. *Another Evidence touching the same.*

Carta Rogeri Pescher de Apleby facta Hen. de Aldolester clerico et Amiciæ uxori suæ, de terris in territorio de Apleby in Com. Leicest.

Sciant præsentes et futuri, quod ego Roger. Pescher de Apleby dedi, concessi, et hac præsenti carta mea confirmavi Henrico de Aldolester clerico et Amiciæ uxori suæ, viginti buttes terræ arabilis cum pertinentiis suis in territorio de Apleby, quarum tres buttes jacent super Brodelein, &c. et paulo post. Habendum et tenendum prædictis Henrico et Amiciæ uxori suæ et eorum hæredibus et assignatis, cui vel quibus in sanitate, vel in ægritudine, dare, legare, vendere, vel assignare voluerint, liberè, quietè, benè, et hæreditariè in perpetuum, &c. Et ego prædictus Rogerus Pescher et Hæredes mei totam prædictam terram cum pertinentiis suis ubicunque, memoratis Henrico et Amiciæ uxori suæ et eorum hæredibus et assignatis (ut supra scriptum est) contra omnes gentes in calumnias warrantizabimus, et in omnibus per omnia acquietabimus et defendemus in futurum, &c. Ut hæc mea donatio, concessio, et cartæ meæ confirmatio robur obtineat in perpetuum, huic præsenti scripto sigillum meum pro me et hæredibus meis duxi apponendum, fide mediante; his testibus, Willicl. de Meycam, Joanne filio Henr. de Norton, &c.

VI. *Another Evidence touching the same, of Lands in the County of Derby.*

Carta feoffamenti Will. filii & hæred. Will. Mahenmey de Banquel clerici facta. Nic. de Crumford de omnibus terris et tenementis quæ jure hæreditario per Williel. patrem suum habuit.

Sciant præsentes et futuri, quod ego Willielmus filius et hæres quondam Williel. Mahenmey de Banquel clerici, dedi, concessi, et omnino quietum clamavi de me et hæredibus meis in perpetuum Nich. de Crumford, pro quadam summa pecuniæ quam idem Nicolaus mihi præ manibus donavit, omnes terras et tenementa cum gardinis, curtilagiis, burgagiis, et edificiis, et cum omnibus pertinentiis suis in omnibus rebus et locis, sine aliquo retinemento, quæ et quas habui jure hæreditario in feodo de Banquel, per Williel. de Banquel clericum quondam patrem meum: habend. et tenend. ipso Nicolao et hæredibus suis vel assignatis in feodo et hæreditate de capitali domino de Banquel, liberè, benè, quietè, et in pace cum omnibus libertatibus et aisiamentis in omnibus locis et singulis ad prædictas terras et tenementa pertinentibus intra villam de Banquel et extra: Ita quidem quod nec ego Willel. nec hæredes mei, nec aliquis pro me nec nomine nostro, jus vel clameum in prædictis terris et tenementis, gardinis, curtilagiis, burgagiis et edificiis, et omnibus pertinentiis suis de cætero, habere, exigere, vindicare, vel reclamare potero vel poterimus in perpetuum: Faciendo pro prædictis terris et tenementis capitali Domino 7. solidos, 3. denarios et obolum argenti annui redditus ad terminos statutos Paschatis et Sanct. Michaelis. In cujus rei testimonium huic scripto præsenti sigillum meum apposui et munimenta inde eidem Nicolao tradidi; His testibus, Domino Joanne de Osemondiston perpetuo vicario de Banquel, Matthæo de Reynedon, Matthæo Drabill, Elio de Banquel clerico, Richardo de Yollegrave, Roger. filio Yoke, et aliis. [Note, in this, a son of a priest did inherit his father's lands, and sold them, as by this deed appeareth.]

VII. *Another Evidence touching the same.*

Alia charta dicti Wil. Mahenmey facta dicto Nic. de Crumford, de uno capitali messuag. et diversis terris in villa et territorio de Banquel in Com. Darb.

Sciant præsentes et futuri, quod ego Williel. filius et hæres quondam Williel. de Mahenmey de Banquel clerici, dedi, concessi, et hac præsenti carta mea confirmavi de me et hæredib. meis in perpetuum, Nicolao de Crumford pro quadam summa pecuniæ mihi præ manibus data, unum capitale messuagium ædificatum, et unam bovatam terræ, cum prato et omnibus pertinen. suis sine aliquo retinemento, illam videlicet bovatam terræ cum pertinentiis quam Willielmus Mahenmey quondam pater meus habuit et tenuit in villa et territorio de Banquel; et octo acras terræ arabilis et unam particulam prati divisim jacentes in campis de Banquel, &c. Habend. et tenend. ipsi Nicolao et hæredibus suis vel suis assignatis in feodo et hæreditate libere, quietè, benè, et in pace, cum omnibus libertatibus et aisiamentis, in omnibus rebus et locis intra villam de Banquel et extra, ad prædictas terras et tenementa cum pertinentiis pertinentibus, de capitali domino de Banquel, &c. Et ego Williel. et hæredes mei omnes prædictas terras et tenementa cum omnibus pertinentiis suis (ut prædictum est) dicto Nicolao et hæredibus suis vel assign. suis contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus. In cujus rei testimonium præsenti scripto sigillum meum apposui; His testibus domino Joanne de Osemondiston perpetuo vicario de Banquel, Matth. de Reynedo, Matth. Drabil, Elio de Banquel, Richard. de Yollegrave, Rogero filio Yoke de Banquel, et aliis.

VIII. *Another Evidence touching the same.*

Carta Thomæ de Bylleston clerici, et Leticiæ uxori ejus facta Gerardo et Cæciliæ uxori suæ de certis terris in feodo de Banquel in Com. Darb.

Sciant præsentes et futuri, Quod nos Thom. de Billeston clericus, et Leticia uxor mea, dedimus, concessimus, et hac præsenti carta nostra confirmavimus, Gerardo filio Alexandri de Wiston et Cæciliæ uxori suæ, omnia illa burgagia, messuagia, gardina, curtilagia, terras, tenementa, prata et ædificia, seldas cum redditibus, servitiis, pasculs, communis, pasturis, et cæteris omnibus pertinentiis suis in feodo de Banquel, quæ habuimus ex dono et feofamento dicti Gerdi: Habendum

peradventure, take some occasion upon this word 'clericus,' so often-times named in these evidences aforesaid, to object that this word

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et tenendum dictis Gerardo et Cæciliæ uxori suæ ad totam vitam eorundem de nobis et hæredibus nostris liberè, quietè, benè, et in pace, cum omnibus suis pertinentiis; faciendo inde annuatim nobis et hæredibus nostris, prædict. Gerard. et Cæcilia ad totam eorum vitam, unum denarium argenti ad festum Sanct. Michaelis, et faciendo etiam pro nobis et hæredibus nostris capital. Dominis feodi illius servitia inde annuatim debita et consueta. Et nos vero prædicti Thomas et Leticia et nostri hæredes omnia prædicta burgagia messuagia, gardina, curtilagia, terras, tenementa, prata, et æddificia, seldas cum redditibus, servitiis, pascuis, communis, pasturis, et cæteris omnibus pertinentiis suis prædictis Gerardo et Cæciliæ ad totam vitam eorundem contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus. In cujus rei testimonium huic præsenti cartæ nostræ sigilla nostra apposuimus; His testibus, Thoma de Beley, Radulpho Cotterrell, Willielm. de Cromford, Williel. de Gratton, Nic. de Cromford in Banquel, Rad. Brecario in eadem, Rob. de Walley in eadem, et aliis.—[Note, in this evidence, to have and to hold of the priest, his wife, and their heirs during the lives of the feoffers, for a penny of yearly rent.]

IX. *Another Evidence touching the same.*

Universis ad quos præsens scriptum pervenerit Leticia, quæ fuit uxor Thomæ Bylleston, salutem in Domino. Noveritis me in pura viduitate mea concessisse et confirmasse, pro me et hæredibus meis, Gerardo filio Alexandri de Wyston, et Cæciliæ uxori suæ omnes terras et tenementa cum omnibus pertinentiis suis in Banquel, quæ idem Gerardus et Cæcilia uxor ejus habent ex concessione Thomæ de Bylleston quondam viri mei: Habendum et tenendum eisdem Gerardo et Cæciliæ ad totam vitam eorundem de me et hæredibus meis liberè, quietè, cum omnibus pertinentiis suis; faciendo inde mihi et hæredibus meis unum denarium argenti ad festum Sanct. Michaelis, et faciendo inde pro me et hæredibus meis capitalibus Dominis servitia inde annuatim debita et consueta. Et ego præfata Leticia et hæredes mei prædicta tenementa cum pertinentiis prædictis Gerardo et Cæciliæ ad totam vitam eorundem contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus. In cujus rei testimonium præsentibus sigillum meum apposui; His testibus, Robert le Walley, Robert le Taylor, et aliis.

Datum apud Banquel, die Veneris proximo post festum Annunciationis beatæ Mariæ, An. regni regis Edwardi, filii regis, Edwardi, nono.

X. *Another Evidence touching the same.*

Scriptum W. Basket factum Joanni de Bradb. clerico, Aliciæ uxori suæ et hæredibus de corporibus eorum exeuntibus.

Sciant præsentes et futuri, Quod ego Williel. dictus Basket, dedi, concessi, et hac præsenti mea charta confirmavi Johanni de Bradburne clerico et Aliciæ uxori suæ, et hæredibus de corporibus eorum exeuntibus, unam particulam curtilagii mei videlicet, centum pedes in longitudine et triginta in latitudine, cum omnibus pertinentiis et aisiamentis, eidem placeæ pertinentibus: Habendum et tenendum eidem Joanni et Aliciæ et eorum hæredibus legitimè procreatis, liberè, quietè, benè, et in pace in perpetuum: reddendo in deannuatim mihi et hæredibus meis unum florem Rosæ ad festum Nativitat. S. Johannis Baptistæ pro omnibus. Et ego prædictus Willielmus Basket et hæredes mei prædictam placeam cum aisiamentis contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus et contra omnes gentes defendemus. Et si contingat (quòd absit) quòd prædictus Joannes et Alicia sine hæredibus de corporibus eorum legitimè procreatis obierint, prædicta placea sine alicujus contradictione revertat. Et ut hæc mea donatio, concessio, et præsentis cartæ meæ confirmatio rata sit, et stabilis permaneat, huic præsenti cartæ sigillum meum apposui; His testibus, Richardo de Longdun, Robert Brag, Roger. Gerard, Thoma le Plumer, Joanne Glankirion, et aliis. Datum apud Yelgrave in festo S. Joannis ante Portam Latinam. Anno Dom. 1314. [This was dated anno 1314, which was anno regni Edw. II. octavo.]

XI. *Another Evidence touching the same.*

Sciant præsentes et futuri, Quod ego Rogerus le Porter, hæres Aliciæ filiæ Willel. de Downedale de Parva Ridware, dedi, concessi, et hac præsenti carta mea confirmavi, magistro Richard. de Hampton clerico et Margaretæ uxori ejus, et hæredibus vel assignatis prædicti Rich. omnes terras et tenementa mea quæ habeo in diversis locis in feodo de Parva Ridware: Habend. et tenend. omnes prædictas terras et tenementa cum pertinentiis eorum, prædictis Rich. et Margaretæ uxori ejus et hæredibus vel assignatis prædicti Rich. de capitali Domino feodi illius per servitia debita et de jure consueta, liberè, quietè, bene, et in pace in perpetuum. Et ego vero prædictus Rogerus et hæredes mei omnes prædictas terras et tenementa cum omnibus pertinentiis eorum, prædictis Rich., et Margaretæ uxori ejus, et hæredibus vel assignatis prædicti Rich., contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus et defendemus in perpetuum. In cujus rei testimonium huic præsenti cartæ sigillum meum apposui; his testibus Thoma de Pipe, Rich. Julian, Roberto Ka. Edmund. le Walsheman, Williel. le Flecher, et aliis. Datum apud Parvam Ridware, die Lunæ proximo post festum Sancti Gregor. papæ, anno regni regis Edwardi, tertii post Conquestum, 28.—[This was dated anno regni Ed. III. 28, which was anno 1353.]

The originals of these eleven pieces of evidences last recited, I received, in the writing of this story, of a right honest and worshipful gentleman, called Master John Forde, a student of the laws in the Inner Temple; in whose hands I trust (after the finishing of this story) they shall remain to be seen of them that shall desire the same.

I. *The Copies of Seven other Evidences touching the same, received of Master John Hunt.*

Carta feoff. Phil. Poupu de Parva Bradley, fact. Henrico Denardiston clerico et Aliciæ uxori ejus, de terris in Grenecroft, in villa de Parva Bradley in Com. Staff.

Sciant præsentes et futuri, quod ego Philippus Poupu de Parva Bradley, dedi, concessi, et hac præsenti carta mea confirmavi, Henr co de Denardiston clerico et Aliciæ uxori ejus, pro servitiis eorum et pro quadam summa pecuniæ quam mihi dederunt præ manibus in gersumam, unam peciam terræ meæ arabilis cum omnibus pertinentiis, sive habeatur plus sive minus, prout boundæ testantur, in campo vocato Grenecroft, in villa de Parva Bradley, jacentem inter terram meam ex parte una, et terram prædicti Henrici ex parte altera, uno capite abuttante super cœmeterium de Parva Bradley, et alio capite abuttante super terram prædict. Henrici: habend. et tenend. de capitalibus Dominis feodi prædict. Henrico et Aliciæ uxori ejus, hæred. et assignat. dict. Henrici, vel cuicunque vel quibuscunque dictam peciam terræ cum omnibus pertinentiis dare, vendere, legare

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may as well be taken for others as for priests; therefore, to prevent the cavilling objections of such, this shall be briefly to reply there-

Objections concerning the word 'clericus' resolved.

vel assignare voluerint, liberè, quietè, jure, bene, in pace, in perpetuum et hæreditariè: Reddendo inde annuatim capitalibus Dominis feodi servitium inde debitum et consuetum, videlicet unum obolum ad nativitatem beati Joannis Baptistæ pro omnibus servitiis, consuetudinibus, auxiliis, curiarum sectis, et secularibus demandis Et ego prædict. Phil. hæred. et assignati mei warrantizabimus prædictam peciam terræ cum omnibus pertinent. prædictis Henrico et Aliciæ uxori ejus, hæred. et assignat. dict. Henrici, contra omnes gentes in perpetuum. In cujus rei testimonium huic præsenti scripto sigillum meum apposui; His testibus, Petro de Walepol, Richard. de Hanvile, Williel. Wastell, Hugone Wastell, Tho. de Bures, Williel. Picot, Laurentio Picot, Williel. le Heyward, et aliis. ['Gersuma,' in the third line, of the above, signifieth money paid beforehand, which we call a fine.]

II. *Another Evidence touching the same.*

Carta relaxationis Will. Bygod, tunc Domini de Parva Bradley, facta Henrico de Denardiston clerico et Aliciæ uxori ejus, eorum hæredibus.

Omnibus Christi fidelibus, ad quos præsens scriptum pervenerit, Williel. de Bygod salutem in Domino sempiternam. Noverit universitas vestra me dedisse, concessisse, remisisse, ac omnino, tam pro me quam pro hæredibus meis in perpetuum, quietum clamasse Henr. de Denardiston clerico, et Aliciæ uxori ejus, hæred. et assignat. eorum, totum jus et clameum quod habui vel habere potui, aut potero in omnibus redditibus, homagiis, wardis, releviis, eschaetis, libertatibus et omnibus pertin. suis, quæ in aliquo modo seu tempore facere debuerunt vel consueverunt pro terris et tenementis quæ quondam fuerunt Richard. Poupu in villa de Parva Bradley, et in aliis terris et tenementis quæ vel quas prædict. Henr. et Alicia tenent. vel tenuerunt de me seu de feodo meo die confectionis præsentium in prædicta villa de Parva Bradley: Ita quod nec ego Williel. prædict. nec hæred. mei nec aliquis nomine nostro in modo præmissis aliquod juris vel clamei aliquo modo exigere vel vindicare poterimus in perpetuum. In cujus rei testimonium, huic præsenti scripto sigillum meum apposui. His testibus, Joh. Maveysin, Rich. Bercar, Henr. Maveysin, Joh. Bercar, Will. Wastell, Hug. Wastell, Will. Attegrene, Walt. Bercar, et aliis.

III. *Another Evidence touching the same.*

Carta Reginaldi filii Jordani Wethresfield facta Henrico de Denardiston clerico et Aliciæ uxori ejus, de terris in Parva Bradley in Com. Suff.

Sciant præsentes et futuri, quod ego Reginaldus filius Jordani de Wethresfield dedi, concessi, et hac præsenti carta mea confirmavi, Henr. de Denardiston clerico et Aliciæ uxori ejus, pro homagiis et servitiis eorum et pro quadam summa pecuniæ quam mihi dederunt præ manibus in gersumam, unam peciam terræ meæ arabilis cum omnibus suis pertinentiis, sive habeatur plus sive minus, in villa de Parva Bradley, in campo vocato Heldhey, jacentem inter terram Will. de Mampford quondam, et terram Joannis le Rede quondam, ex parte una in longitudine, et terram Richard. de Hanuyle ex altera, et abuttat ad unum caput super terram Joannis le Lumbard, et aliud caput super campum vocatum Crondon, cum sepibus et foveis et omnibus aliis pertinentiis ad dictam terram spectantibus: Habend. et tenend. de me hæredibus et assignatis meis, prædictis Henrico et Aliciæ uxori ejus, hæredibus et assignatis dict. Henrici, vel cuicunque vel quibuscunque dict. Henricus prædictam terram cum omnibus pertinentiis prædict., dare, vendere, vel aliquo modo assignare voluerit, liberè, quietè, jure, bene, in pace, et hæreditace: Reddendo inde annuatim mihi, hæredibus, et assignatis meis, unam rosam ad festum Nativitatis Sancti Joannis Baptistæ pro omnibus servitiis, consuetudinibus, auxiliis, curiarum sectis et secularibus demandis. Et ego prædict. Reginaldus, hæredes, et assignati mei warrantizabimus, acquietabimus et defendemus prædictam terram cum sepibus et foveis et omnibus aliis pertinentiis prædictis Henrico et Aliciæ uxori ejus, hæredibus, et assignat. dict. Henrici per prædict. servitium contra omnes mortales in perpetuum. In cujus rei testimonium, huic præsenti scripto sigillum meum apposui: His testibus, Joanne Maveysin, Petro de Walepol, Richardo de Hanuyle, Richardo Bercar, Henrico Maveysin, Joanne Bercar, Willielmo Wastell, Hugone Wastell, Tho. de Bures, Williel. filio Rogeri, et aliis.

IV. *Another Evidence of the like effect.*

Carta Rich. Hanuyle de Parva Bradley fact. Henrico de Denardiston clerico et Aliciæ uxori ejus, et eorum hæredibus de terris in Parva Bradley in Com. Suff.

Sciant præsentes et futuri, Quod ego Richardus de Hanuyle de Parva Bradley dedi, concessi, et hac præsenti carta mea confirmavi Henr. de Denardiston clerico et Aliciæ uxori ejus unam peciam terræ meæ arabilis, cum omnibus pertinent. in Parva Bradley in campo vocato Mortecroft, pro homagiis et servitiis eorum et pro quadam summa pecuniæ quam mihi dederunt præ manibus in gersumam, jacentem inter terras Williel. de Mampford quondam ex utraque parte, et unum caput abuttat super campum vocat. Wodcroft.: Habendum et tenendum de me, hæred. vel assignatis meis, ipsis, hæred. et assignat. eorum, vel cuicunque vel quibuscunque dict. tenementum cum omnibus pertinentiis dare, vendere, legare, vel assignare voluerint, liberè, quietè, jure, bene, in pace et hæreditariè: Reddendo inde annuatim mihi et hæredibus meis duos denarios ad duos anni terminos, videlicet ad festum Sancti Michaelis unum denarium, et ad Pascha unum denarium pro omnibus servitiis, consuetudinibus, auxiliis, curiæ sectis, et secularibus demandis. Et ego prædict. Richard. hæred. et assignati mei warrantizabimus, acquietabimus et defendemus prædict. tenementum cum omnibus pertinentiis prædictis Henrico et Aliciæ uxori ejus, hæred. et assignat. eorum per prædictum servitium contra omnes mortales in perpetuum. In cujus rei testimonium huic præsenti scripto sigillum meum apposui; His testibus, Petro de Walepol, Williel. Wastell, Hugone Wastell, Rich. Bercar, Hen. Maleysin, Johanne Bercar, Rob. de Ponte, Williel. Picot, et aliis.

V. *Another Evidence touching the same.*

Scriptum Mat. de Raclisde fact. Henrico de Denardiston clerico et Aliciæ uxori ejus, de terris in Parva Bradley in Com. Suff. Dated an. reg. Edw. regis ii. 8. which was an. 1315.

Sciant præsentes et futuri, Quod ego Mattheus de Raclisde dedi, concessi, et hac præsenti carta mea confirmavi, Henrico de Denardiston clerico et Aliciæ uxori ejus, hæred. et assignat. dict. Henrici, unam peciam terræ arabilis cum omnibus suis pertinent. sive habeatur plus sive minus, prout jacet in villa de Parva Bradley, in campo vocato Cronudonbrede inter terram Rich. de Hanuyle ex una parte, et terram dict. Henr. de Denardiston ex alia parte, et unum caput abuttat super viam vocatam Libreddich, et aliud caput super terram Richard. de Hanuyle ante dict.: Habend. et tenend. prædictam peciam terræ cum omnibus suis pertinent. de capitali Domino feodi,

unto: that in the common laws of this realm, in all gifts or feoffments made to any spiritual person (unless he be some graduate of divinity in the schools), the said spiritual person is named by no other term but by the word 'clericus;' as by divers places, as well in the printed books, as in old registers and writings of the lawyers, as well in the common law as statute law, remaineth of record very evident to be seen. Some special notes whereof, as well for the ease of the reader in the search of the same, as also for the further satisfying of some who peradventure shall want the books, I thought good here to exhibit and specify in form and tenor as hereunder followeth.[1]

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et cuicunque vel quibuscunque prædictus Henr. prædictam peciam terræ cum omnibus pertinent. dare, vendere, vel assignare voluerit, liberè, quietè, jure, bene, in pace, hæreditariè in perpetuum: faciendo capitali Domino feodi servitia inde de jure debita et consueto. Et ego prædict. Mattheus et hæredes mei prædictam peciam terræ cum omnibus suis pertinent. (ut prædictum est) prædictis Henr. et Aliciæ hæred. et assignat. dict. Henr., contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus in perpetuum. In cujus rei testimonium huic præsenti cartæ sigillum meum apposui. His testibus, Richardum de Hanuyle, Joanne de Stonham, Joanne Godfrey, Wil. Wastel, Clement de Bures, et aliis. Datum apud Parvam Bradley, die Lunæ in quindena Sancti Michaelis, an. regni regis Edwardi filii regis Edwardi, octavo.

VI. Another Evidence touching the same.

Scriptum Rich. de Loverhal de Parva Bradley, factum Henrico de Denardiston clerico et Aliciæ uxori ejus, de terris in Parva Bradley prædicta.

Sciant præsentes et futuri, quod ego Richardus de Loverhal de Parva Bradley dedi, concessi, et hac præsenti carta mea confirmavi Henr. de Denardiston clerico et Aliciæ uxori ejus, et hæred. dict. Henr. unam peciam terræ meæ arabilis, sive habent plus sive minus, prout jacet in villa de Parva Bradley in campo vocato Peterfeld, inter terram Henr. Cosin ex una parte, et terram Thom. Bercar ex alia parte, uno capite abuttante super croftam Williel. Attegrene, et alio capite super le Overhall mede: Habend. et tenend. dictam peciam terræ cum omnibus pertinent. de capitali Domino feodi præd. Henr. et Aliciæ et hæred. dict. Henr. et cuicunque et quibuscunque dictam peciam terræ dare, vendere, vel assignare voluerint, liberè, quietè, jure, bene, in pace, hæreditariè, in feodo et in perpetuum: faciendo eidem capitali Domino feodi servitia inde de jure debita et consueta. Et ego præd. Richard. et hæred. mei prædict. peciam terræ præd. Henr. et Aliciæ et hæredib. dict. Henr. et suis assignat. contra omnes gentes warrantizabimus in perpetuum. In cujus rei testimonium huic præsenti cartæ sigillum meum apposui. His testibus, Richard. de Hanuyle, Johan. de Stonham, Wil. Attegrene, Roberto Petipas, Wil. Aleyne, et aliis. Datum apud Parvam Bradley, die Dominica proxima post festum Pasch. An. regis Edw. filii regis Edw. 10.—[This deed seemeth by the date, to be made an. r. Edw. R. II. 10. an. 1317, which was about 200 years after Anselm.]

VII. Another Evidence touching the like matter.

Scriptum Clementis de Clopton factum Joanni de Cowling clerico et Basiliæ uxori ejus, de terris in Cowling in Suff. Dated regni Ed. regis ii. 13, which was an. 1320.

Sciant præsentes et futuri, Quod ego Clemens de Cloptone concessi, dedi, et hac præsenti carta mea confirmavi, Joan. de Bosco de Coulynge clerico, et Basiliæ uxori ejus et hæredibus præd. Joannis, tres acras terræ cum omnibus suis pertinent. in Coulynge, sive sit ibi majus sive minus, prout simul jacent inter terram domini Robert. de Aspal ex parte una, et terram quondam Joan. le Pogeys ex alia, uno capite abuttante super viam communem, et alio super terram quandam prædict. Joan. Pogeys: Habend. et tenend. prædict. tres acras terræ cum omnibus suis pertinent. prædict. Joanni et Basiliæ et hæred. præd. Joannis de capitalibus dominis feodi illius per servitia inde debita et de jure consueta. Et ego prædict. Clemens et hæredes mei prædicto Joanni et Basiliæ et hæred. præd. Joannis totam prædictam terram cum omnibus suis pertinentiis contra omnes gentes in perpetuum warrantizabimus. In cujus rei testimonium, huic præsenti chartæ sigillum meum apposui; His testibus, Thoma de Caldebek, Rich. Farewel, Joan. de Schelford, Roberto Godfrey, Rogero le Porter, et Williel. le Panner. Datum apud Coulynge die Dominica proxima post festum sancti Lucæ Evangelistæ. Anno regni regis Edwardi, filii regis Edwardi, tertio decimo.

All the originals of these seven several pieces of evidences, the true copies whereof are here before inserted, and last recited, at this present, to wit, this 23d of November, A.D. 1575, are in the custody, and do remain among the evidences and writings, of John Hunt of Esse, alias Ashen, in the county of Essex, esquire, and are pertaining and belonging to his manor of Overhall, alias Parva Bradley aforesaid, in the county of Suffolk. In whose hands they are easily at this present, and long time, I trust, after the writing of this history, shall remain to be seen of good record, if any man either be desirous of the sight thereof, or doubtful of the truth of the same.

(1) *Certain Notes how this word 'Clericus' is taken in the Law Books.*

Si clericus aliquis pro reatu vel crimine aliquo, quod ad coronam pertineat, arestatus fuerit, et postmodo per præceptum Domini Regis in ballium traditus, vel replegintus extiterit, ita quod hi quibus traditus fuerit in ballium eum habeant coram justiciariis; non amercienter de cætero illi quibus traditus fuerit in ballium, nec alii plegii sui, si corpus suum habeant coram justiciariis, licet coram eis propter privilegium clericale respondere noluerit, vel non potuerit propter ordinarios suos.—In Stat. de Marlbridge, an. 52 H. iii. c. 27.

Another Note.

Rex et antecessores sui, à tempore cujus, contrarii memoria non existit, usi sunt, quod clerici suis immorantes obsequiis, dum obsequiis illis intenderint, ad residentiam in suis beneficiis faciendam minime compellantur, nec debet dici tendere in præjudicium ecclesiasticæ libertatis quod pro rege et republica necessarium invenitur.—Artic. Cleri. 9 E. ii. in fine. c. 8.

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But what need many arguments for the proof hereof? The statutes and law-books of this realm are very full of them in divers and many places, besides the precedents for the form of giving of benefices, whereof none are capable but such as are spiritual men, and of the clergy; wherein they are not called or termed by any other title or term in the Latin tongue, than 'clerici,' for the most part; not in the king's own grant, or the lord chancellor's, or any other subjects of his, as very well appeareth both by divers old written precedents which have been showed unto me, and also by the forms of presentations, collected and set forth for the instruction of such as are ignorant, or not very perfect in the order of them, in a printed book, called 'The Book of sundry Instruments.'[1]

Clericus, in the law, ever taken for a priest.

Thus I doubt not, loving reader, but by these so plain evidences above prefixed, thou hast sufficiently to understand, that this violent restraint of priests' lawful marriage, within this realm of England, is of no such long reach and antiquity, as hath been thought by many, and all by reason of ignorance of histories, and course of times. So that briefly, as in a summary table, to comprehend the whole effect hereof:

Priests' marriage, how and when it began to be excluded.

First, about the year of our Lord 944, the profession of single life, and displacing of marriage, began to come into example here in England by reason of St. Benedict's monks, who then began to increase; and also about the time of king Edgar, especially by the means of Oswald, archbishop of York, Odo and Dunstan, archbishops of Canterbury, and Ethelwold, bishop of Winchester: so that in divers cathedral churches and bishops' sees, monks, with their professed singleness of life, crept in, and married ministers (who were then called secular priests), with their wives, out of sundry churches were dispossessed, not from wives, but only from their places: and yet not in all churches, but only in certain, whereof read before.

Not long after that, about the time of pope Nicholas II., A.D. 1059, of Alexander, and Hildebrand, came into the see of Canterbury another monk, called Lanfranc, who also, being a promoter of this professed chastity, made the decree more general, that all prebendaries being married, in any churches, should be displaced; yet the priests

Another Note.

Clericus ad ecclesiam confugiens pro felonia, pro immunitate ecclesiastica obtinenda, si asserit se esse clericum, regnum non compellatur abjurare, sed legi regni se reddens gaudebit ecclesiastica libertate, juxta laudabilem consuetudinem regni hactenus usitatam.—In eisdem Articulis in fine, c. 15.

Another Note.

Appellanti in forma debita, tanquam clerico per ordinarium petito libertatis ecclesiasticæ beneficium non negabitur.—In cap. 16.

In the statute entitled 'Articuli Cleri,' made only for the benefit of the clergy, anno regni Edwardi Reg. ii. nono, are divers notes to like effect.

(1) In this form, in the said book, the words in the king's grant be these:

'Rex reverendissimo in Christo, &c. Ad ecclesiam parochialem de N. vestræ diocæsis modo per mortem ultimi incumbentis ibidem vacantem, et ad nostram donationem pleno jure spectantem, dilectum capellanum nostrum A. B. clericum, intuitu charitatis vobis præsentamus, et mandamus uti dictum A. capellanum nostrum ad præfatam ecclesiam admittere, eumque rectorem ejusdem instituere, cum suis juribus,' &c.

But if the presentation be from a knight, an esquire, or a gentleman, then these words, 'capellanum nostrum,' are always left out, as in the said book appeareth in this sort:

'Reverendo in Christo Patri, &c. A. B. de N. ad ecclesiam de N. prædictam vestræ diocæsis modo per mortem T. D. ultimi incumbentis ibidem vacantem, et ad meam præsentationem pleno jure spectantem, dilectum mihi in Christo Jacobum P. clericum vestræ paternitati præsento, humiliter rogans quatenus præfatum J. ad dictam ecclesiam admittere, ipsumque, in rectorem ejusdem ecclesiæ institui et induci facere velitis cum suis juribus et pertinentiis universis,' &c. As in the said book is more at large to be seen or perused.

in towns and villages should not be compelled to leave their married wives, unless they would. *Henry VIII.*

Last of all followed monkish Anselm, A.D. 1104; by whom was made this law at Winchester aforesaid,[1] that priests, arch-deacons, deacons and sub-deacons, who had wives and spiritual living, should be put from them both; and also that none after should be admitted to their orders, but should first profess single life, that is, to live without wives. And thus much concerning priests' marriage forbidden. A.D. 1540

Let us add moreover to these evidences above rehearsed, for more confirmation of the ancient use and liberty of priests' marriage, another testimony or two out of like ancient records, with like plain words declaring unto us, how the matrimony of priests, before the time of Lanfranc aforesaid, was no strange example in the church. And first we will infer the words of an old martyrology pertaining to the records of Canterbury. The words of which martyrology be these:[2]

'Lanfrancus archiep. reddidit ecclesiæ sancti Andreæ, quia de jure ipsius ecclesiæ antiquitus fuerunt, in Sutherge, Murtilac; Londoniæ, monasterium sanctæ Mariæ cum terris et domibus, quas Livingus presbyter et uxor illius Londoniæ habuerunt.'

To this also may be adjoined another of like antiquity, out of an old written history belonging to the church of St. Asaph, after the time of Lanfranc, as followeth:

'De clerico uxorato receptante publicè forbonizatum[3] scienter, ut possit contra ipsum probari, nobis videtur quod tenetur respondere in foro ecclesiastico. Si vero facit residentiam in terra principis, et contingat ipsum mulctari, tota mulcta sua principi debetur. Si vero residentiam in terra episcopi facit, mulcta dividatur inter episcopum et principem. Si vero uxor alicujus talis scienter vel volenter in ejus absentia receptaverit, mulier in foro ecclesiastico respondeat, et clericus ratione sui facti non puniatur, nec pro ea (nisi velit) respondere cogatur.'[4]

Neither is the testimony of Mantuanus[5] unworthy also hereunto to be added, writing in the Life of Hilary, bishop of Poictiers, as followeth.

'Integritas vitæ, legum prudentia, cultus
Cœlicolum, tutela inopum, diadema pedumque
Pictaviense tibi, dum nil mortalia curas,
Dum vivis tibi, sorte tua contentus, ab omni
Ambitione procul, populo applaudente tulerunt.
Non nocuit tibi progenies, non obstitit uxor
Legitimo conjuncta toro; non horruit illa
Tempestate Deus thalamos, cunabula, tædas.
Sola erat in pretio, quæ nunc incognita virtus
Sordet, et attrito vivit cum plebe cucullo.
Propterea leges, quæ sunt connubia contra,
Esse malas quidam perhibent. Prudentia patrum
Non satis advertit, dicunt, quid ferre recuset,

(1) Not Winchester A.D. 1104, but London A.D. 1108. See notes on pp. 333, 338, 339.—Ed.
(2) See a correction of this passage by Foxe, page 358.—Ed.
(3) 'Forbonizatum' is a Saxon term, and signifieth as much as a man outlawed.
(4) Anno Domini 1261. Ex antiq. libro Asaph. manuscripto.
(5) Baptista Mantuanus, who flourished towards the end of the 15th century. His works were collected in 4 vols. Antverpiæ, 1576, and the poetical portion of them has supplied numerous testimonies to the Protestant controversial writers, as to the avarice and corruption of the papal church, both in its head and members. He died general of the Carmelite order, in 1516: 'Poeta eximius, et theologus non incelebris.' Cave: Script. Eccles. Hist. Literaria, tom. ii. p. 238 (Sæc. Reform.) —Ed.

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Quid valeat natura pati. Cervicibus, aiunt,
Hoc insuave jugum nostris imponere Christus
Noluit; istud onus quod adhuc quam plurima monstra
Fecit, ab audaci, dicunt, pietate repertum.
Tutius esse volunt, qua lex divina sinebat
Isse via, veterumque sequi vestigia patrum;
Quorum vita fuit melior cum conjuge, quam nunc
Nostra sit exclusis thalamis et conjugis usu.'

THE SIXTH ARTICLE; TOUCHING AURICULAR CONFESSION.

Three kinds of confession.

Of confession, three kinds we find in the Scriptures expressed and approved. The first is our confession privately or publicly made unto God alone; and this confession is necessary for all men at all times. Wherefore St. John speaketh, "If we confess our sins, he is faithful to forgive," &c.[1]

The second is the confession which is openly made in the face of the congregation. And this confession, also, hath place when any such thing is committed, whereof riseth a public offence and slander to the church of God; as examples there be of penitentiaries in the primitive church, as Melchiades and others, &c.

Private confession to our brother.

The third kind of confession is that which we make privately to our brother. And this confession is requisite, when either we have injured or by any way damnified our neighbour, whether he be rich or poor; whereof speaketh the gospel, "Go and reconcile thyself first unto thy neighbour,"[2] &c. Also St. James, "Confess yourselves one to another,"[3] &c. Or else this confession may also have place, when any such thing lieth in our conscience, in the opening whereof we stand in need of the counsel and comfort of some faithful brother. But herein must we use discretion in avoiding these points of blind superstition: first, that we put therein no necessity for remission of our sins, but that we use therein our own voluntary discretion, according as we see it expedient for the better satisfying of our troubled mind. The second is, that we be not bound to any enumeration of our sins. The third, that we tie not ourselves to any one person, more than to another, but that we use therein our free choice, who we think can give us the best spiritual counsel in the Lord.

Certain points of superstition to be avoided in private confession.

But as there is nothing in the church so good and so ghostly, which, through peevish superstition either hath not, or may not be perverted, so this confession, also, hath not lacked its abuses. First, the secret confession to God alone, as it hath been counted insufficient, so hath it been but lightly esteemed by many. The public confession to the congregation hath been turned to a standing in a sheet, or else hath been bought out for money. Furthermore, the secret breaking of a man's mind to some faithful or spiritual brother, in disclosing his infirmity or temptations, for counsel and godly comfort, hath been turned into auricular confession in a priest's ear, for assoiling of his sins. In which auricular confession, first, of the free liberty of the penitent in uttering his griefs, they have made a mere necessity, and that unto salvation and remission of sins. Secondly, they require withal an enumeration and a full recital of all sins whatsoever, both great and small. Also besides the necessity of this ear-confession,

Four or five abuses in auricular confession.

(1) 1 John i. 9. (2) Matt. v. 24. (3) James v. 16.

they add thereto a prescription of time, at least once in the year, for all men, whether they repent or no, to be confessed; making, moreover, of the same a sacrament. And lastly, whereas before it stood in the voluntary choice of a man, to open his heart to what spiritual brother he thought best, for an easement of his grief, and for ghostly consolation, they bind him to a priest (unless some friar come by the way to be his ghostly father), to whom he must needs confess all, whatsoever he hath done; and though he lack the key of knowledge, and, peradventure, of good discretion, yet none must have power to assoil him, but he, through the authority of his keys. *Henry VIII.* A.D. 1540.

And this manner of confession, they say, was instituted by Christ and his apostles, and hath been used in the church ever since to this present day: which is a most manifest untruth, and easy by stories to be convinced.

For Socrates, lib. v. c. 19, and Zozimus, lib. vii. c. 16, in the Book of Ecclesiastical History, do give us plainly to understand, that this auricular confession never came of Christ, but only of men.

Item, In the time of Tertullian, Beatus Rhenanus testifieth,[1] that there was no mention made of this auricular confession: which may well be gathered hereof, for that Tertullian, writing upon repentance, maketh no mention at all thereof.

Item, In the time of Chrysostome,[2] it appeareth there was no such assoiling at the priest's hands, by these words, where he saith, "I require thee not that thou shouldest confess thy sins to thy fellow-servant. Tell them unto God, who careth for them."

Item, The said Chrysostome, in another place, writing upon repentance and confession, "Let the examination of thy sins and thy judgment," saith he, "be secret and close without witness; let God only see and hear thy confession," &c.

Item, In the time of Ambrose,[3] the gloss of the pope's own decrees reporteth, that "this institution of penance was not then begun, which now, in our days, is in use."

Item, It is truly said, therefore, of the gloss in another place, where he testifieth[4] that "this institution of penance began rather of some tradition of the universal church, than of any authority of the New Testament, or of the Old," &c.

The like also testifieth Erasmus,[5] writing upon Jerome, in these words, "Apparet Hieronymi tempore nondum institutam fuisse," &c.; that is, "It appeareth that in the time of Jerome, this secret confession of sins was not yet ordained, which the church afterwards did institute wholesomely, if our priests and laymen would use it rightly. But herein, divines, not considering advisedly what the old doctors do say, are much deceived. That which they say of general and open confession, they wrest, by and by, to this privy and secret kind of confession, which is far diverse, and of another sort," &c.

The like testimony may also be taken of Gratian[6] himself, who, speaking of confession used then in his time, leaveth the matter in

(1) Page 434, in his edition of Tertullian's works; folio, Basil. 1521.—Ed.

(2) Chrys. on Ps. 30, Hom. 1. [This extract, which is not quite accurately translated, is placed amongst the 'Spuria' in Mountfaucon's edition, tom. v. p. 716, Paris, 1835.—Ed.]

(3) De Pœn. dist. 1. 'Petrus,' in Glossa. [Decret. Gratiani, Par. 1612. col. 1811.—Ed.]

(4) De Pœn. dist. In principio.

(5) Eras. in Schol. in Epitaphium Fabiolæ. [Opera Omnia (fol. Ludg. 1703), tom. vi. p. 701.—Ed.]

(6) Gratian de Pœnit. dist. 1. 'Quamvis.' [Decret. Gratiani, col. 1869.—Ed.]

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doubtful suspense, neither pronouncing on the one side nor on the other, but referreth the matter to the free judgment of the readers, which the Act of these Six Articles here enjoineth as necessary, under pain of death.

First institution of auricular confession.

Briefly, in few words to search out and notify the very certain time when this article of ear-confession first crept into the church, and what antiquity it hath, in following the judgment of Johannes Scotus and of Antoninus, it may well be supposed that the institution thereof took its first origin by pope Innocent III., in his council of Lateran, A.D. 1215; for so we read in Johannes Scotus:[1] "Præcipua autem specificatio hujus præcepti invenitur in illo capite, Extrav. de pœnit. et remiss. 'Omnis utriusque sexus,'" &c. And after, in the same article, it followeth, "Nam ex prima institutione ecclesiæ non videntur fuisse distincti proprii sacerdotes. Quando enim apostoli hinc et inde ibant prædicando verbum Dei," &c. By which words it appeareth that there was no institution of any such confession specified before the constitution of pope Innocent III.

Constitution of Innocent III. touching auricular confession.

But more plainly the same may appear by the words of Antoninus.[2] "Pope Innocent III., in his general council aforesaid, touching the sacraments of confession and the communion, made this constitution, as followeth: 'That every faithful person, both man and woman, after they come to the years of discretion, shall confess all their sins by themselves alone, at least once a year, to their own ordinary priest; and shall endeavour to fulfil, by their own strength, their penance to them enjoined; &c. 'or else, who so doth not, shall neither have entrance into the church, being alive, nor, being dead, shall enjoy christian burial. Wherefore this wholesome constitution we will to be published often in the churches, lest any men through the blindness of ignorance, may make to themselves a cloak of excuse,'" &c. And thus much hitherto we have alleged, by occasion incident, of these six articles, for some part of confutation of the same, referring the reader, for the rest, to the more exquisite tractation of divines, who professedly write upon those matters.

In the mean time, forasmuch as there is extant in Latin a certain learned epistle of Philip Melancthon, written to king Henry VIII., against these six wicked articles above specified, I thought not to defraud the reader of the fruit thereof, for his better understanding and instruction. The tenor and effect of his epistle translated into English thus followeth:

The Copy of Philip Melancthon's fruitful Epistle, sent to King Henry, against the cruel Act of the Six Articles.

Most famous and noble prince! there were certain emperors of Rome, as Adrian, Pius, and afterwards the two brethren, Verus and Marcus, who did receive gently the apologies and defences of the Christians; which so prevailed with those moderate princes, that they assuaged their wrath against the Christians, and obtained mitigation of their cruel decrees: even so, forasmuch as there is a decree set forth of late in your realm, against that doctrine which we

(1) Lib. iv. Sent. Dist. 17, artic. 3.

(2) 'Innocentius tertius' in concilio generali præfato, circa sacramenta confessionis et communionis sic statuit,' &c.: 'Omnis, utriusque sexus fidelis, postquam ad annum discretionis pervenerit, omnia peccata sua solus saltem semel in anno, confiteatur proprio sacerdoti, et injunctam sibi pœnitentiam propriis pro viribus studeat adimplere,' &c.: alioquin et vivens ab ingressu ecclesiæ arceatur, et moriens Christiana careat sepultura. Unde hoc salutare statutum frequenter in ecclesiis publicetur, ne quisquam ignorantiæ cœcitate velamen excusationis assumat,' &c. Antoninus, Part iii. Hist. tit. 19. [fol. Ludg, 1586, tom. iii. p. 95.—ED.]

profess as both godly and necessary for the church, I beseech your most honourable majesty favourably both to read and consider this our complaint; especially seeing I have not only for our own cause, but much rather for the common safeguard of the church, directed this my writing unto you. For, seeing those heathen princes did both admit and allow the defences of the Christians, how much more is it beseeming for a king of christian profession, and such a one as is occupied in the studies of holy histories, to hear the complaints and admonitions of the godly in the church? And so much the more willingly I write unto you, for that you have so favourably heretofore received my letters with a singular declaration of your[1] benevolence towards me. This also giveth me some hope, that you will not unwillingly read these things, forasmuch as I see that the very phrase and manner of writing do plainly declare, not yourself, but only the bishops to be the authors of those articles and decrees there set forth: albeit, through their wily and subtle sophistications, they have induced you (as it happened to many other worthy princes besides you) to condescend and assent unto them; as the rulers persuaded Darius, being otherwise a wise and just prince, to cast Daniel unto the lions.[2]

It was never unseemly for a good prince to correct and reform cruel and rigorous laws, to have (as it is commonly said), a second view and oversight of things before passed and decreed.

Example of the Athenians revoking their decree.

The wise Athenians made a decree, when the city of Mitylene was recovered (which before had forsaken them), that all the citizens there should be slain, and the city utterly destroyed: whereupon there was a ship sent forth with the same commandment to the army. On the next morrow, the matter was brought again before the same judges, and, after better advice taken, there was a contrary decree made, that the whole multitude should not be put to the sword, but a few of the chiefest authors of their rebellion should be punished, and the city saved. There was, therefore, another ship sent forth with a countermand in all haste to overtake and prevent their former ship, as also it happened: neither was that noble city, which then ruled and reigned far and wide, ashamed to alter and reform their former decree. Many such examples there be, the most part whereof I am sure are well known unto you. But in the church especially, princes have many times altered and reformed their decrees, as Nebuchadnezzar and Darius. There was a decree set forth in the name of Ahasuerus, concerning the killing of the Jews;[3] that decree was afterwards called in again. So did Adrian and Antoninus, also, correct and reform their decrees.

Mitigation of the six articles desired.

Therefore, although there be a decree set forth in England, which threateneth strange punishments and penalties, disagreeing from the custom of the true church, and swerving from the rules and canons thereof; yet I thought it not unseemly for us to become petitioners unto you, for the mitigation of these your sharp and severe proceedings; which, when I consider it, grieve my mind, not only for the peril and danger of them that profess the same doctrine that we do, but, also, I do lament for your cause, that they should make you an instrument and a minister of their bloody tyranny and impiety. And partly, also, I lament to see the course of christian doctrine perverted, superstitious rites confirmed, whoredom and lecherous lusts maintained.

Latimer, Cromer, Shaxton, and others imprisoned. The bishops pretend outward obedience to the king, but their hearts be with the pope.

Besides all this, I hear of divers good men, excelling both in doctrine and virtue, to be there detained in prison, as Latimer, Cromer, Shaxton, and others, to whom I wish strength, patience, and consolation in the Lord. Unto whom, albeit there can nothing happen more luckily or more gloriously, than to give their lives in the confession of the manifest truth and verity; yet would I wish that you should not distain your hands with the blood of such men; neither would I wish such lanthorns of light in your church to be extinguished; neither these spiteful and malicious Pharisees, the enemies of Christ, to have their wills so much fulfilled. Neither again would I wish that you should so much serve the will and desire of that Romish Antichrist, who laugheth in his sleeve to see you now to take part with him against us, hoping well, by the help of his bishops, to recover again his former possession, which of late, by your virtues and godly means, he lost. He seeth your bishops, for the time, loyal unto you,

(1) He meaneth here the king's liberal reward sent to him before in money, by Master J. Hales, which money he then distributed among the ministers and learned men of Wittenberg.

(2) Dan. vi. 16.

(3) Esther viii. 10, 11.

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and obsequious to obey your will; but, in heart, he seeth them linked unto him, in a perpetual bond of fidelity and obedience... In all these feats and practices the Romish bishops are not to seek. They see what great storms and blasts heretofore they have passed by bearing and suffering: they see that great things be brought to pass in time; neither do they forget the old verse of the poet:

'Multa dies variusque labor mutabilis ævi
Retulit in melius.'

Many good and learned men in Germany conceived of you great hope, that, by your authority and example, other princes also would be provoked to surcease, likewise, from their unjust cruelty, and better to advise themselves for the reformation of errors crept into the church; trusting that you would be as a guide and captain of that godly purpose and enterprise. But now, seeing these your contrary proceedings, we are utterly discouraged; the indignation of other princes is confirmed; the stubbornness of the wicked is augmented; and old and great errors are thereby established.

The bishops maintain errors against their knowledge.

But here your bishops will say again, no doubt, that they defend no errors, but the very truth of God's holy word. And although they be not ignorant that they strive in very deed both against the true word of God, and the apostolic church, yet, like crafty sophisters, they can find out fair glosses, pretending a goodly show outwardly, to colour their errors and abuses.

And this sophistication not only now in England is had in great admiration, and esteemed for great wisdom; neither in Rome only reigneth, where the cardinals Contarini, Sadolet, and cardinal Pole, go about to paint out abuses with new colours and goodly glosses; but also in Germany, divers noblemen are likewise corrupted and seduced with the like sophistication: and therefore, I nothing marvel that so many there, with you, be deceived with these crafty jugglings. And although you, for your part, lack neither learning nor judgment, yet sometimes we see it so happen, that wise men also be carried away, by fair and colourable persuasions, from the verity. The saying of Simonides is praiseworthy: 'Opinion,' saith he, 'many times perverteth verity. And many times false opinion hath outwardly a fairer show than simple truth; and especially it so happeneth in cases of religion, where the devil transformeth himself into an angel of light, setting forth, with all colourable and goodly shows, false opinions. How fair seemeth the gloss of Samosatenus, upon the gospel of St. John, 'In the beginning was the word, &c., and yet is it full of impiety.' But I omit foreign examples.

Faisehood oftentimes beareth a fairer show than truth.

Confession.

In these articles of yours, how many things are craftily and deceitfully devised! 'Confession,' saith the article, 'is necessary, and ought to be retained.' And why say they not plainly, that the rehearsing and numbering up of sins, is necessary by God's word? This the bishops knew well to be very false, and therefore, in the article, they placed their words generally, to blear the eyes of the simple people; that when they hear confession to be necessary, they should thereby think the enumeration of sins to be necessary by God's word.

Private masses.

The like legerdemain, also, they use in the article of private masses, albeit the beginning of the said article containeth a manifest untruth, where they say that it is necessary to retain private masses. What man in all the primitive church, more than four hundred years after the apostles' time, did ever so say or think, at what time there were no such private masses used? But afterwards, in the process of the article, follow other blind sophistications, to make the people believe that they should receive by them divine consolations and benefits. And why do they not plainly declare what consolations and benefits those be? The bishops here do name no application[1] and merit, for they know that they cannot be defended. Yet they dally, with glossing words, whereby they wind out and escape, if any should improve their application. And yet, notwithstanding, they would have this their application to be understood and believed of the people. They would have this idolatrous persuasion confirmed, to wit, that this sacrifice doth merit unto others remission 'à pœna et culpa;' release of all calamities, and also gain and lucre in common traffic; and, to conclude, whatsoever else the careful heart of man doth desire.

(1) By application of masses is meant, when the passion and merits of Christ are applied to any by the virtue of the mass.

The like sophistication they use also, where they say that priests' marriage is against the law of God. They are not ignorant what St. Paul saith, 'A bishop ought to be the husband of one wife:'[1] and therefore they know right well that marriage is permitted to priests by the law of God. But, because now they say, they have made a vow, they go craftily to work, and do not say that priests for their vows' sake cannot marry, but plainly give out the article after this sort: that marriage of priests is utterly against the law of God. Again, what impudency and tyranny do they show moreover, when they compel marriages to be dissolved, and command those to be put to death, who will not put away their wives, and renounce their matrimony? whereas the vow of priests, if it had any force at all, should extend no further, but only to put them from the ministry, if they would marry. And this, no doubt, is the true meaning of the councils and canons.

Priests' marriage.

O cursed bishops! O impudent and wicked Winchester! who, under these colourable fetches, thinkest to deceive the eyes of Christ, and the judgments of all the godly in the whole world. These things have I written, that you may understand the crafty sleights, and so judge of the purpose and policy, of these bishops. For if they would simply and heartily search for the truth, they would not use these crafty collusions and deceitful jugglings.

Winchester's cunning in the art of juggling, called 'Deceptio visus.'

This sophistication, as it is in all other affairs pernicious and odious, so, above all things, most specially it is to be avoided in matters of religion; wherein it is a heinous impiety to corrupt or pervert the pure word of God. And hereof the devil, who is called Diabolus, specially taketh his name, because he wresteth the word of God out of men's hearts by such false juggling and sophistical cavillations. And why do not these bishops, as well, plainly utter and confess, that they will abide no reformation of doctrine and religion in the church, for that it shall make against their dignity, pomp, and pleasure? Why do not their adherents also, and such as take their part, plainly say that they will retain still this present state of the church, for their own profit, tranquillity, and maintenance? Thus to confess, were true and plain dealing.

The word of God ought simply to be handled without all sophistry.

Now, while they pretend, hypocritically, a false zeal and love to the truth and sincere religion, they come in with their blind sophistications, wherewith they cover their errors. For their articles set forth in this act be erroneous, false, and impious, how glorious soever they seem outwardly. Wherefore it were to be wished, that these bishops would remember God's terrible threatening in the prophet Isaiah: 'Wo to you,' saith he, 'which make wicked laws! What will you do in the day of visitation and calamity to come?'[2] &c. 'Wo unto you that call evil good,'[3] &c.

Cloaked hypocrisy of false papists.

Now, to come more near to the matter which we have in hand, this cannot be denied, but that long and horrible darkness hath been in the church of Christ. Men's traditions not only have been a yoke to good men's consciences, but also (which is much worse) they have been reputed for God's holy service, to the great disworship of God. There were vows, things bequeathed to churches, diversity of garments, choice of meats, long babbling prayers, pardons, image-worship, manifest idolatry committed to saints, the true worship of God, and true good works not known. Briefly, little difference there was betwixt the christian and heathen religion, as still is yet at Rome to this present day to be seen. The true doctrine of repentance, of remission of sins which cometh by the faith of Christ, of justification, of faith, of the difference between the law and the gospel, of the right use of the sacraments, was hid and unknown. The keys were abused to the maintenance of the pope's usurped tyranny. Ceremonies of men's invention were much preferred before civil obedience and duties done in the commonwealth.

Man's traditions counted for God's service.

Unto these errors, moreover, was joined a corrupt life, full of all lecherous and filthy lusts, by reason of the law forbidding priests to marry. Out of this miserable darkness, God something hath begun to deliver his church, through the restoring again of true doctrine. For so we must needs acknowledge, that these so great and long festered errors have not been disclosed and brought to light by the industry of man; but this light of the gospel is only the gift of God, who now again hath appeared unto the church. For so doth the Holy Ghost prophesy before, how in the latter times the godly should sustain sore

Filthy life of the clergy for lack of marriage.

This restoring of the gospel is only of God.

(1) 1 Tim. iii. 2 (2) Isaiah x. 1—3 (3) Ibid. v. 20.

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and perilous conflicts with antichrist, foreshowing that he should come, environed with a mighty and strong army of bishops, hypocrites, and princes; that he should fight against the truth, and slay the godly.

And that now all these things are so come to pass it is most evident, and cannot be denied. The tyranny of the bishop of Rome hath partly brought errors into the church, partly hath confirmed them, and now maintaineth the same with force and violence, as Daniel well foreshowed; and much we rejoice to see you divided from him, hoping and trusting well, that the church of England would now flourish. But your bishops be not divided from the Romish Antichrist: his idolatry, errors, and vices they defend and maintain with tooth and nail; for the articles now passed are craftily picked out. They confirm all human traditions, in that they establish solemn vows, single life, and auricular confession. They uphold and advance not only their pride and authority, but all errors withal, in retaining the private mass.

By the six articles, all errors and traditions are maintained.

Thus have they craftily provided that no reformation can take any place, that their dignity and wealth may still be upholden. And this to be the purpose of the bishops, experience itself doth plainly teach us. Now what man will not lament to see the glory of Christ thus to be defaced? for, as I said before, this matter concerneth not only these articles which be there enacted, but all other articles of sound doctrine are likewise overthrown, if such traditions of men shall be reputed as necessary, and to be retained. For why doth Christ say, 'For they worship me in vain with the precepts of men?'[1] or why doth St. Paul so oft detest men's traditions?

God will not be worshipped but after his word.

It is no light offence to set up new kinds of worshipping and serving of God without his word, or to defend the same: such presumption God doth horribly detest, who will be known in his Word only. He will have none other religions invented by man's device; for else all sorts of religions, of all nations, might be approved and allowed. 'Lean not,' saith he, 'to thine own wisdom,'[2] But he sent Christ, and commanded us to hear him, and not the invention of subtle and politic heads, that apply religion to their own lucre and commodity.

Against private masses and the canon of the mass.

Furthermore, private masses, vows, the single life of priests, numbering up of sins to the priest, with other things more, being but mere ordinances of men, are used for God's true service and worship. For although the supper of the Lord was truly instituted by Christ, yet the private mass is a wicked profanation of the Lord's supper: for in the canon, what a corruption is contained in this, where it is said, that Christ is offered, and that the work itself is a sacrifice, which redeemeth the quick and the dead? These things were never ordained of Christ; yea manifold ways they are repugnant to the gospel. Christ willeth not himself to be offered up of priests, neither can the work of the offerer, or of the receiver, by any means be a sacrifice. This is manifest idolatry, and overthroweth the true doctrine of faith, and the true use of the sacraments. By faith in Christ we are justified, and not by any work of the priests. And the supper is ordained that the minister should distribute to others, to the intent that they, repenting for their sins, should be admonished firmly to believe the promises of the gospel to pertain unto them. Here is set a plain testimony before us, that we are made the members of Christ, and washed by his blood. And this is the true use of that supper which is ordained in the gospel, and was observed in the primitive church three hundred years and more, from which we ought not to be removed: for it is plain impiety to transfer the Lord's institution to any other use, as we are taught by the second commandment. Wherefore these private masses, forasmuch as they swerve from the right institution of Christ manifold ways, as by oblation, sacrifice, application, and many other ways besides, they are not to be retained, but to be abolished. 'Flee,' saith St. Paul, 'from all idolatry.'[3] In these private masses much idolatry is committed, which we see our bishops now so stoutly to defend; and no marvel: for, in the latter times, the Scripture plainly showeth that great idolatry shall reign in the church of God; as Christ himself also signifieth, saying, 'When ye shall see the abomination of desolation, which is foretold of the prophet Daniel, standing in the holy place, he that readeth, let him understand.'[4] And Daniel saith,[5] 'And he shall worship the God Mauzzim

Christ but once offered.

True use of the Lord's supper.

Sacraments ought not to be removed out of their right use.

(1) Mark vii. 7. (2) Prov. iii. 5. (3) 1 Cor. x. 14 (4) Matt. xxiv. 15. (5) Dan. xi. 38.

in his place, and shall adore the God whom his fathers knew not, with gold, silver, and precious stones.' Both these places do speak of the mass.

This kind of worship and horrible profanation of the sacrament, God abhorreth: for how many and sundry kinds of manifest impiety are here committed in this one action of the mass? First, it is set forth to sale. Secondly, they that are unworthy are compelled to receive, whether they will or no. Thirdly, it is applied as meritorious and satisfactory for the quick and the dead. Fourthly, many things are promised thereby, as prosperous navigation, remedies against diseases both for man and beast, with infinite others more. These be most manifest and notorious abominations. But besides these, there be others, also, no less to be reprehended, which the simple people do not so plainly see. Such worshipping and serving of God is not to be set up after the fantasy of man.

What impiety is in the mass.

Wherefore they do wickedly, when they offer sacrifice to God without his commandment: for when of this work they make a sacrifice, they imagine that private masses are to be done, because God would be worshipped after this sort. And we see that masses are bought with gold and silver, great riches, and sumptuous charges: also that the sacrament is carried about in gold and silver to be worshipped; whereas the sacrament was never ordained for any such purpose. Wherefore, seeing the commandment of God biddeth to flee from idolatry, private masses are not to be maintained. And I marvel that they say that such private masses are necessary to be retained, when it is evident that, in the old time, there were none such. Shall we think that things pertaining to the necessary worship of God, could so long be lacking in the primitive church, three hundred years after the apostles and more? What can be more absurd and against all reason?

No private masses used in the old time.

We see these private masses to be defended with great labour and much ado: of some, for fear lest their gain should decay; of some, because they would serve the affection of the vulgar people (who think to have great succour thereby, and therefore are loath to leave it), rather than for any just cause or reason to leave them. But, howsoever they do, a most manifest and evident cause there is, why these private masses ought to be abolished. For first, their application undoubtedly is wicked; neither doth the work of the priest merit any grace to any person, but every one is justified by his own faith. Neither again would God have any man to trust upon any ceremony, but only to the benefit of Christ: and most certain it is, that the application of these masses for the dead, is full of great error and impiety.

But here come in blind glosses (albeit to no purpose) to excuse this application. For universally, among all the people, who is he that thinketh otherwise, but that this work is available for the whole church? yea the canon of the mass itself declareth no less. And why then do some of these crafty sophisters dally out the matter with their glossing words, denying that they make any application of their masses, when they know full well, that the error of the people is confirmed by this their doing; although they themselves do think otherwise? Albeit, how few be there, in very deed, who do otherwise think?

Application of the mass idolatrous.

The old institution of Christ is not to be altered by new inventions

We ought not to dissemble in God's matters. Let us use them as the holy Scripture teacheth, and as the ancient custom of the primitive church doth lead us. Why should any man be so presumptuous as to swerve from ancient custom? Why now do they defend the errors of others who have perverted the institution of Christ?

Now, although some perhaps will pretend and say, that he maketh no application of his masses, yet, notwithstanding, he so dealeth in handling the ceremony privately by himself, that he thinketh this his oblation to be high service done to God, and such as God requireth: which is also erroneous and to be reproved. For why? No service or worship pertaining unto God ought to be set up by man's device, without the commandment of God.

Wherefore, I beseech you, for the glory of Christ, that you will not defend the article of this act concerning these private masses, but that you will suffer the matter to be well examined by virtuous and learned men. All things that we here with us do, we do them by evident and substantial testimony of the primitive church; which testimony I dare be bold to set against the judgments of all that have since followed, such as have corrupted the ancient doctrine and old rites, with manifold errors.

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As touching the other articles, they have no need of any long disputation. Vows that be wicked, feigned, and impossible, are not to be kept. There is no doubt but this is the common persuasion of all men touching vows, that all these will-works devised by man, are the true service and worship of God; and so think they, also, who speak most indifferently of them. Others add thereunto more gross errors, saying, that these works bring with them perfection, and merit everlasting life. Now all these opinions the Scripture in many places doth reprove. Christ saith, 'They worship me in vain with the precepts of men;'[1] and Paul saith,[2] that these observations be the doctrine of devils, for they ascribe to the power and strength of man false honour, because they are taken for the service of God: they obscure faith and the true worshipping of God. Item, the said Paul to the Colossians saith, 'Let no man deceive you by feigned humility,' &c. 'Why make you decrees,'[3] &c.? Wherefore these corrupt traditions of men are indeed a wicked and detestable service of God.

Against vows of priests' single life.

Common error concerning vows.

Unto these also are annexed many other corrupt and wicked abuses. The whole order of monkery, what superstition doth it contain! What profanations of masses, invocations of saints, colours and fashions of apparel, choice of meats, superstitious prayers without all measure! of which causes every one were sufficient, why these vows ought to be broken. Besides this, a great part of men are drawn to this kind of life chiefly for the belly's sake, and then, afterwards, they pretend the holiness of their vow and profession.

Causes why vows ought to be broken.

Furthermore, this vow of single life is not to all men possible to be kept, as Christ himself saith, 'All men do not receive this.'[4] Such vows, therefore, which without sin cannot be performed, are to be undone: but these things I have discussed sufficiently in other of my works.

But this causeth me much to marvel, that this vow of priests, in your English decree, is more strait and hard than is the vow of monks, whereas the canons themselves do bind a priest no further to single life, but only for the time that he remaineth in the ministry. And certainly it made my heart to tremble, when I read this article which so forbiddeth matrimony, and dissolveth the same, being contracted, and appointeth, moreover, the punishment of death for the same. Although there have been divers godly priests, who, in certain places, have been put to death for their marriage, yet hath never man hitherto been so bold as to establish any such law. For every man in a manner well perceived, that all well disposed and reasonable persons would abhor that cruelty; and also they feared lest posterity would think evil thereof. Who would ever think that in the church of Christ, wherein all lenity toward the godly ought most principally to be showed, such cruelties and tyranny could take place, to set forth bloody laws, to be executed upon the godly for lawful matrimony?

The six articles make the vow of priests as straight as the vow of monks; contrary to their own law.

No law of death for priests' marriage, before these articles.

'But they brake their vows,' will the bishops say: first, as I said, that vow ought not to stand, seeing it is turned to a false worship of God, and is impossible to be kept. Again, although it stood in force, yet it should not extend to them that forsake the ministry. Finally, if the bishops, here, would have a care and regard to men's consciences, they should then ordain priests without any such profession or vow-making; as appeareth by the old canons, how that many were admitted to the ministry without professing of any vow; and the same afterwards, when they had married their wives, remained in the ministry, as is testified in the Distinctions.[5]

Why priests' vows ought not to stand.

Certainly, of what I may here complain, I cannot tell. First, in this article I cannot impute it to ignorance, which they do; for no man is ignorant of the commandment of God, which saith, 'Let every man have his wife, for avoiding of fornication.' Again, who is so blind but he seeth what a life these unmarried priests do live? The complaints of good men are well known. The filthiness of the wicked is too, too manifest. But, peradventure, your bishops, holding with the sect of epicures, do think God is not offended with filthy lusts: which if they so think, then do we sustain doubtless a hard cause, where such must be judges.

Bishops restrain priests' marriage, against all reason and excuse.

I am not ignorant that this single life is very fit to set out the glory and bravery of bishops, and colleges of priests, and to maintain their wealth and

(1) Mark vii. 7. (2) 1 Tim. iv. 1. (3) Colos. ii. 18—20.
(4) Matt. xix. 12. (5) Cap. 'Diaconi.' Dist. 28.

portly state; and this I suppose to be the cause why some do abhor so much that priests should be married. But, O lamentable state of the church! if laws should be so forced to serve, not the verity and the will of God, but the private gain and commodity of men! They err who think it lawful for them to make laws repugnant to the commandment of God, and to the law of nature, so that they be profitable to attain wealth and riches. And, of truth, from my very heart I do mourn and lament, right noble prince, both for your sake, and also for the cause of Christ's church. You pretend to impugn and gainstand the tyranny of the Romish bishop, and truly do call him Antichrist, as indeed he is; and, in the mean time, you defend and maintain those laws of that Romish Antichrist, which be the strength and sinews of all his power, as private masses, single life of priests, and other superstitions. You threaten horrible punishments to good men, and to the members of Christ; you violently oppress and bear down the verity of the gospel, beginning to shine in your churches. This is not to abolish Antichrist, but to establish him.

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Unjust laws serving to the lucre of men against the glory of God.

I beseech you, therefore, for our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye defile not your conscience in defending those articles which your bishops have devised and set forth, touching private masses, auricular confession, vows, single life of priests, and prohibition of the one half of the sacrament. It is no light offence to establish idolatry, errors, cruelty, the filthy lusts of Antichrist. If the Roman bishop should now call a council, what other articles chiefly would he devise and publish unto the world, but the very same which your bishops have here enacted?

Understand and consider, I pray you, the subtle trains and deceits of the devil, who is wont first to set upon, and assail, the chief governors. And as he is the enemy of Christ from the beginning of the world, so his chiefest purpose is, by all crafty and subtle means, to work contumely against Christ, by sparsing abroad wicked opinions, and setting up idolatry; and also in polluting mankind with bloody murders and fleshly lusts: in the working whereof he abuseth the policies and wits of hypocrites, also the power and strength of mighty princes; as stories of all times bear witness, what great kingdoms and empires have set themselves, with all might and main, against the poor church of Christ.

Subtlety of Satan in abusing the power of princes to maintain his kingdom.

And yet, notwithstanding, God hath reserved some good princes at all times out of the great multitude of such giants, and hath brought them to his church, to embrace true doctrine, and to defend his true worship; as Abraham taught Abimelech, Joseph the Egyptian kings: and after them came David, Jehoshaphat, Hezekiah, Josiah, excelling in true godliness. Daniel converted to the knowledge of God, the kings of Chaldea and Persia: also Brittany brought forth unto the world the godly prince Constantine. In this number I wish you rather to be, than amongst the enemies of Christ, defiled with idolatry, and spotted with the blood of the godly; of whom God will take punishment, as he doth many times forewarn, and many examples do teach.

Example of good princes.

Yet again therefore, I pray and beseech you, for our Lord Jesus Christ, that you will correct and mitigate this decree of the bishops; in doing which you shall advance the glory of Christ, and provide as well for the wealth of your own soul, as for the safeguard of your churches.

Let the hearty desires of so many godly men through the whole world move you, so earnestly wishing that some good kings would extend their authority to the true reformation of the church of God, to the abolishing of all idolatrous worship, and the furthering of the course of the gospel. Regard also, and consider, I beseech you, those godly persons[1] who are with you in bands for the gospel's sake, being the true members of Christ.

And if that cruel decree be not altered, the bishops will never cease to rage against the church of Christ, without mercy or pity: for them the devil useth as instruments and ministers of his fury and malice against Christ. These he stirreth up to slay and kill the members of Christ: whose wicked and cruel proceedings, and subtle sophistications, that you will not prefer before our true and most righteous request, all the godly most humbly and heartily do pray and beseech you. Which if they shall obtain, no doubt but God shall recompense to you great rewards for your piety; and your excellent virtue shall be renowned both by pen and voice of all the godly, while the world standeth. For Christ shall judge all them that shall deserve either well or evil of his

The devil's instruments by whom he worketh.

(1) He meaneth Shaxton, Latimer, Cromer, and others.

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church: and while letters shall remain, the memorial worthy of such noble deserts shall never die or be forgotten with the posterity to come. And seeing we seek the glory of Christ, and that our churches are the churches of Christ, there shall never be wanting such as both shall defend the righteous cause, and magnify, with due commendation, such as have well deserved, and likewise shall condemn the unjust cruelty of the enemies.

Christ goeth about hungry, thirsty, naked, imprisoned, complaining of the raging fury of the bishops, and of the wrongful oppression and cruelty of divers kings and princes, entreating that the members of his body be not rent in pieces, but that true churches may be defended, and his gospel advanced. This request of Christ to hear, to receive, and to embrace, is the office of a godly king, and service most acceptable unto God.

Livingus, priest, and his wife.

Treating a little before, of certain old instruments for proof of priests' lawful marriage in times past, I gave a little touch of a certain record taken out of an old martyrology of the church of Canterbury, touching Livingus a priest, and his wife, in the time of Lanfranc: wherein I touched, also, of certain lands and houses restored again by the said Lanfranc to the church of St. Andrew. Now, forasmuch as the perfect note thereof is more fully come to my hands; and partly considering the restoring of the said lands to be to Christ's church in Canterbury, and not to St. Andrew's in Rochester; and, also, for that I have found some other precedents approving the lawful marriage of priests, and legitimation of their children, I thought good, for the more full satisfying of the reader, to enter the same, as followeth:

A Note out of an old Martyrology of Canterbury.

Obiit Gulielmus rex Anglorum, &c. Hic reddidit ecclesiæ Christi omnes fere terras, &c.: that is, After the death of William king of England, the said Lanfranc restored again to Christ's church in Canterbury all the lands which from ancient memory unto these latter days have been taken away from the right of the said church. The names of which lands be these: in Kent, Reculver, Sandwich, Richborow, Wootton, the abbey of Lyming, with the lands and customs unto the same monastery belonging, Saltwood, &c. (Stoke and Denentum, because they belonged of old time to the church of St. Andrew, them he restored to the same church), in Surrey, Mortlake; the abbey of St. Mary in London, with the lands and houses which Livingus, priest, and his wife, had in London. All these Lanfranc restored again for the health of his own soul, freely, and without money, &c.[1]

A Note, for the Legitimation of Priests' Children.

A deacon taketh a wife, hath issue and dieth: the issue adjudged not a bastard.

Note, that in the nineteenth year of this king, in an assize at Warwick, before sir Guy Fairfax, and sir John Vavasour, it was found, by verdict, that the father of the tenant had taken the order of deacon, and after married a wife, and had issue; the tenant died, and the issue of the tenant did enter. Upon whom the plaintiff did enter, as next heir collateral to the father of the tenant; Upon whom he did re-enter, &c.; and, for difficulty, the justices did adjourn the assize. And it was debated in the exchequer chamber: 'If the tenant shall be a bastard,' &c. And here, by advice, it was adjudged that he shall not be a bastard, &c. Frowick, chief justice, said to me, in the nineteenth year of Henry the Seventh, in the Common Place, that he was of counsel in this matter, and that it was adjudged as before; which Vavasour did grant. And Frowick said, that if a priest marry a wife, and hath issue and dieth, his issue shall inherit; for that the espousals be not void, but voidable. 'Vavasour: If a man take a nun to wife, this espousal is void.'[2]

Frowick's opinion that the issue of a priest shall inherit.

(1) Ex Archivis Eccl. Cant. (2) Ex Termino Michael. anno 21, Hen. VII. fol. 30, p. 2.

Note that in the latter impression of Henry the Seventh's "Years of the Law," this word "priest," in this case aforesaid, in some books is left out; whether of purpose or by negligence, I leave it to the reader to judge.[1] *Henry VIII* A.D. 1540.

Concerning these six articles passed in this act aforesaid, in the 21st year of this king Henry VIII., sufficiently hitherto hath been declared; first, what these articles were: secondly, by whom, and from whom they chiefly proceeded: thirdly, how erroneous, pernicious, repugnant, and contrarious to true doctrine, christian religion, and the word of God, to nature also itself, all reason and honesty, and finally to the ancient laws, customs, and examples of our fore-elders, during the days of a thousand years after Christ they were. Fourthly, ye have heard also what unreasonable and extreme penalty was set upon the same, that a man may deem these laws to be written not with the ink of Stephen Gardiner, but with the blood of a dragon, or rather the claws of the devil; the breach whereof was made no less than treason and felony, and no less punishment assigned thereto than death. The penalty of the six articles declared. Draconis leges sanguine scriptæ.

Besides all this, the words of the act were so curious and subtle, that no man could speak, write, or cipher against them, without present danger; yea, scarcely a man might speak any word of Christ and his religion, but he was in peril of these six articles. Over and besides, the papists began so finely to interpret the act, that they spared not to indite men for abusing their countenance and behaviour in the church: so great was the power of darkness in those days. And thus much concerning this act. Potestas tenebrarum.

AN ACT AGAINST FORNICATION OF PRIESTS.

Besides these six articles in this aforesaid act concluded, there was also another constitution annexed withal, not without the advice (as may seem) of the lord Cromwell, which was this: that priests and An act against fornication of unmarried priests.

(1) *Another Note, for Legitimation of Priests' Children.*

Ad curiam generalem D. Philippi et D. Mariæ Dei gratia, &c. xvi. die Julii, anno reg. dict. regis et reginæ, primo et tertio irrotulatur sic. Præsentatum est per totum homagium quod Simon Heynes[a] clericus diu ante istam curiam, vid. per duos annos jam elapsos, fuit seisitus secundum consuetudinem hujus manerii in Dominico suo ut de feodo, de et in 2. arabilis terræ parcellis de xxxv. acris et dimid. terræ, nuper in tenura Johannis Heynes. Ac de et in uno tenemento vocato Bernardes, nuper in tenura Johannis Cotton. Ac de et in lvii. acris et ii. rodis terræ et pasturæ, sive plus sive minus, prout jacent in campis de Myldenhal prædicta in diversis peciis, ut patet in curia hic tenta die Jovis proximo post festum Sancti Lucæ Evangelistæ, an. regni regis Henrici viii. xxxviii. Nec non de et in xii. acris terræ nativæ jacentibus in Townefield et Twamelfield in diversis peciis. Ac de et in quatuor acris et dimidio terræ jacent. in Myldenhal præd. Ac de et in quinque rodis terræ jacent. in Halywelfield. Quapropter præmissa idem Simon nuper habuit ex sursum redditione Willielmi Heynes, prout patet in curia hic tenta die Martis proximo post dominicam in Albis an. reg. regis Ed. vi. primo. Et sic seisitus idem Simon de omnibus supradict. præmissis, inde obiit solus seisitus. Et quod Joseph Heynes est filius et hæres ejus propinquior, et modo ætatis quinque annorum et amplius.[b] Qui quidem Joseph præsens hic in curia in propria persona sua petit se admitti ad omnia supradict. præmissa tanquam ad jus et hæred. suam. Et D. rex. et de regina ex gratia sua speciali, per Clementem Heigham militem Seneschallum suum, concesserunt ei inde seisinam tenend. sibi, hæred. et assignat. ejus, per virgam ad voluntatem dict. D. regis et D. reginæ secundum consuetudinem hujus manerii, per servitia et redditus inde debita, &c. Salvo jure, &c. Et dat. Dom. regi et D. reginæ v. li. de fine pro ingressu suo habendo, et fidelitas inde respectuatur quousque, &c. Et ulterius consideratum est per curiam quod dict. Joseph est infra ætatem ut præfertur. Ideo determinatum est et concessum est per consensum curiæ quod Johanna Heynes nuper uxor præd. Simonis, ac mater præd. Joseph habebit custodiam ejusdem Joseph, quousque idem Joseph pervenerit ad suam legitimam ætatem.

(a) Note that this Simon Heynes, a doctor and priest, is not called otherwise here in form of law than 'clericus,' as in the evidences before other priests are called.

(b) Note that the opinion of Frowick hath alway been taken to be law, as may appear by this president that passed before sir Clement Heigham being learned in the law, and chief baron of the exchequer in the time of the late queen Mary.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1540. ministers of the church, seeing now they would needs themselves be bound from all matrimony, should therefore, by law, be likewise bound to such honesty and continency of life, that carnally they should use and accustom no manner of woman, married or single, by way of advoutry, or fornication; the breach whereof for the first time, was to forfeit goods, and to suffer imprisonment at the king's pleasure: and for the second time, being duly convicted, it was made felony, as the others were.

In this constitution, if the lord Cromwell, and other good men of the parliament, might have had their will, there is no doubt but the first crime of these concubinary priests, as well as the second, had had the same penalty as the other six articles had, and should have been punished with death. But Stephen Gardiner, with his fellow bishops, who then ruled all the roast, so boasted this extraordinary article with their accustomed shifts, that if they were taken and duly convicted for their not 'castè,' nor 'cautè,' at first time it was but forfeit of goods. Also, for the second conviction or attainder they so provided that, the next year following, that punishment and pain of death, by act of parliament was clean wiped away and repealed. And why so? "Because," saith the statute,[1] "that punishment by pain of death is very sore, and much extreme; therefore it pleaseth the king, with the assent of the lords, that that clause above written, concerning felony, and pains of death, and other penalties and forfeitures, for and upon the first and second conviction or attainder of any priest or woman for any such offences aforesaid, shall be from henceforth void, and of none effect," &c. So that by this statute it was provided, for all such votaries as lived in whoredom and adultery, for the first offence to lose his goods, and all his spiritual promotions, except one; for the second, to forfeit all that he had to the king; for the third conviction, to sustain continual imprisonment.

The act qualified, and after what manner.

In these ungodly proceedings of the pope's catholic clergy, two things we have to note.

The manifest impiety of the pope's doctrine disclosed.

First, The horrible impiety of their doctrine, directly fighting against the express authority of God and his word, forasmuch as that which God permitteth, they restrain; that which he bids they forbid. "Habeat," saith he; "non habeat," say they; taking exceptions against the word of the Lord. That which he calleth honourable and undefiled, they call heresy; that which he commandeth and instituteth, they punish with pains of death. Not only the priests that marry, but them also that say or cipher that a priest may marry, at the first they kill as felons; neither can any "miserere" take place for chaste and lawful wedlock; whereas, contrariwise, a spiritual man may thrice defile his neighbour's wife, or thrice, his brother's daughter, and no felony at all be laid to his charge. What is this in plain words to say, but that it is less sin thrice to commit advoutry, than once to marry?

Dilemma against votaries that will not marry.

The second to be noted is, how these painted hypocrites do bewray their false dissembled dealings unawares, with whom a man might thus reason. Tell us, you priests and votaries! who so precisely flee the state of matrimony, intend you to live chaste, and are you able so to do without wives? Do you keep yourselves chaste and

(1) Stat. an. 22. Reg. Hen. 8. cap. 10.

honest without them, and without burning, or not? If you be not able, why then marry you not? why take you not the remedy appointed of God? why make you those vows, which you cannot perform? or why do you not break them being made, falling thereby in danger of breaking God's commandment, for keeping your own? If you be able, and so do intend, to continue an honest and a continent conversation without wives, then shall I ask of you according as Dr. Turner gravely and truly layeth to your charge: "Why do you so carefully provide a remedy by your laws beforehand, for a mischief to come, which you may avoid if you list? unless either ye listed not to stand, though you might; or else saw your own infirmity, that you could not, though ye would: and therefore, fearing your own weak fragility, you provide wisely for yourselves aforehand, that, where others shall suffer pains of death at the first for well doing, you may fall thrice in abominable adultery, and yet, by the law, have your lives pardoned."

Henry VIII. A.D. 1540.

Turner hunting the Romish fox.

And here cometh out your own hypocrisy, by yourselves bewrayed; for whereas you all confess, that you are able to live chaste if ye will, without wives, this moderation of the law, provided before against your adulterous incontinency, plainly declareth that either ye purpose willingly to fall, or, at least, ye fear and stand in doubt not to be able to stand. And why then do you so confidently take such vows upon you, standing in such doubt and fear for the performance thereof?

The papists bewray their hypocrisy.

And be it to you admitted, that all do not fall, but that some keep their vow, though some viciously run to other men's wives and daughters: then herein again I ask you, seeing these vicious whore-hunters and adulterous persons among you do live viciously (as you cannot deny), and may do otherwise, if they list, as you confess: what punishment then are they worthy to have, who may live continent, and will not, neither yet will take the remedy provided by God, but refuse it? Which being so, then what iniquity is this in you, or, rather, impiety inexcusable against God and man, to procure a moderation of laws for such, and to show such compassion and clemency to these so heinous adulterers, whore-hunters, and beastly fornicators, that, if they adulterate other men's wives ever so oft, yet there is no death for them; and to show no compassion at all, nor to find out any moderation for such, but at the very first to kill them as felons and heretics, who honestly do marry in the fear of God, or once say, that a priest may marry? How can ye here be excused, O you children of iniquity? What reason is in your doing, or what truth in your doctrine, or what fear of God in your hearts? You that neither are able to avoid burning and pollution without wedlock, nor yet will receive that remedy that the Lord hath given you, how will you stand in his face, when he shall reveal your operations and cogitations to your perpetual confusion, unless by time ye convert and repent? And thus, being ashamed of your execrable doings, I cease to defile my pen any further in this so stinking matter of yours, leaving you to the Lord.

The impiety of the papists inexcusable.

It was declared before, that what time these six articles were in hand in the parliament house, Cranmer, then being archbishop of

Read before.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1540. Canterbury only, withstood the same, disputing three days against them; whose reasons and arguments I wish were extant and remaining. After these articles were thus passed and concluded, the king, who always bare especial favour unto Cranmer, perceiving him to be not a little discomforted therewith, sent all the lords of the parliament, and with them the lord Cromwell, to dine with him at Lambeth (as is before declared); and, within few days also upon the same, required that he would give a note of all his doings and reasonings in the said parliament: which the said Cranmer eftsoons accomplished accordingly, drawing out his reasons and allegations; the copy whereof, being fair written out by his secretary, was sent and delivered unto the king, and there remained.

Cranmer's reasons and allegations against the six articles written to the king.

Now, after these things thus discussed, as touching the six wicked articles, it followeth next, in returning to the order of our story again, to declare those things which, after the setting out of these articles, ensued, *which[1] otherwise for the wicked cruelty thereof, are called the whip with six strings, set forth after the death of queen Anne and of good John Lambert, devised by the cruelty of the bishops, but specially by the bishop of Winchester, and at length also subscribed by king Henry. But therein, as in many other things, the crafty policy of Winchester appeared, who if he had not watched his time, and taken the king, coming out where it did, it is thought he had not got the matter so easily to be subscribed.* We come now to the time and story of the lord Cromwell, a man whose worthy fame and deeds are worthy to live renowned in perpetual memory.

The History concerning the Life, Acts, and Death of the famous and worthy Councillor, Lord Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex.

A.D. 1525 to 1540. Thomas Cromwell although born of a simple parentage, and house obscure, through the singular excellency of wisdom, and dexterity of wit wrought in him by God, coupled with like industry of mind, and deserts of life, rose to high preferment and authority; insomuch that by steps and stairs of office and honour, he ascended at length to that, that not only he was made earl of Essex, but also most secret and dear councillor to king Henry, and vicegerent unto his person; which office hath not commonly been supplied, at least not so fruitfully discharged within this realm.

First, as touching his birth, he was born at Putney or thereabouts, being a smith's son, whose mother married afterwards to a shearman.[2] In the simple estate and rude beginnings of this man, as of divers others before him, we may see and learn, that the excellency of noble virtues and heroical prowesses which advance to fame and honour, stand not only upon birth and blood, as privileges only entailed and appropriate to noble houses; but are disposed indifferently, and proceed of the gift of God, who raiseth up the poor abject many times out of the dunghill, and matcheth him in throne with peers and princes.[3]

Commendation of Cromwell. As touching the order and manner of his coming up, it would be superfluous to discourse what may be said at large; only, by way of story, it may suffice to give a touch of certain particulars, and so

(1) See Edition, 1563, p. 589.—Ed. (2) 'Shireman.' Edit. 1570.—Ld. (3) Psalm cxiii. 7, 8.

to proceed. Although the humble condition and poverty of this man was at the beginning (as it is to many others) a great let and hinderance for virtue to show herself; yet, such was the activity and forward ripeness of nature in him, so pregnant in wit, and so ready he was, in judgment discrete, in tongue eloquent, in service faithful, in stomach courageous, in his pen active, that being conversant in the sight of men, he could not be long unespied, nor yet unprovided of favour and help of friends to set him forward in place and office; neither was any place or office put unto him, whereunto he was not apt and fit. Nothing was so hard which with wit and industry he could not compass: neither was his capacity so good, but his memory was as great in retaining whatsoever he had attained. This well appeared in canning the text of the whole New Testament of Erasmus' translation without book, in his journey going and coming from Rome, whereof ye shall hear anon.

Cromwell learned the New Testament in Latin without book.

Thus, in his growing years, as he shot up in age and ripeness, a great delight came in his mind to stray into foreign countries, to see the world abroad, and to learn experience; whereby he learned such tongues and languages as might better serve for his use hereafter.

And thus, passing over his youth, being at Antwerp he was there retained of the English merchants to be their clerk or secretary, or in some such like condition placed, pertaining to their affairs.

The pope's merchandise dear ware.

It happened, the same time, that the town of Boston thought good to send up to Rome, for renewing of their two pardons, one called the greater pardon, the other the lesser pardon. Which thing although it should stand them in great expenses of money (for the pope's merchandise is always dear ware), yet notwithstanding, such sweetness they had felt thereof, and such gain to come to their town by that Romish merchandise (as all superstition is commonly gainful), that they, like good catholic merchants, and the pope's good customers, thought to spare for no cost, to have their leases again of their pardons renewed, whatsoever they paid for the fine. And yet was all this good religion then, such was the lamentable blindness of that time.

His leases of pardons.

This then being so determined and decreed among my countrymen of Boston, to have their pardons' needs repaired and renewed from Rome, one Geffery Chambers, and another companion, were sent as the messengers, with writings and money no small quantity, well furnished, and with all other things appointed, necessary for so chargeable and costly an exploit. Chambers, coming in his journey to Antwerp, and misdoubting himself to be too weak for the compassing of such a weighty piece of work, conferred and persuaded with Thomas Cromwell to associate him in that legacy, and to assist him in the contriving thereof. Cromwell, although perceiving the enterprise to be of no small difficulty, to traverse the pope's court, for the unreasonable expenses amongst those greedy cormorants, yet, having some skill of the Italian tongue, and as yet not grounded in judgment of religion in those his youthful days, was at length obtained and content to give the adventure, and so took his journey towards Rome. Cromwell, loth to spend much time, and more loth to spend his money; and again, perceiving that the pope's greedy humour must needs be served with some present or other (for without rewards there is no doing at Rome), began to cast with himself,

Cromwell goeth to Rome.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1525 to 1540.

what thing best to devise, wherein he might best serve the pope's devotion.

At length, having knowledge how that the pope's holy tooth greatly delighted in new-fangled strange delicates, and dainty dishes, it came into his mind to prepare certain fine dishes of jelly, after the best fashion, made after our country manner here in England; which, to them of Rome, was not known nor seen before.

This done, Cromwell, observing his time accordingly, as the pope was newly come from hunting into his pavilion, he, with his companions, approached with his English presents, brought in with 'a three man's song' (as we call it) in the English tongue, and all after the English fashion. The pope, suddenly marvelling at the strangeness of the song, and understanding that they were Englishmen, and that they came not empty handed, willed them to be called in.

Presents to the pope. A suitor for Boston pardons.

Cromwell there, showing his obedience, and offering his jolly junkets, "such as kings and princes only," said he, "in the realm of England use to feed upon," desired the same to be accepted in benevolent part, which he and his companions, as poor suitors unto his holiness, had there brought and presented, as novelties meet for his recreation, &c.

Pope Julius, seeing the strangeness of the dishes, commanded by and by his cardinal to take the assay; who, in tasting thereof, liked it so well, and so likewise the pope after him, that knowing of them what their suits were, and requiring them to make known the making of that meat, he, incontinent, without any more ado, stamped both their pardons, as well the greater as the lesser.

Boston pardons obtained at Rome.

And thus were the jolly pardons of the town of Boston obtained, as you have heard, for the maintenance of their decayed port. The copy of these pardons (which I have in my hands), briefly comprehended, cometh to this effect:

THE EFFECT AND CONTENTS OF THE BOSTON PARDONS.

Their effect and contents.

That all the brethren and sisters of the Guild of Our Lady in St. Botolph's church at Boston, should have free license to choose for their confessor or ghostly father whom they would, either secular priest or religious person, to assoil them plenarily from all their sins, except only in cases reserved to the pope.

Also, should have license to carry about with them an altar-stone, whereby they might have a priest to say them mass, or other divine service where they would, without prejudice of any other church or chapel, though it were also before day, yea and at three o'clock after midnight in the summer time.

Pardon for visiting Our Lady's chapel in Boston.

Furthermore, that all such brethren and sisters of the said guild, who should resort to the chapel of Our Lady in St. Botolph's church, at the feast of Easter, Whitsuntide, Corpus Christi, the Nativity, or the Assumption of Our Lady, or in the octaves of them, the feast of St. Michael, and the first Sunday in Lent, should have pardon no less than if they themselves personally had visited the stations of Rome.

Price of Boston pardons.

Provided that every such person, man or woman, entering into the same guild, at his first entrance should give to the finding of seven priests, twelve choristers, and thirteen beadsmen, and to the lights of the same brotherhood and a grammar school, six shillings and eight pence; and for every year after twelve pence.

And these premises, being before granted by pope Innocent and pope Julius II., this pope Clement also confirmed; granting moreover, that whatsoever brother or sister of the same guild, through poverty, sickness, or any other let, could not resort personally to the said chapel, notwithstanding, he should be

dispensed withal, as well for that, as for all other vows, irregularities, censures canonical whatsoever; only the vow of going the stations of Rome, and going to St. James of Compostella excepted, &c.

He also granted unto them power to receive full remission, 'a pœna et culpa,' once in their life, or in the hour of death.

Item, that having their altar-stone, they might have mass said in any place, though it were unhallowed. Also in the time of interdict, to have mass or any sacrament ministered; and also, being departed, that they might be buried in christian burial, notwithstanding the interdict.

Extending, moreover, his grant, that all such brethren and sisters, in resorting to the aforesaid chapel of Our Lady upon the Nativity, or upon the Assumption of Our Lady, giving supportation to the aforesaid chapel, at every such festival day should have full remission of all their sins. Or if they, for any impediment, could not be present at the chapel aforesaid, yet, if they came unto their own parish church, and there said one Pater-Noster, and Ave-Maria, they should enjoy the same remission above specified; or whosoever came every Friday to the same chapel, should have as much remission, as if he went to the chapel of Our Lady called 'Scala Cœli.'

The chapel of 'Scala Cœli' about Rome.

Furthermore, that whatsoever christian people, of what estate or condition soever, either spiritual or temporal, would aid and support the chamberlains or substitutes of the aforesaid guild, should have five hundred years of pardon.

Item, to all brothers and sisters of the same guild was granted free liberty to eat in time of Lent, or other fasting days, eggs, milk, butter, cheese, and also flesh, by the counsel of their ghostly father and physician, without any scruple of conscience.

The pope selleth eggs, butter, and cheese.

Item, that all partakers of the same guild, and being supporters thereof, who, once a quarter, or every Friday or Saturday, either in the said chapel in St. Botolph's church, or any other chapel, of their devotion, shall say a Pater-Noster, Ave-Maria, and Creed, or shall say, or cause to be said, masses for souls departed in pains of purgatory, shall not only have the full remission due to them that visit the chapel of Scala Cœli, or of St. John Lateran, but also, the souls in purgatory shall enjoy full remission, and be released of all their pains.

Pardon for souls in purgatory.

Item, that all the souls departed of the brothers and sisters of the said guild, also the souls of their fathers and mothers, shall be partakers of all the prayers, suffrages, almoses, fastings, masses, and matins, pilgrimages, and all other good deeds of all the holy church militant for ever, &c.

These indulgencies, pardons, grants, and relaxations, were given and granted by pope Nicholas V., pope Pius II., pope Sixtus IV., and pope Julius II., of which pope Julius it seemeth that Cromwell obtained this pardon aforesaid about the year of our Lord 1510: which pardon again afterwards, through the request of king Henry, A.D. 1526, was confirmed by pope Clement VII. And thus much concerning the pardons of Boston, renewed by means of Thomas Cromwell, of pope Julius II.[2]

All this while it appeareth that Cromwell had yet no sound taste nor judgment of religion, but was wild and youthful, without sense or regard of God and his word, as he himself was wont ofttimes to declare unto Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury; showing what a ruffian he was in his young days, and how he was in the wars of the duke of Bourbon at the siege of Rome; also what a great doer he was with Geffery Chambers in publishing and setting forth the pardons of Boston everywhere in churches as he went; and so continued, till, at length, by learning without book the text of the New Testament of Erasmus's translation, in his going and coming from Rome (as is aforesaid), he began to be touched, and called to better understanding.

Cromwell was in the wars of the duke of Bourbon besieging Rome.

(1) Good stuff, I trow. (2) Ex literis papæ Clementis VII. ad Guliel. Warramum. archiep.

Henry VIII. A. D. 1525 to 1540.

In this mean time Thomas Wolsey, cardinal of York, began to bear a great port in England, and almost to rule all under the king, or rather with the king; so that the freshest wits, and of best towardness, most commonly sought unto him; among whom was also Thomas Cromwell to his service advanced, where he continued a certain space of years, growing up in office and authority, till at length he was preferred to be solicitor to the cardinal.

Cromwell, More, and Gardiner, companions in the cardinal's house. A comparison between them.

There were also, about the same time, or not much different, in the household of the said cardinal, Thomas More, afterward knight and chancellor of England, and Stephen Gardiner, afterwards bishop of Winchester and of the king's council. All these three were brought up in one household, and all of one standing almost together: whose ages as they were not greatly discrepant, nor their wits much unequal; so neither were their fortune and advancements greatly diverse, albeit their dispositions and studies were most contrary. And though, peradventure, in More and in Gardiner, there was more art of the letters, and skill of learning, yet notwithstanding, there was in this man a more heavenly light of mind, and more prompt and perfect judgment, eloquence equal, and, as may be supposed in this man, more pregnant, and, finally, in him was wrought a more heroical and princely disposition, born to greater affairs in the commonwealth, and to the singular help of many.

Small monasteries suppressed by the cardinal.

It happened that in this mean season, as Cromwell was placed in this office to be solicitor to the cardinal, the said cardinal had then in hand the building of certain colleges, namely, his college in Oxford, called then Frideswide's, now Christ's Church. By reason whereof, certain small monasteries and priories, in divers places of the realm, were, by the said cardinal, suppressed, and the lands seised to the cardinal's hands; the doing whereof was committed to the charge of Thomas Cromwell: in the expedition whereof he showed himself very forward and industrious, in such sort as in the handling thereof he procured to himself much grudge with divers of the superstitious sort, and with some also of noble calling about the king. And thus was Cromwell first set to work by the cardinal, to suppress religious houses: which was about the year of our Lord 1525.

As this passed on, it was not long but the cardinal, who had gotten up so high, began to come down as fast, first from the chancellorship (in which room was placed sir Thomas More, as is before said); then he fell into a præmunire; so that his household being dissolved, Thomas Cromwell, amongst others, laboured also to be retained into the king's service.

Sir Christopher Hales, master of the rolls, a helper of Cromwell to the king.

There was at the same time one sir Christopher Hales, knight, master of the rolls, who, notwithstanding, was then a mighty papist: yet bare he such favour and good liking to Cromwell, that he commended him to the king, as a man most fit for his purpose, having then to do against the pope. But here before is to be understood, that Cromwell had greatly been complained of and defamed, by certain of authority about the king, for his rude manner and homely dealing, in defacing the monks' houses, and in handling of their altars, &c. Wherefore the king, hearing of the name of Cromwell, began to detest the mention of him; neither lacked there some standers-by, who, with reviling words, ceased not to increase and inflame the

king's hatred against him: what their names were it shall not need here to recite. Among others, there present at the same hearing, was the lord Russell, earl of Bedford, whose life Cromwell before had preserved at Bologna, through politic conveyance, at what time the said earl, coming secretly in the king's affairs, was there espied, and therefore being in great danger to be taken, through the means and policy of Cromwell escaped.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1530 to 1540.

Lord Russell earl of Bedford, through the policy of Cromwell escaped at Bologna.

This lord Russell therefore, not forgetting the old benefits past, and with like gratuity willing again to requite what he had received, in a vehement boldness stood forth, to take upon him the defence of Thomas Cromwell, uttering before the king many commendable words in the behalf of him, and declaring withal how, by his singular device and policy, he had done for him at Bologna, being there in the king's affairs in extreme peril. And forasmuch as now his majesty had to do with the pope, his great enemy, there was (he thought) in all England none so apt for the king's purpose, who could say or do more in that matter, than could Thomas Cromwell: and partly gave the king to understand wherein. The king hearing this, and specially marking the latter end of his talk, was contented and willing to talk with him, to hear and know what he could say.

Commendeth Cromwell to the king.

Cromwell brought to talk with the king.

This was not so privily done, but Cromwell had knowledge, incontinent, that the king would talk with him, and whereupon; and therefore, providing beforehand for the matter, he had in a readiness the copy of the bishops' oath, which they use commonly to make to the pope at their consecration: and so being called for, he was brought to the king in his garden at Westminster; which was about the year of our Lord 1530.

His words to the king concerning the præmunire.

Cromwell, after most loyal obeisance, doing his duty to the king, according as he was demanded, made his declaration in all points; this especially making manifest unto his highness: how his princely authority was abused within his own realm by the pope and his clergy, who, being sworn unto him, were afterwards dispensed from the same, and sworn anew unto the pope; so that he was but as half a king, and they but half his subjects in his own land: which (said he) was derogatory to his crown, and utterly prejudicial to the common laws of his realm. Declaring, thereupon, how his majesty might accumulate to himself great riches, as much as all the clergy in his realm were worth, if it so pleased him to take the occasion now offered. The king, giving good ear to this, and liking right well his advice, required if he could avouch that which he spake. All this he could (he said) avouch to be certain so well, as that he had the copy of their own oath to the pope there present to show; and that no less, also, he could manifestly prove, if his highness would give him leave: and therewith showed the bishops' oath unto the king.

Sent by the king to the convocation.

The king, following the vein of his counsel, took his ring off his finger, and first, admitting him into his service, sent him therewith to the convocation-house, among the bishops. Cromwell, coming with the king's signet boldly into the clergy-house, and there placing himself among the bishops (William Warham being then archbishop), began to make his oration, declaring unto them the authority of a king, and the office of subjects, and especially the obedience of bishops and churchmen under public laws, necessarily

Henry VIII. A.D. 1530 to 1540.

provided for the profit and quiet of the commonwealth. Which laws, notwithstanding, they had all transgressed, and highly offended in derogation of the king's royal estate, falling in the law of 'præmunire,' in that not only they had consented to the power legative of the cardinal; but also, in that they had all sworn to the pope,[1] contrary to the fealty of their sovereign lord the king; and therefore had forfeited to the king all their goods, chattels, lands, possessions, and whatsoever livings they had. The bishops, hearing this, were not a little amazed, and first began to excuse and deny the fact.

The clergy condemned in the præmunire.

But after that Cromwell had showed them the very copy of their oath made to the pope at their consecration, and the matter was so plain that they could not deny it, they began to shrink and to fall to entreaty, desiring respite to pause upon the matter. Notwithstanding, the end thereof so fell out, that to be quit of that præmunire by act of parliament, it cost them to the king, for both the provinces, Canterbury and York, no less than one hundred and eighteen thousand eight hundred and forty pounds; which was about the year of our Lord 1530, whereof before you may read more at large.

Cromwell made knight and master of the king's jewel-house.

After this, A.D. 1531, sir Thomas Cromwell, growing in great favour with the king, was made knight, and master of the king's jewel-house, and shortly after was admitted also into the king's council, which was about the coming in of queen Anne Bullen. Furthermore, within three years after the same, A.D. 1534, he was made master of the rolls, Dr. Taylor being discharged.

Also master of the rolls, knight of the garter, and earl of Essex.

Thus Cromwell, springing up in favour and honour, after this, in the year 1537, a little before the birth of king Edward, was made knight of the garter, and not long after was advanced to the earldom of Essex, and made great chamberlain of England: over and besides all which honours, he was constituted also vicegerent to the king, representing his person; which office, although it standeth well by the law, yet seldom hath there been seen any besides this Cromwell alone, either to have sustained it, or else to have so furnished the same with counsel and wisdom, as Cromwell did. And thus much hitherto, concerning the steps and degrees of the lord Cromwell, rising up to dignity and high estate.

His acts and doings described.

Now somewhat would be said, likewise, of the noble acts, the memorable examples, and the worthy virtues, not drowned by ease of honour in him, but increased rather, and quickened by advancement of authority and place, to work more abundantly in the commonwealth: among which his worthy acts and other manifold virtues, in this one chiefly, above all others, riseth his commendation, for his singular zeal and laborious travail bestowed in restoring the true church of Christ, and subverting the synagogue of Antichrist: the abbeys, I mean, and religious houses of friars and monks. For so it pleased Almighty God, by means of the said lord Cromwell, to induce the king to suppress first the chantries, then the friars' houses and small monasteries, till, at length, all the abbeys in England, both great and less, were utterly overthrown and plucked up by the roots. This act and enterprise of his, as it may give a precedent of singular zeal to all realms christened, which no prince yet to this day scarce dare follow:

(1) For the copy of the bishops' oath to the pope, see page 61 of this volume.—Ed.

so, to this realm of England, it wrought such benefit and commodity, as the fruit thereof yet remaineth, and will remain still in the realm of England, though we seem little to feel it. Rudely and simply I speak what I suppose, without prejudice of others who can infer any better reason. In the mean time my reason is this, that if God had not raised up this Cromwell as he did, to be the instrument of rooting out these abbeys and cells of strange religion, what other men see I know not; for my part, I never yet saw in this realm any such Cromwell since Cromwell's time, whose heart and courage might not sooner have been subverted with the money and bribes of abbots, than he to have subverted any abbey in all England.

Henry VIII. A. D. 15 to 1540.

A profitable instrument in suppressing abbeys.

*[1] Of how great laud and praise this man was worthy, and what courage and stoutness was in him, it may hereby evidently appear unto all men, that he alone, through the singular dexterity of his wit and counsel, brought to pass that, which, even unto this day no prince or king, throughout all Europe, dare or can bring to pass. For whereas Britannia alone, of all other nations, is and hath been, of her own proper nature, most superstitious: this Cromwell, being born of a common or base stock, through a divine method or policy of wit and reason received, suffered, deluded, brake off, and repressed, all the policies, trains, malice, and hatred of friars, monks, religious men, and priests, of which sort there was a great rabble in England. Their houses he subverted throughout all the realm. Afterwards he brought the bishops and archbishops, and the bishop of Winchester himself, although he was the king's chief counsellor, to an order; frustrating and preventing all his enterprises and complaints by a marvellous providence, but, especially, in those things which did tend to the ruin and decay of good men, and such as favoured the gospel; unto whom Cromwell was always as a shield, against the pestiferous enterprises of Winchester.

Briefly, there was continual emulation and mortal dissension, between them two, such as Flaccius writeth, happened between the wolves and the lambs: for both of them being greatly in the king's favour, the one being much more feared, the other was much better beloved. Either of them excelling in dexterity of wit, howbeit the virtues in the one, far exceeded the other; for whereas the bishop of Winchester seemed such a man, to be born for no other purpose but only for the destruction of the good, this man, contrariwise, the divine providence had appointed as a remedy to help and preserve many, and to withstand the fury of the bishops; even like as we do see the same ground which bringeth forth most pestiferous poison, the same again also doth bring forth most wholesome and healthful remedies.

It were too long and tedious a declaration here to declare, how many good men, through this man's help and defence, have been relieved and delivered out of danger; of whom a great number after his fall, being deprived of their patron (as it were), did shortly after perish: there are many of them, however, yet alive at this present day, who are witnesses of these things which we report, and greater things also than these. In this manner the Omnipotent God hath always accustomed, in all commonwealths, to moderate adversity with

(1) For the next paragraphs extending to page 373, and distinguished with asterisks, see Edition 1563. Pages 589—593.—Ed.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1530 to 1540.

prosperity, and things hurtful with others more wholesome and healthful; whereby it happeneth, that as oftentimes good and fortunate planets are joined with the hurtful and noisome, they do either utterly dissipate their mad furies, or at least somewhat keep them back; whereby, if they be not utterly prohibited, yet they do less hurt than otherwise they would: which thing, if it were to be conferred with the histories of our old fathers, Jehu, the sharp punisher of superstitious idolatry in the sacred commonwealth, was not much unlike this man. Likewise, in profane commonwealths, Camillus, and Cicero, who, through his singular prudence, joined with eloquence, withstood and put off the wicked enterprises of Catiline. Albeit that the terror conceived upon the conspiracy of Catiline, was not so noisome unto the commonwealth of Rome, as the bloody and insatiable cruelty and slaughter of these our bishops, conspiracies which do every where vex and trouble the christian commonwealth: for, albeit that Catiline, through his wicked enterprise, went about the death of all good men, and the destruction of the commonwealth, yet did he rather put it in fear, than wound the commonwealth. But all the life and doings of these men, are nothing else but a conspiracy, according to the prophecy of Isaiah; so that they do seem twice worse than any Catiline: for whatsoever he went about, by any privy pretence of his mind, that these men do perform openly: neither was it to be doubted but that he, albeit he were ever so cruel or fierce of nature, yet if he had had the upper hand, he would at once have made an end of murdering and killing. But these men, although they daily, in every place, kill Christ in his holy members, yet they never appoint or ordain any end or measure of their slaughter: which kind of men (albeit there be nothing in a manner by nature more cruel), besides their natural cruelty, they are endued with craft and subtlety, which is far worse, not being so hurtful by the one, as detestable for the other: for an open enemy, be he ever so mighty or fierce, yet if he cannot be vanquished, he may be taken heed of. And it happeneth oftentimes that violence, which is foreseen, may easily, or with like violence, be repulsed; or at least the wound that is received by another man's violence, is less grievous than that which cometh by fraud or deceit. But these men do not kill with armour and weapon, but, going a privier way to work, yet do the same: being so much the more to be blamed, forasmuch as they themselves, being the authors of the murder, do so put off the matter from themselves to others, as though they were free from all suspicion of cruelty. But here, a man may the more perceive the inveterate subtleties of the old serpent, besides that, the more to provoke cruelty, there are added most plausible and honest titles, whereby the better all mercy and pity might be excluded; and also that they, even in their greatest tyranny, when they have committed or done any thing most cruel or horrible, yet they might deserve praise of the common people, as for a most holy work, done ex officio, as they call it. So, under the name of Christ, they daily persecute Christ, and under the pretence and cloak of peace, they kill more than any murderers; and, while they do take upon them the name and title of the church, they do violently invade the church of Christ.

In foreign wars it happeneth oftentimes that truces are taken; and

where towns are yielded, the mercy of the Conqueror spareth many; kindred and age hath his respect, and many are set at liberty either by entreaties or ransom. But these do so much exceed all measure of nature, humanity, and reason; they are so addicted to their pleasures, dignity, and ease; that they have no consideration or regard of any life, estate, or condition. The cruel times of queen Mary, and of the bishops, did of late sufficiently declare the same, when nature would in a manner set forth unto all men in this realm, as it were by a perfect example, what extreme cruelty, joined with superstition, may do in any realm; so that if all empires should be governed or ruled after that example, it were better that there were no society of commonwealths; yea, it were better for men to wander in the wilderness, and to lead a rude and savage life amongst the wild beasts. For upon what wild beast, upon what libbard, wolf, or panther, were it not better for a man to fall, than upon such bishops: if at least the bishops of other nations were like unto our Bonner. They boast themselves, upon the name of Christ, to be Christians; neither do I deny them that title. But why, in their manners and living, doth there no spark of his nature appear, whose denomination they bear? In all their titles and profession, they pretend nothing else but peace: and whereupon happen so many complaints, so many suspicions, so great hatred and prodition? so many articles, censures, condemnations, and peremptory sentences, in so quiet and peaceable a people?

They object also often, unto us the catholic church, that they are the true spouse, and the only dove of Christ: I hear them well, but that meek dove of Christ is without any gall, bile, or claws: that is to say, lacketh all kind of wrath, suspicion, prodition, and tyranny. Where, then, is the simplicity of that dove, whereupon hath happened so great bloodshed and slaughter in the meek spouse of the Lord? Who ever heard tell, that a dove did kill or devour either kites or hawks? But, if they think they do Christ so great and acceptable service through this their raging slaughter, surely they must show us another manner of Christ, than him whom the evangelists describe unto us, whom the apostles show forth in their writings.

But they cry out and say, "They are heretics!" "they are worthy to die!" Let them bring forth one article out of the Apostles' Creed which these heretics do deny. They do, indeed, deny the blessed body of Christ to be in the sacrament naturally; but again, they confess him to be in heaven, and there do reverence and worship him. Why have the apostles, then, left out that article of their creed, if it be so necessary as they teach it to be? Albeit they do not, by and by, take away Christ out of the sacrament, who confess the bread to be in the sacrament. And again, it is no contumely unto Christ, if a man do rather judge him to be worshipped in the heaven, than in the sacrament: for he who denieth the emperor to be at Brussels, doth not derogate any thing from the emperor's authority, as I think, but only contendeth upon the place. What grievous cause or quarrel is this, then, that should move and stir up the peaceable mind of this simple dove, to such rage and fury, that, notwithstanding the great slaughter of Christians which hath been already made, they can yet find no beginning to show favour, or make any end of their murder!

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But, go to, let us fain with ourselves (which thing, notwithstanding, I would that all men should think it spoken by me, not to the reproof or contumely of any man: for here I declare no man's name, neither show any man's person; but only set it forth for an example): let us, as I say, freely think and feign, that Satan dwelleth upon earth amongst men, and leadeth a manly life. Thou sayest, "It cannot be by nature;" but yet it may so be supposed. Now I will ask of some of these papists (but of such a one as is of an equal judgment), or of the bishop of Rome himself, that he would clearly and distinctly answer me, by what means he doth think that he would rule and order his life: whether he would not, first, direct all his doings, according to his insatiable ambition, violently to get unto himself the dominion of the whole world; placing himself in the highest degree and dignity; distributing all other promotions according to his own will; he himself being subject unto no power, but exalting himself, if he might, even as high as God. Would he not convert all men's goods and substance, by what means soever he may lay hold of it, upon most extreme riot and filthy pleasure? Moreover, would he not foresee to lead a life wholly in idleness, without all sorrow, care, or trouble?

Furthermore, I do not think him so holy, that in this delicate life he would also live chaste; neither yet that he will be troubled with the care or charge of a wife, but rather choose a middle or mean way, which, through wanton lust, hath more delectation, less charge, but no true holiness in it at all. Then, he, who from the beginning hath been a murderer and liar, and the father thereof, retaineth so the same nature still, that he rejoiceth in nothing more than in the continual slaughter and destruction of men: neither is it to be doubted but that when he cannot be suffered openly to rage, he will, by all crafty means and ways, at last satisfy his cruel mind. And what way would Satan himself, if he were present, gentle reader! (if I may by your license speak the truth) find more crafty or subtle than the bishop of Rome hath now found; who, under the person and vicarage of the most meek and gentle Christ, under the beautiful shadow of the church and peace, doth practise his extreme cruelty and madness, mixing and confounding all things with blood? And, albeit that daily, with greater outrage, he exerciseth the same throughout all Christendom, yet the christian princes and noble counsellors are so blind and void of judgment, that they do not see what difference is between Christ and Antichrist, light and darkness, truth and falsehood. They do little regard it, and nothing at all seek to help it: so that either we may seem to be fallen on Isaiah's times, or those days to have come upon us. "The just man," saith he, "perisheth, and there is no man that taketh any care for him." This great rage and tempest of cruelty, required a public reformation of all good princes. Now, forasmuch as their power and authority do sleep in such necessary and weighty matters, by whom it were convenient the christian commonwealth should be restored, I may not prognosticate that which my mind doth foreshow unto me. This only I do wish, that God do not bring that to pass by the Turk, which christian princes ought to have done.

But now, to return to our christian Camillus, being such a one as

if the courts of princes had but a few such counsellors, the christian commonwealths would, at this day, be in a far better estate. This Cromwell (as I have said) was but of a base stock, but of such virtue as, not without sorrow, we may wish for, even in the most noble families now-a-days. He was first brought up in the cardinal's court, where he did bear several offices, wherein he showed such tokens and likelihood of excellent wit and fidelity, that, in short space, he seemed more meet for the king, than for the cardinal.* *Henry VIII.* A. D. 1536 to 1540.

The defence of the lord Cromwell for overthrowing the abbeys.

But here I must of necessity answer the complaint of certain of our countrymen: for so I hear of many, that the subversion of these monasteries is to be reprehended, as evil and wicked. The buildings, say they, might have been converted into schools and houses of learning: the goods and possessions might have been bestowed to much better and more godly use of the poor, and maintaining of hospitality. Neither do I deny but that these things are well and godly spoken of them, and could willingly embrace their opinion with my whole heart, if I did not consider herein a more secret and deeper meaning of God's holy providence, than at the first blush, peradventure, to all men doth appear.

The abominable life in monasteries, by their own confession.

And first, to omit the wicked and execrable life of these religious orders, full of all fedity, and found out by the king's visitors, and in their registers also recorded, so horrible to be heard, so incredible to be believed, so stinking before the face of God and man, that no marvel it is, if God's vengeance from heaven, provoked, would not suffer any stone or monument of these abominable houses to be unplucked up. But, as I said, letting these things pass under chaste silence, which for very shame will abhor any story to disclose, let us now come to the first institution of these orders and houses of monkery, and consider how, and to what end, they were first instituted and erected here among the Saxons at the first foundation of them, about the year 666.

Beginning of religious houses in the time of the Saxons.

In the former part of this history,[1] declaration was made, first by whom, and at what time, these monkish houses here in England among the Saxons (flowing no doubt out of the order of St. Benedict, and brought in by Augustine) began first to be founded: as by Augustine the monk, Furseus, Maidulph, Aldune, Ceadda, king Ulfer, Oswy, Elfrida king Oswy's daughter, Kineburga, Hilda, Botolph, Edeldrida, king Oswald, Edgar, Erkenwald bishop of London, Ethelwold bishop of Winchester, Oskitell archbishop of York, Oswald bishop of Worcester, Leswine bishop of Dorchester, Dunstan, and divers others.

The end and final cause why they were builded, appeareth in stories to be, "pro remissione et redemptione peccatorum; pro remedio et liberatione animæ; pro amore cœlestis patriæ; in eleemosynam animæ; in remissionem criminum; pro salute regnorum; pro salute et requie animarum patrum et matrum, fratrum, et sororum nostrarum, parentum, et omnium benefactorum; in honorem gloriosæ virginis," &c.; as may appear in ancient histories, in old charters and donations unto religious houses, and in the chronicle of Ingulphus; as also all other stories be full of the same.

The e and ca of the buildi

So king Athelstan, for killing his brother Edwin, builded two

(1) See the close of the Second Book, vol. i.—Ed.

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monasteries, Middleton and Michaelney, for his soul: which doctrine and institution, forasmuch as it tendeth and soundeth directly against the foundation of christian religion, against the testament of God, the gospel of Jesus Christ, the freedom of our redemption and free justification by faith, it is therefore to be condemned as execrable or horrible, as evil or worse than the life of the persons; and not only worthy to be suppressed to the foundation, but to be marvelled at rather, that God would suffer it to stand so long. Albeit God's mighty vengeance and scourge hath not ceased from time to time to work against such impious foundations, from the time of their first setting up. For besides the invasions of the Danes (which may seem to be stirred up of God, especially for the subversion of abbeys), let old histories be searched, what monastery almost in all this realm was either left by the Danes, or re-edified again after the Danes, but by some notorious casualty of fire, sent by God's hand, it hath been burned up?

Damnable doctrine and institution of religious sects.

God's continual plague against monasteries.

Abbeys burned and plagued with fire.

First, the monastery of Canterbury, called the house of St. Gregory, was burned A.D. 1145, and afterwards again burned A.D. 1174.[1]

The abbey of Crowland was also twice burnt.[2]

The abbey of Peterborough was twice set on fire, A.D. 1070.[3]

The abbey of St. Mary's in York burned, with the hospital also.

The abbey of Norwich burned.

The abbey of St. Edmund's Bury burned and destroyed.[4]

The abbey of Worcester.

The abbey of Gloucester was also burned.

The abbey of Chichester burned.

The abbey of Glastonbury burned.

The abbey of St. Mary in Southwark burned.

The church of the abbey of Beverley burned.

The steeple of the abbey of Evesham burned.[5]

These, with many other monasteries more, God brought down to the ground, so that few or none of all the monastical foundations in all England, either before the conquest, escaped the hands of the Danes and Scots, or else after the conquest, escaped destruction of fire, and that not without just cause deserved; for, as the trade of their lives was too, too wretched and bestial, so the profession of their doctrine was intolerable, fraught with all superstition, full of much idolatry, and utterly contrary to the grace of the gospel and doctrine of Christ.

The doctrine of the monks worse than their lives.

Furthermore, the more these abbeys multiplied, and the longer they continued, in time the more corruption still they drew unto them. And albeit we read the name of monks to have continued from the old ancient time, yet, notwithstanding, the monks of those days were not like the monks of our time, nor their houses then like to our abbeys now. So we read of the monks of Bangor before the coming of Augustine: but those monks got their living with toil and labour of their hands, and had no other lands or lordships to live upon. Again, neither were they as ministers then, but as laymen, according as Jerome describeth the monks of his time, saying,[6] "A monk's office is not to preach, but to mourn;" and again he saith,[7] "The state

(1) Ex Hist. Gervasii. (2) Ex Hist. Ingulph.
(3) Ex Chron. Peterb. [Also in the year 1116.—Ed.] (4) Ex Chron. S. Edmund.
(5) Ex Walter. Wikes. Hoveden. Gualter. Coventr. Fabian. Malmesb.
(6) 'Monachus non docentis, sed plangentis habet officium.' 16 q. 'Monachus.'
(7) 'Alia causa est monachi, alia clerici;' 'Clerici oves pascunt.' 'Ego pascor,' &c. 16 q. 2.

of a monk is one thing, and the state of a priest is another;" "Priests feed the flock of Christ;" "I am fed," &c.

Also in the story of Ingulph, abbot of Crowland, thus I find:[1] "Being installed in the abbey of Crowland, A.D. 1076, I found there to the number of sixty-two monks: of which monks, four of them were lay-brethren, besides the monks of other monasteries who were also professed to our chapter," &c.

Monks forbidden to intermeddle in ecclesiastical matters.

The like matter also appeareth in the fourth canon of the council of Chalcedon, where it is provided: "Ne monachi se ecclesiasticis negotiis immisceant," &c.; and Leo, epist. 62. "Vetat monachos et laicos, et si scientiæ nomine glorientur, admitti ad officium docendi et concionandi." Whereof read more before.

Monks diverse from other men in trade of life and apparel.

Thus it appeareth, about or before the time of Jerome, that monks in the first persecutions of the primitive church were laymen, and companies of Christians associating themselves together, either for fear of persecution, or for eschewing the company of heathen Gentiles. Afterwards, in continuance of time, when the Gentiles began to be called to Christianity, the monks, yet keeping their name, and growing in superstition, would not join with other Christians, but kept still their brotherhoods, dividing themselves from other Christians, and professing a kind of life strange and diverse from the common trade. Upon this diversity of life and profession, followed also like diversity of garments and attire differing from their other brethren. After this, moreover, came in the rule of St. Benedict, enjoining to them a prescribed form of going, of wearing, of watching, sleeping, rising, praying; of silence, sole life, and diet, and all things almost differing from the vulgar sort of common Christians.

Monks, of laymen, made clergymen.

Hereby men, seeing their austerity, began to have them in great admiration. And thus, growing up in opinion of holiness, of laymen and labourers they came at length to be clergymen, and greatest doers of all others in Christ's religion; insomuch that at last there was none reputed almost for a religious man or perfect Christian, unless he were a monk: neither almost was any advanced to any dignity of the church, but either he was a monk, or afterwards he put on a monk's weed. According as in the stories of this realm is to be seen, how in the time of Dunstan archbishop of Canterbury, of Oswald bishop of Worcester, and of Ethelwold bishop of Winchester, pope John XIII., writing to king Edgar, willed him, in his letters, to see in his cathedral churches none to be promoted to be bishops, but such as were of the monastical religion; and willed him, moreover, to exclude the secular prebendaries at Winchester, and to place in monks; and that none of the secular clerks there should be chosen bishop, but either be taken out of the same covent of that church, or of some other abbey.

Pope John wrote to king Edgar, that none should be made bishops but monks.

Secular priests put out, and monks put in.

So was also king Henry II. commanded to do in the house of Waltham, where the secular canons were removed out, and regular canons intruded. The same did bishop Oswald with the church of Worcester; likewise in their sees did Dunstan archbishop of Canterbury, Oskitell archbishop of York, Ethelwold bishop of Winchester

(1) 'In Croylandiam primum installatus, A.D. 1076, inveni tunc in isto monasterio monachos numero 62, quorum quatuor laici fratres erant, præter aliorum monasteriorum monachos nostri capituli conprofessos,' &c. Ex Chron. Ingulphi. Abbat. Croylandensis. [Rerum Angliarum Scriptores post Bedam. Franc. 1601. p. 905.—Ed.

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(who in stories is reported to be 'multorum fundator monasteriorum'), Leofwine also, bishop of Dorchester; with other bishops more, about the time and reign of king Edgar. Odo, archbishop of Canterbury before Dunstan, after his election, A.D. 941, refused to take that dignity upon him, before he had received the habit of a monk in the abbey of Fleury in France, "because," as the story telleth (if it be true),[1] "all the archbishops of Canterbury before him had been monks," &c. In like manner Baldwin also, A.D. 1184, after he was elected archbishop of Canterbury, took upon him the Cistercian habit in Ford Abbey:[2] and so Reginald, his next successor after him, also took the habit of a monkish order, &c.

Monks laymen, then regulars and votaries; at length made churchmen.

As concerning therefore the origin of monks, ye have heard how first they began of laymen only, leading a straiter life from the society of other persons; who, then following the rule of St. Benedict, were called Regulars, and Votaries; and yet all this while had nothing to do with any ecclesiastical ministry, till the time of pope Boniface IV., A.D. 607; who then made a decree, that monks might use the office of preaching, of christening, of hearing confessions, and assoiling men of their sins; differing from priests only in this, that they were called 'Regulares,' and priests were called 'Seculares;' the monks were votaries: the priests had free liberty to have wives, till the time of Lanfranc and Anselm, as is before said. Albeit Athanasius, in his epistle 'Ad Dracontium,' witnesseth also, that he knew monks in the old time, and bishops, who were married and had children. Furthermore, as ignorance and superstition with time increased, so the number and swarm of monks still more and more multiplied in such sort as not only they thrust out secular priests from their houses, but also out of them were made popes, cardinals, archbishops and bishops, to govern churches; of which number began Augustine, the first archbishop of the see of Canterbury, and the most part of all other archbishops after him, until the time of the conquest, and after.

Difference between monks and priests.

The coming in of the friars.

All this while the friars were not yet come: neither the discipline of St. Dominic, nor the testament of St. Francis, nor the order of the Augustine brothers, nor of the Carmelites, was yet heard of; who, last of all, came in with their pageants, and played their part likewise, A.D. 1240, being much more full of hypocrisy, blindness, idolatry, and superstition, than were the monks. So that, what with monks on the one side, and with the friars on the other side, while all things were ruled by the rules of St. Benedict, by the canons of the pope, by the doctrine of St. Dominic, and by the testament of St. Francis, Christ's testament was trodden under foot, the rule of God's word neglected, true christian religion defaced, faith forgotten, the right way of salvation abolished, sound doctrine oppressed, Christ's servants persecuted, and the people's souls uncomforted; yea, and the true church of Christ almost clean extirpated, had not Almighty God (who cannot forget his promise) provided remedy in time, in raising up this Cromwell his servant, and other like champions, to cut up from the root the houses of them, that, otherwise, would utterly have rooted up the house of the Lord, and had subverted a great part already.

(1) 'Nullus ad id tempus nisi monachali schemate indutus archiepiscopus fuisset,' &c. Ex Guliel. Malmesb., in Vita Odonis.—Ex Nubrigens. lib. iv. cap. 33.

(2) Foxe erroneously says 'of Merton Abbey.'—Ed.

Wherefore, whosoever findeth himself aggrieved with Cromwell's doings, in suppressing these monasteries of monks and friars, let him wisely consider with himself, first, the doctrine, laws, and traditions of these men, which he shall find rebelling to the religion of Christ, pernicious to our salvation, derogatory to Christ's glory, full of much blasphemy and damnable idolatry. Secondly, let him likewise well advise the horrible and execrable lives of these cloisterers, or at least search out the rolls and registers of matters found out by inquisition in king Henry VIII.'s days, against them; which here is not to be spoken of, unless we will speak as Matthew Paris speaketh of the court of Rome,[1] "whose filthy stench," saith he, "did breathe up a most pestiferous fume, even unto the clouds of heaven," &c.

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The life of monks and friars considered.

All which things well considered, what marvel is it then, if God, of his just judgment, did set up the aforesaid lord Cromwell to destroy these sinful houses, whom their own corruptions could suffer no longer to stand? And as touching the dissipation of their lands and possessions to the hands of such as they were bestowed upon, if it so pleased the king, in bestowing those abbey-lands upon his nobles and gentlemen, either to restore them again unto them from whence they came, or else to gratify his nobility by that means of policy, not to mislike his doings, what is that to Cromwell? "But they might," say you, "have been much better employed to other more fruitful uses."

Cromwell defended in suppressing abbeys.

Briefly to answer thereunto: what may be done presently in a commonwealth, it is not enough to say; but what may also follow must be considered. If this throwing down of abbeys had happened in such free and reformed cities and countries as are amongst the Germans, where the state, governed and directed by laws, rather than by rulers, remaineth always alike and immutable, who doubteth but such houses there standing still, the possessions might well be transposed to such uses above said, without any fear or peril? But, in such realms and kingdoms as this, where laws and parliaments be not always one, but are subject to the disposition of the prince, neither is it certain always what princes may come: therefore the surest way to send monkery and popery packing out of this realm, is to do with their houses and possessions as king Henry here did, through the motion and counsel of Cromwell. For else, who seeth not in queen Mary's time, if either the houses of monks had stood, or their lands had been otherwise disposed than into the hands of such as they were, how many of them had been restored and replenished again with monks and friars, in as ample wise as ever they were? And if dukes, barons, and the nobility, scarce were able to retain the lands and possessions of abbeys distributed to them by king Henry, from the devotion of queen Mary seeking to build again the walls of Jericho, what then should the meaner sort have done, let other men conjecture. Wherefore it is not unlikely but that God's heavenly providence did well foresee and dispose these things before by this man, in working the destruction of these abbeys; whereupon, as often as he sent out any men to suppress any monastery, he used most commonly to send them with this charge: that they should throw down those houses even to the foundation. Which words

Dissipation of abbey lands in England expedient.

(1) 'Cujus fœtor usque ad nubes fumum teterrimum exhalabat.' Matt. Par.

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although they may seem, percase, to some, to be cruelly spoken by him; yet, contrariwise, do I suppose the doing thereof not to be without God's special providence and secret guiding. Or else we might, peradventure, have had such swarms of friars and monks possessed in their nests again before this day in England, in so great a number, that ten Cromwells, afterwards, scarcely should have sufficed to have unhoused them. Wherefore, if the plantation, which the Lord God never planted, be plucked up by the roots,[1] let God alone with his working, and let the monasteries go.

The utter ruin of monasteries was God's work.

* Furthermore,[2] as touching the godly use of the poor, schools, and stipends of preachers (for unto these three, diligent respect is to be had in every commonwealth), there are other means provided, which, as they are alike honest, so are they also much more sure, so that the ancient godliness do not slack in the nobility. And if the nobility, in times past, have been so liberal in bestowing so great costs and charges upon things wherein there is no godliness, how uncomely would it be, for the true gospellers to be more niggardly in preferring true godliness and the study of the gospel.*

Now that you have seen what this "malleus monachorum" hath done in defacing the synagogue of the pope, let us see how the same Cromwell again did travail, in setting up Christ's church and congregation.

After that the bishop of Rome's power and authority were banished out of England, the bishops of his sect never ceased to seek all occasion how, either to restore his head again, being broken and wounded, or at least to keep upright those things which yet remained; wherein although their labours were not altogether frustrated, yet had they brought much more to pass, if Cromwell (as a mighty wall and defence of the church) had not resisted continually their enterprises.

Cromwell the fort and defence of the church.

An assembly of learned men appointed by the king.

It happened that after the abolishing of the pope, certain tumults began to rise about religion; whereupon it seemed good unto king Henry, to appoint an assembly of learned men and bishops, who should soberly and modestly treat and determine those things which pertained unto religion. Briefly, at the king's pleasure, all the learned men, but especially the bishops, assembled, to whom this matter seemed chiefly to belong. Cromwell thought also to be present himself with the bishops, and, by chance, meeting with Alexander Alesius by the way, a Scottish man, brought him with him to the Convocation-house, where all the bishops were assembled together.[3] This was in the year 1537. The bishops and prelates

Cromwell with Alesius resort to the assembly.

(1) Matt. xv. 13. (2) See Edition 1563, p. 593.—Ed.

(3) The whole of this account of what passed in the Convocation-house, is taken by Foxe verbatim, with the exception of the necessary change of pronouns, from a statement made by Alexander Alesius himself in a rare tract, an imperfect copy of which is in the library of St. Paul's cathedral. The title of the work (which is wanting in the copy alluded to) runs thus: 'Of the auctorityе of the Word of God agaynst the Bisshop of London, wherein are conteyned certen disputacyons had in the Parlement Howse betwene the Bisshops, abowt the nomber of the Sacraments, and other things, very necessary to be known: made by Alexander Alane, a Scot, and sent to the Duke of Saxon.' 16mo. From the same work it appears that the author had been 'specially called into Ingland (from Antwerp) by the right noble Lord Crumwel and the Archbisshop of Cäterbery,' by whom he had not only been 'lovingly received,' but also by the King himself. He was subsequently sent to Cambridge, 'to reade a lecture of the scripture there,' but was stopped by the opposite party, on an alleged infringement of the Statutes. On this, for a while, he abandoned theology for physic, studying under 'Doctor Nicolas' of London. The meeting of Alesius with Cromwell, on this occasion, appears to have been entirely accidental. For a further account of Alesius, whose name is sometimes translated Hales, or Ales, and sometimes Alan: see M'Kenzie's Scots Writers, fol. vol. ii. p. 183; also Herbert's Account of Printing, vol. iii. pp. 1547 and 1553.—Ed.

attending upon the coming of Cromwell, as he was come in, rose up and did obeisance unto him as to their vicar-general, and he again saluted, every one in their degree, and sat down in the highest place at the table, according to his degree and office; and, after him, every bishop in his order, and doctors. First, over against him, sat the archbishop of Canterbury; then the archbishop of York, the bishops of London, Lincoln, Salisbury, Bath, Ely, Hereford, Chichester, Norwich, Rochester, and Worcester, &c. There Cromwell, in the name of the king (whose most dear and secret counsellor at that present he was, and lord privy seal, and vicar-general of the realm), spake these words in manner following:

Cromwell's Oration to the Bishops assembled in the Convocation House.

Right reverend fathers in Christ! The king's majesty giveth you high thanks that ye have so diligently, without any excuse, assembled hither according to his commandment. And ye be not ignorant that ye be called hither to determine certain controversies, which at this time be moved concerning the christian religion and faith, not only in this realm, but also in all nations throughout the world. For the king studieth day and night to set a quietness in the church; and he cannot rest until all such controversies be fully debated and ended, through the determination of you, and of his whole parliament. For, although his special desire is to set a stay for the unlearned people, whose consciences are in doubt what they may believe; and he himself, by his excellent learning, knoweth these controversies well enough, yet he will suffer no common alteration, but by the consent of you and his whole parliament: by which thing ye may perceive both his high wisdom, and also his great love toward you. And he desireth you, for Christ's sake, that all malice, obstinacy, and carnal respect set apart, ye will friendly and lovingly dispute among yourselves of the controversies moved in the church; and that you will conclude all things by the word of God, without all brawling or scolding: neither will his majesty suffer the Scripture to be wrested and defaced by any glosses, any papistical laws, or by any authority of doctors and councils; and much less will he admit any articles or doctrine not contained in the Scripture, but approved only by continuance of time and old custom, and by unwritten verities, as ye were wont to do. Ye know well enough, that ye be bound to show this service to Christ and to his church; and yet, notwithstanding, his majesty will give you high thanks, if ye will set and conclude a godly and a perfect unity: whereunto this is the only way and mean, if ye will determine all things by the Scripture, as God commandeth you in Deuteronomy; which thing his majesty exhorteth and desireth you to do.

The king's request to the bishops.

When Cromwell had ended this his oration, the bishops rose up altogether, giving thanks unto the king's majesty, not only for his great zeal toward the church of Christ, but also for his most godly exhortation, worthy so christian a prince.

Immediately they rose up to disputation, where Stokesley bishop of London, the first of all, being the most earnest champion and maintainer of the Romish decrees (whom Cromwell a little before had checked by name, for defending unwritten verities), endeavoured himself, with all his labour and industry, out of the old school glosses, to maintain the seven sacraments of the church: the archbishop of York, and the bishops of Lincoln, Bath, Chichester, and Norwich, also, favoured his part and sect. On the contrary part were the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishops of Salisbury, Ely, Hereford, Worcester, with many others.

Stokesley defendeth the seven sacraments.

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After much communication had on either part, and when they had long contended about the testimonies of the doctors, who, as it seemed unto them, dissented and disagreed among themselves, the archbishop of Canterbury at last spake, and said thus unto them:

The Archbishop of Canterbury's Oration to the Bishops.

Sophistication of words to be avoided.

It beseemeth not men of learning and gravity to make much babbling and brawling about bare words, so that we agree in the very substance and effect of the matter. For to brawl about words, is the property of sophisters, and such as mean deceit and subtlety, who delight in the debate and dissension of the world, and in the miserable state of the church; and not of them that should seek the glory of Christ, and should study for the unity and quietness of the church. There be weighty controversies now moved and put forth, not of ceremonies and light things, but of the true understanding, and of the right difference of the law and of the gospel; of the manner and way how sins be forgiven; of comforting doubtful and wavering consciences, by what means they may be certified that they please God, seeing they feel the strength of the law accusing them of sin; of the true use of the sacraments, whether the outward work of them doth justify man, or whether we receive our justification by faith. Item, which be the good works, and the true service and honour which please God; and whether the choice of meats, the difference of garments, the vows of monks and priests, and other traditions, which have no word of God to confirm them; whether these, I say, be right good works, and such as make a perfect christian man, or no? Item, whether vain service and false honouring of God, and man's traditions, do bind men's consciences, or no? Finally, whether the ceremony of confirmation, of orders, and of annoiling, and such others (which cannot be proved to be instituted of Christ, nor have any word in them to certify us of remission of sins), ought to be called sacraments, and to be compared with baptism and the supper of the Lord, or no?

Questions of religion to be discussed.

False worshipping.

Ceremonies.

These be no light matters, but even the principal points of our christian religion: wherefore we contend not about words and trifles, but about high and earnest matters. Christ saith, 'Blessed be the peacemakers, for they shall be called the sons of God.'[1] And Paul, writing unto Timothy, commanded bishops to avoid brawling and contention about words, which be profitable to nothing, but unto the subversion and destruction of the hearers; and admonisheth him especially, that he should resist with the Scriptures, when any man disputeth with him of the faith: and he addeth a cause, whereas he saith, 'Doing this thou shalt preserve both thyself, and also them which hear thee.'[2] Now, if ye will follow these counsellors, Christ and Paul, all contention and brawling about words must be set apart, and ye must establish a godly and a perfect unity and concord out of the Scripture. Wherefore, in this disputation, we must first agree of the number of the sacraments, and what a sacrament doth signify in the holy Scripture; and when we call baptism and the supper of the Lord, sacraments of the gospel, what we mean thereby. I know right well that St. Ambrose, and other authors, call the washing of the disciples' feet, and other things, sacraments; which I am sure you yourselves would not suffer to be numbered among the other sacraments.

All be not sacraments which have the name.

When he had ended his oration, Cromwell commanded Alesius, who stood by (whom he perceived to give attentive ear to that which was spoken), to show his mind and opinion, declaring to the bishops before, that he was the king's scholar; and therefore desired them to be contented to hear him indifferently.

Alesius reasoneth with the bishop.

Alesius, after he had first done his duty unto the lord Cromwell, and to the prelates of the church, said in this wise:

(1) Matt. v. 9. (2) 1 Tim. iv. 16.

The Oration of Alexander Alesius to the Bishops.

Right honourable and noble lord, and you most reverend fathers and prelates of the church! although I come unprepared unto this disputation, yet, trusting in the aid of Christ, who promiseth to give both mouth and wisdom unto us when we be required of our faith, I will utter my sentence and judgment of this disputation. And I think that my lord archbishop hath given you a profitable exhortation, that ye should first agree of the signification of a sacrament, whether ye will call a sacrament a ceremony instituted by Christ in the gospel, to signify a special or a singular virtue of the gospel and of godliness (as Paul nameth remission of sins to be), or whether ye mean every ceremony generally, which may be a token or a signification of a holy thing, to be a sacrament? For after this latter signification, I will not stick to grant you that there be seven sacraments, and more too, if ye will. But yet Paul seemeth to describe a sacrament after the just signification, where he saith, 'that circumcision is a token and a seal of the righteousness of faith.'[1] This definition of one particular sacrament must be understood to appertain unto all sacraments generally: for the Jews had but one sacrament only, as all the scholastical writers do grant. And he describeth baptism after the same manner, in the Ephesians, where he saith, that Christ doth sanctify the church;[2] that is to say, all that be baptized, through the bath of water, in the word of life. For here, also, he addeth the word and promise of God unto the ceremony. And Christ, also, requireth faith where he saith, 'Whosoever believeth and is baptized, shall be saved.

The name a sacrament, how far it extendeth.

What is a sacrament.

And St. Augustine describeth a sacrament thus: 'The word of God, coming unto the element, maketh the sacrament.' And, in another place, he saith, 'A sacrament is a thing wherein the power of God, under the form of visible things, doth work secretly salvation.' And the Master of the Sentences doth describe a sacrament no otherwise: 'A sacrament,' saith he, 'is an invisible grace, and hath a visible form: and by this invisible grace I mean,' saith he, 'remission of sins.' Finally, St. Thomas denieth that any man hath authority to institute a sacrament. Now, if ye agree unto this definition of a sacrament, it is an easy thing to judge of the number of those sacraments which have the manifest word of God, and be instituted by Christ, to signify unto us the remission of our sins.

God's word and promise going with a ceremony, maketh a sacrament. No man hath the power.

St. Augustine[3] saith, that there be but two such sacraments; his words be these, 'First, I would have thee to understand the sum and effect of this disputation, which is this: That our Lord Jesus Christ (as he himself saith in the gospel) hath laden us but with a light and easy yoke or burden. Wherefore he hath knit together the fellowship of his new people with sacraments, very few in number, very easy to be kept, and very excellent in signification; which be baptism, and the supper of the Lord, and such others, if there be any more commanded in the holy Scripture; those except, which were burdens for the servitude of the people in the old law, for the hardness of their hearts,' &c. And again, in the third book of The Learning of a Christian Man, he saith: 'The Scripture hath taught us but few signs, as be the sacrament of baptism, and the solemn celebration and remembrance of the body and blood of the Lord,' &c.

Christ's church charged but with few and easy sacraments.

Then the bishop of London, who could scarcely refrain himself all this while, and now could forbear no longer, brake out in this manner: "First of all," saith he, "where you allege that all the sacraments which are in the church, instituted by Christ himself, have either some manifest ground in the Scriptures, or ought to show forth some signification of remission of sins, it is false, and not to be allowed."

Stokesley replieth against Alesius.

Then said Alesius, that he would prove it, not only by manifest authorities of Scripture, but also by evident testimonies of ancient doctors and school-writers.

But the bishop of Hereford (who was then lately returned out of

(1) Rom. iv. 11. (2) Ephes. v. 26. (3) August. ad Januarium, Epis. 118.

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Germany, where he had been ambassador for the king to the protestants), being moved with the bishop of London's frowardness, turning himself first to Alexander Alesius, willed him not to contend with the bishop in such manner, by the testimonies of doctors and schoolmen, forasmuch as they do not all agree in like matters, neither are they steadfast among themselves in all points, but do vary, and in many points are utterly repugnant. "Wherefore, if this disputation shall be decided by their minds and verdicts, there shall be nothing established, neither shall appear any way of agreement to follow. Furthermore, we be commanded by the king, that these controversies should be determined only by the rule and judgment of the Scripture." This he spake unto Alesius. Then, turning himself unto the bishops, he likewise admonished them, with a grave and sharp oration, which we thought not good to omit in this place.

Doctors not to be stuck to in matters of faith.

The Oration of Foxe, Bishop of Hereford, unto the Bishops.

The gospel shining in all places.

Think ye not that we can by any sophistical subtleties steal out of the world again the light which every man doth see. Christ hath so lightened the world at this time, that the light of the gospel hath put to flight all misty darkness; and it will shortly have the higher hand of all clouds, though we resist in vain ever so much. The lay people do now know the holy Scripture better than many of us; and the Germans have made the text of the Bible so plain and easy, by the Hebrew and Greek tongues, that now many things may be better understood without any glosses at all, than by all the commentaries of the doctors. And, moreover, they have so opened these controversies by their writings, that women and children may wonder at the blindness and falsehood that have been hitherto. Wherefore ye must consider earnestly what ye will determine of these controversies, that ye make not yourselves to be mocked and laughed to scorn of all the world, and that ye bring them not to have this opinion of you, to think evermore hereafter, that ye have neither one spark of learning, nor yet of godliness in you. And thus shall ye lose all your estimation and authority with them, that before took you for learned men, and profitable members unto the commonwealth of Christendom. For that which you do hope upon, that there was never heresy in the church so great, but that process of time, with the power and authority of the pope, hath quenched it, is nothing to the purpose. But ye must turn your opinion, and think this surely, that there is nothing so feeble and weak, so that it be true but it shall find place, and be able to stand against all falsehood.[1]

The faithful diligence of the Germans in translating the Bible.

It is a vain hope to trust upon the pope's authority.

Truth the daughter of time.

Truth is the daughter of time, and time is the mother of truth; and whatsoever is besieged of truth, cannot long continue; and upon whose side truth doth stand, that ought not to be thought transitory, or that it will ever fall. All things consist not in painted eloquence, and strength or authority: for the truth is of so great power, strength, and efficacy, that it can neither be defended with words, nor be overcome with any strength, but after she hath hidden herself long, at length she putteth up her head and appeareth, as it is written in Esdras: 'A king is strong; wine is strong; yet women be more strong: but truth excelleth all.'[2]

To this effect, in a manner, and much more, did he speak and utter in that convocation, both copiously and discreetly; through whose oration Alesius, being encouraged, proceeded to urge the bishop further with this argument.

The Argument in Form.

Baroco. Sacraments be seals ascertaining us of God's good will.
Without the Word there is no certainty of God's good will.
Ergo, Without the Word there be no sacraments.

(1) Truth will come out at last. (2) 1 Esdras iii.

The first part of this reason is St. Paul's own saying, in the fourth to the Romans, where he saith, that circumcision 'is a token and a seal of the righteousness of faith:'[1] *Ergo*, it requireth faith to certify man's heart of the will of God. But the word of God is the foundation of faith, as St. Paul witnesseth, 'Faith cometh by hearing, and hearing cometh by the word of God:'[2] for the mind must be taught and instructed to the will of God by the word, like as the eye is taught and instructed by the outward ceremony. And so Paul, by that saying, confuteth this opinion, that the sacraments should make men righteous and just before God for the very outward work, without faith of them that receive them.

Sacraments only to be gathered out of the word of God.

And after this manner doth Paul speak unto the Ephesians:[3] that Christ doth sanctify his church, through the bath of water, in the word of life. And forasmuch as he joineth the word unto the ceremony, and declareth the virtue and power of the word of God, that it bringeth with it life, he doth manifestly teach that the word of God is a principal thing, and even as it were the very substance and body of the sacrament; and the outward ceremony to be in very deed nothing else but a token of that lively inflammation, which we receive through faith in the word and promise. St. Paul also, in ministering the sacrament of the Lord's supper, doth manifestly add the words of Christ: 'He took bread,' saith he, 'and when he had given thanks, he brake it, and said, Take ye this, and eat ye this, for it is my body.' Item, 'Do ye this in my remembrance.' Besides this, he teacheth evidently that only Christ, and none but he, had power to institute a sacrament; and that neither have the apostles, nor hath the church, any authority to alter, or to add, any thing unto his ordinance, whereas he saith, 'For I received of the Lord, that which I delivered unto you,'[4] &c. To what purpose should he go about to move the people to believe him, and to win their hearts with this protestation, if it had been lawful for him to have made any sacraments, or to have altered the form and manner of ministering the sacrament, as some men both wickedly and shamefully do affirm, that the apostles did alter the form of baptism.

Christ's institution ought not to be altered.

When he had spoken thus much, the bishop of London did interrupt him, and said thus:

The Answer of the Bishop of London against Alesius.

Unwritten verities and traditions of fathers in equal force with God's written word!

Let us grant that the sacraments may be gathered out of the word of God, yet are ye far deceived if ye think that there is none other word of God, but that which every souter and cobbler doth read in this mother tongue. And if ye think that nothing pertaineth unto the christian faith, but that only which is written in the Bible, then err ye plainly with the Lutherans: for St. John saith,[5] that Jesus 'did many things which be not written;' and St. Paul commandeth the Thessalonians[6] to observe and keep certain unwritten traditions and ceremonies. Moreover he himself did preach not the Scripture only, but even also the traditions of the elders.[7] Finally, we have received many things of the doctors and councils of by-times, which, although they be not written in the Bible, yet forasmuch as the old doctors of the church do make mention of them, we ought to grant that we received them of the apostles, and that they be of like authority with the Scripture; and, finally, that they may worthily be called, the word of God unwritten.

The unwritten word of God.

Now when the right noble lord Cromwell, the archbishop, with the other bishops, who did defend the pure doctrine of the gospel, heard this, they smiled a little one upon another, forasmuch as they saw him flee, even in the very beginning of the disputation, unto his old rusty sophistry and unwritten verities. Then Alesius would have proceeded further with the bishop, to have confuted this blasphemous lie, but the lord Cromwell bade him be content, for the time began to

Stokesley laughed to scorn.

(1) Rom. iv. 11. (2) Rom. x. 17. (3) Ephes. v. 26. (4) 1 Cor. xi. 23. 24.
(5) John xxi. 25. (6) 2 Thess. ii. 15. (7) Acts xvi. 4.

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go away, and it was twelve o'clock; and thus he made an end with his protestation:

'Right reverend master bishop, you deny that our christian faith and religion doth lean only upon the word of God, which is written in the Bible: which thing if I can prove and declare, then you will grant me, that there be no sacraments but those that have the manifest word of God to confirm them.'

Unto this he did consent, and then immediately that assembly was dissolved for that day. The next day, when the bishops were set again, the archbishop of Canterbury, sending his archdeacon, commanded Alesius to abstain from disputation: whereupon he wrote his mind, and delivered it to Cromwell, who afterward showed the same unto the bishops. Thus, through the industry of Cromwell, the colloquies were brought to this end, that albeit religion could not wholly be reformed, yet at that time there was some reformation had throughout all England.

Public care of Cromwell for the common-wealth.

How desirous and studious this good Cromwell was, in the cause of Christ's religion, examples need not to be brought. His whole life was nothing else but a continual care and travail how to advance and further the right knowledge of the gospel, and reform the house of God: as by so many proclamations above-specified, by his means set forth, may well appear, wherein first he caused the people to be instructed in the Lord's prayer and creed in English. Then he procured the Scripture also to be read and set forth in the same language, for every Englishman to understand. After that, to rescue the vulgar people from damnable idolatry, he caused certain of the more gross pilgrimages to be destroyed. And further, for the more commodity of the poor sort, who get their living with their daily labour and work of their hands, he provided that divers idle holydays were diminished. Item, He procured for them liberty to eat eggs and white meat in Lent. Furthermore, it was by him also provided, for the better instruction of the people, that beneficed men should be resident in their cures and parishes, there to teach, and to keep hospitality, with many other things else, most fruitfully redressed for the reformation of religion and behoof of Christ's church: as by the proclamations, injunctions, and necessary articles of christian doctrine above specified, set forth in the king's name, by his means, may more abundantly appear.

Now, to adjoin withal his private benefits, in helping divers good men and women at sundry times out of troubles and great distresses, it would require a long discourse. Briefly, his whole life was full of such examples, being a man to that intent ordained of God (as his deeds well proved) to do many men good, and especially such as were in danger of persecution for religion's sake. Amongst other infinite stories, one or two examples shall suffice for a testimony of his worthy doings; and first, how he helped a poor woman with child, out of great trouble, longing for a piece of meat in time of Lent.

A STORY OF ONE FREBARN'S WIFE LONGING FOR A PIECE OF MEAT IN LENT.[1]

In the year of our Lord 1538, sir William Forman being mayor of the city of London, three weeks before Easter, the wife of one Thomas Frebarn, dwelling in Paternoster-row, being with child, longed after a morsel of a pig, and told her mind unto a maid dwelling in Abchurch-lane, desiring her, if it were possible, to help her unto a piece. The maid, perceiving her earnest desire, showed unto her husband what his wife had said unto her, telling him that it might chance to cost her her life, and the child's too, which she went withal, if she had it not. Upon this, Thomas Frebarn her husband, spake to a butter-wife whom he knew, that dwelled at Hornsey, named goodwife Fisher, to help him to a pig for his wife, for she was with child, and longed sore to eat of a pig: unto whom the said goodwife Fisher promised, that she would bring him one the Friday following; and so she did, being ready dressed and scalded before. But when she had delivered him the pig, she craftily conveyed one of the pig's feet, and carried it unto Dr. Cox's, at that time being dean of Canterbury, dwelling in Ivy-lane, who, at the time of his dinner, before certain guests which he had bidden, showed this pig's foot, declaring who had the body thereof.[2] And after that they had talked their pleasure, and dinner was done, one of his guests (being landlord unto Frebarn aforesaid, called Master Garter, and by his office, king at arms), sent his man unto the said Frebarn, demanding if there were nobody sick in his house: unto whom he answered, that they were all in good health, he gave God thanks. Then said he again, It was told his master, that somebody was sick, or else they would not eat flesh in Lent: unto whom Frebarn made answer, that his wife was with child, and longed for a piece of a pig, and if he could get some for her, he would. Then departed his landlord's man home again.

A crafty part of a false Judas.

And, shortly after, his landlord sent for him. But before that he had sent for him, he had sent for the bishop of London's sumner, whose name was Holland, and when this Frebarn was come, he demanded of him if he had not a pig in his house; which he denied not. Then commanded Master Garter the said sumner called Holland, to take him, and go home to his house, and to take the pig, and carry both him, and the pig, unto Dr. Stokesley his master, being then bishop of London: and so he did. Then the bishop, being in his chamber with divers other of the clergy, called this Frebarn before him, and had him in examination for this pig; laying also unto his charge, that he had caten in his house, that Lent, powdered beef, and calves' heads: Unto whom Frebarn answered, "My lord, if the heads were eaten in my house, in whose houses were the bodies eaten? also, if there be either man or woman that can prove, that either I, or any in my house, hath done as your lordship saith, let me suffer death there-for." "You speak," said he, "against pilgrimages, and will not take holy bread, or holy water, nor

Frebarn examined before the bishop.

(1) The persecutors were Fisher's wife of Hornsey; Dr. Cox; Bishop Stokesley; Holland his sumner; Master Garter, king of arms.

(2) 'Let no man judge you in meat and drink, or in respect of an holy day,' &c. Colos. ii. 16.

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yet go on procession on Palm Sunday; thou art no christian man." "My lord," said Frebarn, "I trust I am a true christian man, and have done nothing either against God's law, or my prince's."

Pharisaical judgment.

In the time of this his examination, which was during the space of two hours, divers came unto the bishop; some to have their children confirmed, and some for other causes: unto whom as they came, having the pig before him covered, he would lift up the cloth and show it them, saying, "How think you of such a fellow as this is? Is not this good meat, I pray you, to be eaten in this blessed time of Lent; yea, and also powdered beef and calves' heads too, besides this!"

Frebarn brought to the Compter.

Brought before the mayor.

After this, the bishop called his sumner unto him, and commanded him to go and carry this Thomas Frebarn, and the pig, openly through the streets into the Old Bailey, unto sir Roger Cholmley: for the bishop said, he had nothing to do to punish him, for that belonged unto the civil magistrates. And so was Frebarn carried, with the pig before him, to sir Roger Cholmley's house in the Old Bailey; and he being not at home at that time, Frebarn was brought likewise back again unto the bishop's place with the pig, and there lay in the porter's lodge till it was nine o'clock at night. Then the bishop sent him unto the Compter in the Poultry, by the sumner and other of his servants.

The next day, being Saturday, he was brought before the mayor of London and his brethren, unto Guildhall; but, before his coming, they had the pig delivered unto them by the bishop's officer. Then the mayor and the bench laid unto his charge (as they were informed from the bishop), that he had eaten powdered beef and calves' heads in his house the same Lent: but no man was able to come in that would justify it, neither could any thing be found, save only the pig, which (as is before said) was for the preservation of his wife's life, and that she went withal. Notwithstanding the mayor of London said, that the Monday next following he should stand on the pillory in Cheapside, with the one half of the pig on the one shoulder, and the other half on the other.

Then spake the wife of the said Frebarn unto the mayor and the bench, desiring that she might stand there, and not he; for it was the long of her, and not of him. After this they took a satin list, and tied it fast about the pig's neck, and made Frebarn to carry it, hanging on his shoulder, until he came unto the Compter of the Poultry, from whence he came.

After this was done, the wife of this prisoner took with her an honest woman, the wife of one Michael Lobley, who was well acquainted with divers in the lord Cromwell's house, unto whom the said woman resorted for some help for this prisoner, desiring them to speak unto their lord and master for his deliverance out of trouble.

Barnes and Barlow sue to Cromwell for Frebarn.

It happened that the same time came in Dr. Barnes and Master Barlow, who, understanding the matter by Lobley's wife, went up to the lord Cromwell, and certified him thereof; who, upon their request, sent for the mayor of the city of London: but what was said unto the lord mayor is unknown, saving that in the afternoon of the same day the wife of the person aforesaid resorted again unto the lord mayor, suing to get

her husband delivered out of prison, declaring how that she had two small children, and had nothing to help her and them, but only her husband, who laboured for their livings. Unto whom the mayor answered, "What come ye to me? You are taken up by the king's council. I supposed, that you had come to desire me that your husband should not stand upon the pillory in Cheapside on Monday next, with the one half of the pig on his one shoulder, and the other half on the other." Also the mayor said unto her, that he could not deliver him, without the consent of the rest of his brethren the aldermen: wherefore he bade her, the next day following, which was the Sabbath-day, to resort unto Paul's, to St. Dunstan's chapel, and when he had spoken with his brethren, he would then tell her more. Other answer could she not get at that time; wherefore she went unto Master Wilkinson, then being sheriff of London, desiring him to be good unto her, and that she might have her poor husband out of prison. Unto whom Master Wilkinson answered, "O woman, Christ hath laid a piece of his cross upon thy neck, to prove whether thou wilt help him to bear it or no:" saying, moreover, unto her, that if the lord mayor had sent him to his Compter, as he sent him to his brother's, he should not of tarried there an hour: and so commanded her to come the next day unto him to dinner, and he would do the best for her he could. So the next day came, and this woman resorted again to Master Wilkinson's, according as he bade her, who also had bidden divers guests, unto whom he spake in her behalf. But as they were set at dinner, and she also sitting at the table, when she saw the hot fish come in, she fell down in a swoon, so that for the space of two hours they could keep no life in her. Wherefore they sent her home to her house in Paternoster-row, and then they sent for the midwife, supposing that she would have been delivered incontinent of her child that she went with (but after that she came somewhat again to herself), where she lay sick, and kept her bed the space of fifteen weeks after; being not able to help herself, but as she was helped of others, during the time of fifteen weeks.

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The lord mayor's answer to the poor woman.

The gentle words of Master Wilkinson, sheriff of London, to the poor woman.

Now, to show further what became of this pig, whereof we have spoken so much, it was carried into Finsbury field by the bishop of London's sumner, at his master's commandment, and there buried. The Monday following, being the fourth day after that this prisoner aforesaid was apprehended, the mayor of London, with the residue of his brethren, being at Guildhall, sent for the prisoner aforenamed, and demanded sureties of him for his forthcoming, whatsoever hereafter should or might be laid unto his charge: but for lack of such sureties as they required, upon his own bond, which was a recognisance of twenty pounds, he was delivered out of their hands. But, shortly after he was delivered out of this his trouble, Master Garter, of whom we have spoken before, being his landlord, warned him out of his house, so that in four years after, he could not get another, but was constrained to be with other good folks, to his great hinderance and undoing.

What God ordaineth to be eaten, superstition burieth.

Frebarn delivered out of prison, and discharged from his house by his landlord.

Hard it were, and almost out of number, to rehearse the names and stories of all them that felt the gentle help of this good man in some case or other. Where might be remembered the notable deliverance

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of one Gray, a smith of Bishop-Stortford, who, being accused for denying the sacrament of the altar to be our Saviour, was sent up for the same to London, and there should have been condemned to be burned, but that, by the means of the lord Cromwell, he was sent home again and delivered. One other example, though it be somewhat long, with the circumstances and all, I will declare: how he helped the secretary that then was to Dr. Cranmer archbishop of Canterbury, which secretary is yet alive, and can bear present record of the same.

Gray, a smith, delivered by Cromwell.

HOW THE LORD CROMWELL HELPED CRANMER'S SECRETARY.

Cranmer disputeth three days in parliament against the six articles.

Mention was made before, how king Henry, in the twenty-first year of his reign, caused the Six Articles to pass, much against the mind, and contrary to the consent, of the archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer, who had disputed three days against the same, in the parliament-house, with great reasons and authorities. Which articles, after they were granted and passed by the parliament, the king, for the singular favour which he ever bare to Cranmer, and reverence to his learning, being desirous to know what he had said and objected in the parliament against these articles, or what could be alleged by learning against the same, required a note of the archbishop of his doings, what he had said and opposed in the parliament touching that matter. And this word was sent to him from the king by Cromwell and other lords of the parliament, whom the king then sent to dine with him at Lambeth, somewhat to comfort again his grieved mind and troubled spirits, as hath been above recited.

Whereupon, when this dinner was finished, the next day after, the archbishop, collecting both his arguments, authorities of Scripture, and doctors together, caused his secretary[1] to write a fair book thereof for the king, after this order. First, the Scriptures were alleged; then the doctors; thirdly, followed the arguments deduced from those authorities. This book was written in his secretary's chamber; where, in a by-chamber, lay the archbishop's almoner. When this book was fair written, and while the secretary was gone to deliver the same unto the archbishop his master, who was (as it then chanced) ridden to Croydon, returning back to his chamber, he found the door shut, and the key carried away to London by the almoner.

At this season also chanced the father of the said secretary to come to the city, by whose occasion it so fell out, that he must needs go to London. The book he could not lay in his chamber, neither durst he commit it to any other person to keep, being straitly charged, in any condition, by the archbishop his master, to be circumspect thereof; so that he determined to go to his father, and to keep the book about him. And so thrusting the book under his girdle, he went over unto Westminster bridge with a sculler, where he entered into a wherry that went to London, wherein were four of the guard, who meant to land at Paul's wharf, and to pass by the king's highness, who then was in his barge, with a great number of barges and boats about him, then baiting of bears in the water, over against the bank.

These aforesaid yeomen of the guard, when they came against the

(1) The name of this secretary was Master Ralph Morice, being yet alive.

king's barge, they durst not pass by towards Paul's wharf, lest they should be espied, and therefore entreated the secretary to go with them to the bear-baiting, and they would find the means, being of the guard, to make room, and to see all the pastime. The secretary, perceiving no other remedy, assented thereto. When the wherry came nigh the multitude of the boats, they, with poleaxes, got the wherry so far, that being compassed with many other wherries and boats, there was no refuge if the bear should break loose and come upon them; as in very deed, within one pater-noster—while, the bear brake loose, and came into the boat where the yeomen of the guard were, and the said secretary. The guard forsook the wherry, and went into another barge, one or two of them leaping short, and so fell into the water. The bear and the dogs so shook the wherry wherein the secretary was, that the boat, being full of water, sunk to the ground; and being also, as it chanced, an ebbing tide, he there sat in the end of the wherry, up to the middle in water; to whom came the bear and all the dogs. The bear, seeking as it were aid and succour of him, came back with his hinder parts upon him, and so rushing upon him, the book was loosed from his girdle, and fell into the Thames, out of his reach.

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A bear-baiting upon the Thames before the king.

Tall yeomen but ill keepers.

The flying of the people after that the bear was loose, from one boat to another, was so cumberous, that divers persons were thrown into the Thames; the king commanding certain men that could swim to strip themselves naked, and to help to save them that were in danger. This pastime so displeased the king, that he bade "away, away with the bear, and let us go all hence!"

Cranmer's book against the six articles lost in the Thames.

The secretary, perceiving his book to fleet away in the Thames, called to the bearward to take up the book. When the bearward had the book in his custody, being an arrant papist, far from the religion of his mistress (for he was the lady Elizabeth's bearward, now the queen's majesty), ere the secretary could come to land, he had delivered the book to a priest of his own affinity in religion, standing on the bank, who, reading in the book, and perceiving that it was a manifest refutation of the Six Articles, made much ado, and told the bearward, that whosoever claimed the book, should surely be hanged. Anon the secretary came to the bearward for his book. "What," quoth the bearward, "dare you challenge this book? Whose servant are you?" "I am servant to one of the council," said the secretary, "and my lord of Canterbury is my master." "Yea marry," quoth the bearward, "I thought as much: you be like, I trust," quoth the bearward, "to be both hanged for this book." "Well," said he, "it is not so evil as you take it, and, I warrant you, my lord will avouch the book to the king's majesty. But I pray you let me have my book, and I will give you a crown to drink." "If you will give me five hundred crowns, you shall not have it," quoth the bearward.

Cranmer's book delivered to a popish priest.

With that the secretary departed from him, and understanding the malicious frowardness of the bearward, he learned that Blage, the grocer in Cheapside, might do much with the bearward, to whom the secretary brake this matter, requiring him to send for the bearward to supper, and he would pay for the whole charge thereof; and besides that, rather than he would forego his book after this sort, the

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bearward should have twenty shillings to drink. The supper was prepared; the bearward was sent for and came. After supper the matter was treated of, and twenty shillings offered for the book. But do what could be done, neither friendship, acquaintance, nor yet reward of money, could obtain the book out of his hands, but that the same should be delivered unto some of the council that would not so slightly look on so weighty a matter, as to have it redeemed for a supper, or a piece of money. The honest man, Master Blage, with many good reasons, would have persuaded him not to be stiff in his own conceit, declaring that in the end he should nothing at all prevail of his purpose, but be laughed to scorn; getting neither penny nor praise for his travail. He, hearing that, rushed suddenly out of the doors from his friend Master Blage, without any manner of thanksgiving for his supper, more like a bearward, than like an honest man. When the secretary saw the matter so extremely to be used against him, he then thought it expedient to fall from any farther practising of entreaty with the bearward, as with him that seemed rather to be a bear himself, than the master of the beast; determining the next morning to make the lord Cromwell privy of the chance that happened.

So, on the next day, as the lord Cromwell went to the court, the secretary declared the whole matter unto him, and how he had offered him twenty shillings for the finding thereof. "Where is the fellow?" quoth the lord Cromwell. "I suppose," said the secretary, "that he is now in the court, attending to deliver the book unto some of the council." "Well," said the lord Cromwell, "it maketh no matter; go with me thither, and I shall get you your book again."

The bearward waiteth to give the book to the council.

When the lord Cromwell came into the hall of the court, there stood the bearward, with the book in his hand, waiting to have delivered the same unto sir Anthony Brown, or unto the bishop of Winchester, as it was reported. To whom the lord Cromwell said, "Come hither, fellow! what book hast thou there in thy hand?" and with that snatched the book out of his hand, and looking in the book, he said, "I know this hand well enough. This is your hand," said he to the secretary.

Cromwell getteth the book from him.

"But where hadst thou this book?" quoth the lord Cromwell to the bearward. "This gentleman lost it two days ago in the Thames," said the bearward. "Dost thou know whose servant he is?" said the lord Cromwell. "He saith," quoth the bearward, "that he is my lord of Canterbury's servant." "Why then didst thou not deliver to him the book, when he required it?" said the lord Cromwell. "Who made thee so bold, as to detain and withhold any book or writing from a councillor's servant, especially being his secretary? It is more meet for thee to meddle with thy bears, than with such writing; and were it not for thy mistress' sake, I would set thee fast by the feet, to teach such malapert knaves to meddle with councillors' matters. Had not money been well bestowed upon such a good fellow as this is? that knoweth not a councillor's man from a cobbler's man!" And with those words the lord Cromwell went up into the king's chamber of presence, and the archbishop's secretary with him, where he found, in the chamber, the lord of Canterbury. To whom he said, "My lord! I have found here good stuff for you (showing to him the paper book that he had in his hand), ready to bring both you, and this good

The words of Cromwell to archbishop Cranmer.

fellow your man, to the halter; namely, if the knave bearward, now in the hall, might have well compassed it." At these words the archbishop smiled, and said, "He that lost the book is like to have the worst bargain, for besides that he was well washed in the Thames, he must write the book fair again:" and, at these words, the lord Cromwell cast the book unto the secretary, saying, "I pray thee, Morice! go in hand therewith, by-and-by, with all expedition, for it must serve a turn." "Surely, my lord, it somewhat rejoiceth me," quoth the lord Cromwell, "that the varlet might have had of your man twenty shillings for the book, and now I have discharged the matter with never a penny, and shaken him well up for his over-much malapertness. I know the fellow well enough," quoth he, "there is not a ranker papist within this realm than he is, most unworthy to be a servant unto so noble a princess." And so, after humble thanks given to the lord Cromwell, the said Morice departed with his book, which, when he again had fair written it, was delivered to the king's majesty by the said lord Cromwell, within four days after. *Henry VIII.* A.D. 1540.

THE LORD CROMWELL, NOT FORGETTING HIS OLD FRIENDS AND BENEFACTORS.

It is commonly seen, that men advanced once from base degree to ample dignities, do rise also, with fortune, into such insolency and exaltation of mind, that not only they forget themselves, what they were, and from whence they came, but also cast out of remembrance all their old friends and former acquaintance, who have been to them before beneficial. From this sort of men how far the courteous condition of this christian earl did differ, by divers examples it may appear; as by a certain poor woman keeping some time a victualling-house about Hounslow, to whom the said lord Cromwell remained in debt for certain old reckonings, to the sum of forty shillings. It happened that the lord Cromwell, with Cranmer archbishop of Canterbury, riding through Cheapside towards the court, in turning his eye over the way, and there espying this poor woman, brought now in need and misery, eftsoons caused her to be called unto him; who, being come, after certain questions, asked of her (if she were not such a woman, and dwelling in such a place); at last, he demanded if he were not behind for a certain payment of money between him and her. To whom, with reverend obeisance, she confessed that he owed her money for a certain old reckoning, which was yet unpaid; whereof she stood now in great necessity, but never durst call upon him, nor could come at him, to require her right. Then the lord Cromwell, sending the poor woman home to his house, and one of his servants withal, that the porter should let her in, after his return from the court not only discharged the debt which he owed, but also gave her a yearly pension of four pounds, and a livery every year while she lived. *Example of a grateful debtor.*

The like courtesy the said lord Cromwell showed also to a certain Italian, who, in the city of Florence, had showed him much kindness in succouring and relieving his necessity, as in this story following may appear; which story, set forth and compiled in the Italian tongue by Bandello, and imprinted at Lucca, by Busdrago, A.D. 1554,

Henry VIII. A. D. 1540.

I thought here to insert, with the whole order and circumstance thereof, as it is reported.

A Notable Story of the Lord Cromwell, and an Italian.[1]

Not many years past (saith the author), there was in Florence a merchant, whose name was Francis, descended from the noble and ancient family of the Frescobalds. This gentleman was naturally endued with a noble and liberal mind, unto whom, also, through prosperous success and fortunate luck in his affairs and doings, much abundance of riches increased, so that he grew in great wealth, having his coffers replenished with many heaps of much treasure. According to the custom of merchants, he used his trade into many countries, but chiefly into England, where long time he lived, sojourning in London, keeping house to his great commendation and praise.

Cromwell asking his alms of Frescobald.

It happened that Francis Frescobald, being in Florence, there appeared before him a poor young man, asking his alms for God's sake. Frescobald, as he earnestly beheld this ragged stripling, who was not so disguised in his tattered attire, but that his countenance gave signification of much towardness and virtue in him, with conformity of manners agreeing to the same, being moved with pity, demanded of what country he was, and where he was born. 'I am, sir,' quoth he, 'of England, and my name is Thomas Cromwell. My father is a poor man, and by his occupation a cloth-shearer.[2] I am strayed from my country, and am now come into Italy, with the camp of Frenchmen that were overthrown at Garigliano, where I was the page to a footman, carrying after him his pike and burganet.' Frescobald, partly considering the present state of this young man, and partly for the love he bare to the English nation, of whom he had received, in times past, sundry pleasures, received him into his house, and with such courtesy entertained his guest, that at his departure, when he was in mind to return to his country, he provided such necessaries as he any way needed. He gave him both horse and new apparel, and sixteen ducats of gold in his purse, to bring him into his country. Cromwell, rendering his hearty thanks, took leave of his host, and returned into England. This Cromwell was a man of noble courage, and heroical spirit, given to enterprise great matters, very liberal, and a grave councillor, &c. But to our purpose. At what time Cromwell was so highly favoured of his prince, and advanced to such dignity as is aforesaid, Francis Frescobald (as it many times happeneth to merchants) was, by many misfortunes and great losses, cast back, and become very poor. For, according to conscience and equity, he paid whatsoever was due to any others from himself; but such debts as were owing unto him, he could by no means obtain: yet, calling further to remembrance that in England, by certain merchants, there was due to him the sum of fifteen thousand ducats,[3] he so purposed with himself, that if he could recover that money, he would well content himself, and no longer deal in his trade of merchants, but quietly pass over the rest of his days.

Cromwell page to a soldier.

The gentleness of Frescobald to Cromwell.

All things prepared for his journey, he, setting forward towards England, at last arrived at London, having utterly forgotten what courtesy long before he had showed to Cromwell, which is the property always of a good nature, for a man to forget what benefits he hath showed to others, but to keep in mind continually what he hath received of others. Frescobald, thus being now arrived at London, and there travelling earnestly about his business, it chanced him, by the way, to meet with this noble man, as he was riding towards the court; whom, as soon as the said lord Cromwell had espied, and had earnestly beheld, he bethought with himself that he should be the man of Florence, at whose hands, in times past, he had received so gentle entertainment: and thereupon suddenly alighting (to the great admiration of those that were with him), in his arms he gently embraced the stranger, and with a broken voice, scarce able to refrain tears, he demanded if he were not Francis Frescobald the Florentine. 'Yea, sir,' he answered, 'and your humble servant.' 'My servant?' quoth Cromwell. 'No, as you have not been my servant in times past, so will I not

The words of Cromwell to the Italian merchant.

(1) See 'Le Novelle de Bandello.' Lucca, 1554. Part ii. p. 202. Bandello was bishop of Agen, in France, and died A.D. 1561.—Ed.

(2) Note that this cloth-shearer was his father-in-law.

(3) An Italian ducat cometh to as much as our English crown.

now account you otherwise than my great and especial friend; assuring you that I have just reason to be sorry, that you, knowing what I am (or, at least, what I should be), will not let me understand of your arriving in this land; which, known unto me, truly I should have payed part of that debt, which I confess to owe you: but, thanked be God! I have yet time. Well, sir, in conclusion, you are heartily welcome: but, having now weighty affairs in my prince's cause, you must hold me excused, that I can no longer tarry with you. Therefore, at this time I take my leave, desiring you, with the faithful mind of a friend, that you forget not this day to come to my house to dinner.' And then, remounting his horse, he passed to the court. *Henry VIII.* A.D. 1540. Old friendship remembered.

Frescobald, greatly marvelling with himself who this lord should be, at last, after some pause his remembrance better called home, he knew him to be the same, whom long before (as you have heard) he had relieved in Florence; and thereat he not a little joyed, especially considering how that, by his means, he should the better recover his due.

The hour of dinner drawing near, he repaired to the house of this honourable councillor, where, walking a while in his base court, he attended his coming. The lord shortly returned from the court, and no sooner dismounted, but he again embraced this gentleman with so friendly a countenance, that both the lord admiral, and all the other noblemen of the court, being then in his company, did not a little marvel thereat. Which thing when the lord Cromwell perceived, he said, turning towards them, and holding Frescobald fast by the hand, 'Do ye not marvel, my lords,' quoth he, 'that I seem so glad of this man? This is he by whose means I have achieved the degree of this my present calling: and because ye shall not be ignorant of his courtesy when I greatly needed, I shall tell it you.' And so there declared he unto them every thing in order, according as before hath been recited unto you. His tale finished, holding him still by the hand, he entered his house; and coming into the chamber where his dinner was prepared, he sat him down to the table, placing his best welcomed guest next unto him. Courtesy of Cromwell in entertaining his old host.

The dinner ended, and the lords departed, he would know what occasion had brought Frescobald to London. Francis, in few words, opened his cause, truly telling, that from great wealth he was fallen into poverty, and that his only portion to maintain the rest of his life, was fifteen thousand ducats which were owing him in England, and two thousand in Spain. Whereunto the lord Cromwell, answering again, said, 'Touching the things, Master Frescobald! that be already past, although it cannot now be undone by man's power, nor by policy called again, which hath happened unto you by the unstable condition and mutability of this world, altering to and fro; yet is not your sorrow so peculiar to yourself alone, but that, by the bond of mutual love, I must also bewail with you this your state and condition: which state and condition of yours, though it may work in you matter of just heaviness, yet notwithstanding, to the intent you may receive, in this your heavy distress, some consolation for your old courtesy, showed to me in times past, the like courtesy now requireth of me again, that I, likewise, should repay some portion of that debt wherein I stand bound unto you; according as the part of a thankful man bindeth me to do, in requiting your benefits on my part heretofore received. And this further I avouch on the word of a true friend, that during this life and state of mine, I will never fail to do for you, wherein my authority may prevail to supply your lack and necessity: and so let these few words suffice to give you knowledge of my friendly meaning. But let me delay the time no longer.'

Then, taking him by the hand, he led him into his chamber, whence, after that every man by his commandment was departed, he locked fast the door. Then, opening a coffer full heaped with treasure, he first took out sixteen ducats, and, delivering them to Frescobald, he said; 'Lo here, my friend! is your money which you lent me at my departure from Florence, and here are other ten which you bestowed on my apparel, with ten more that you disbursed for the horse I rode away on. But, considering you are a merchant, it seemeth to me not honest to return your money without some consideration for the long detaining of it. Take you, therefore, these four bags, and in every one of them are four hundred ducats: these you shall receive and enjoy from the hands of your assured friend.' Example of a faithful debtor. The lord Cromwell's usury.

Frescobald, although from great wealth he was brought to a low ebb,

Henry VIII. A.D. 1540.

and almost an utter decay, yet expressing the virtue of a modest mind, after gentle thanks given to the lord Cromwell for his exceeding kindness showed, courteously would have refused that which was offered, had not the other enforced him against his will to receive it. This done, he caused Frescobald to give him a note of the names of all his debtors, and the sum that from every one of them was owing him. This schedule he delivered to one of his servants, unto whom he gave charge diligently to search out such men whose names were therein contained, if they were within any part of the realm; and then straitly to charge them to make payment of those sums within fifteen days, or else to abide the hazard of his displeasure. The servant so well performed his master's commandment, that in very short time they made payment of the whole sum; and if it had liked Frescobald so to have demanded, they should have answered to the uttermost, such commodity as the use of his money in so many years would have given him profit: but he, contented with his principal, would demand no further; by which means he got both hearty love and great estimation, and the more, for that he was so dear to the lord Cromwell, and so highly esteemed of him.

Kindness requited with kindness.

Modesty in an Italian.

And during all this time, Frescobald continually lodged in the house of the lord Cromwell, who ever gave him such entertainment as he had right well deserved, and oftentimes moved him to abide here in England, offering him the loan of threescore thousand ducats for the space of four years, if he would continue, and make his bank in London. But Frescobald, who desired to return into his country, and there quietly to continue the rest of his life, with the great favour of the lord Cromwell, after many thanks for his high and noble entertainment, departed towards his desired home, where, richly arriving, he gave himself quietly to live. But this wealth he small time enjoyed, for in the first year of his return he died.

Another example of the lowly mind of Cromwell.

So plentiful was the life of this man in such fruits, full of singular gratitude and courtesy, that to rehearse all it would require too long a tractation. Yet one example amongst many others I may not overpass, whereby we may evidently consider, or rather marvel at, the lowly mind of such a person in so high a state and place of honour. For as he, coming with others of the lords of the council and commissioners, to the house of Shene, about the examination of certain monks, who there denied the king's supremacy, after the examination done was there sitting at dinner, it chanced him to spy afar off a certain poor man, who there served to sweep their cells and cloisters, and to ring the bells: whom when the lord Cromwell had well advised, he sent for the poor man to come unto him, and, before all the table, most lovingly and friendly called him by his name, took him by the hand, and asked how he did, with many other good words; and turning therewith to the lords, "My lords!" quoth he, "see you this poor man? This man's father hath been a great friend to me in my necessity, and hath given me many a meal's meat." Then said he unto the poor man, "Come unto me, and I will provide for thee, and thou shalt not lack so long as I live." Such as were there present, and saw and heard the same, being alive at the second edition hereof, report it to be true.

Three things in Cromwell: zeal, wisdom, and authority.

In this worthy and noble person, besides divers other eminent virtues, three things especially are to be considered, to wit, flourishing authority, excelling wisdom, and fervent zeal to Christ and to his gospel. First, as touching his fervent zeal in setting forward the sincerity of christian faith, sufficient is to be seen before by the injunctions, proclamations, and articles above specified, that more cannot almost be wished in a nobleman, and scarce the like hath been seen in any.

Secondly, with his wisdom and policy no less singular, joined with his christian zeal, he brought great things to pass, as well on this side the sea, as in the other parts beyond. But especially his working was to nourish peace abroad with foreign realms, as may be well, by the king's letters and instructions, sent by his means to his ambassadors resident both with the emperor, the French king, and the king of Scots, and also with the pope, may well appear; in all whose courts, such watch and espial he had, that nothing there was done, nor pretended, whereof he before had not intelligence. Neither was there any spark of mischief kindling ever so little against the king and the realm, which he, by wit and policy, did not quench and keep down; and where policy would not serve to obtain peace, yet by money he bought it out; so that during all the time of Cromwell's prosperity, the king never had war with any foreign nation: notwithstanding, that both the pope, the emperor, and the kings of France and Scotland, were mightily bent and incensed against him.

His wisdom and policy.

Cromwell a continual nourisher of peace.

Thus, as the prudent policy of this man was ever circumspect abroad, to stay the realm from foreign wars; so his authority was no less occupied in keeping good order and rule at home: first, in hampering the popish prelates, and disappointing their subtle devices; secondly, in bridling and keeping other unruly subjects under subjection and discipline of the laws; whereby as he was a succour and refuge to all godly persons, so was he a terror to the evil doers; so that not the presence of him only, but also the hearing of the coming of Cromwell, brake many frays, and much evil rule, as well appeared by a certain notorious fray or riot, appointed to be fought by a company of ruffians in the street of London called Paternoster-row; where carts were set on both sides, prepared on purpose to enclose them, that none might break in to part them. It happened that as this desperate skirmish should begin, the lord Cromwell, coming the same time from the court through Paul's Church-yard, and entering into Cheap, had intelligence of the great fray toward, and because of the carts he could not come at them, but was forced to go about the Little Conduit, and so came upon them through Pannier-alley. Thus, as the conflict began to wax hot, and the people were standing by in great expectation to see them fight, suddenly, at the noise of the lord Cromwell's coming, the camp brake up, and the ruffians fled, neither could the carts keep in those so courageous campers, but well was he that first could be gone. And so ceased this tumultuous outrage, without any other parting; only through the authority of the lord Cromwell's name.

His authority employed to the commodity of the realm.

A fray in Paternoster-row, stopped by Cromwell.

One example more of the like affinity cometh here in mind, which ought not to be omitted, concerning a certain servingman of the like ruffianly order; who, thinking to dissever himself from the common usage of all other men in strange newfangleness of fashions by himself (as many there be whom nothing doth please, which is daily seen and received), used to go with his hair hanging about his ears down unto his shoulders, after a strange monstrous manner (counterfeiting belike the wild Irishmen, or else Crimisus, the Trojan, whom Virgil speaketh of), as one weary of his own English fashion; or else as one who, ashamed to be seen like a man, would rather go

A story between Cromwell and a ruffian.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1540.

like a woman; or like to one of the Gorgon sisters; but most of all like to himself; that is, like to a ruffian, that could not tell how to go.

The ruffian with the long hair.

As this ruffian, ruffling thus with his locks, was walking in the streets, as chance was, who should meet him but the lord Cromwell! who, beholding the deform and unseemly manner of his disguised going, full of much vanity and hurtful example, called the man, to question with him whose servant he was: which being declared, then was it demanded whether his master or any of his fellows used so to go with such hair about their shoulders as he did, or no: which when he denied, and was not able to yield any reason for refuge of that his monstrous disguising, at length he fell to this excuse, that he had made a vow. To this the lord Cromwell answered again, that forasmuch as he had made himself a votary, he would not force him to break his vow, but until his vow should be expired, he should lie the mean time in prison: and so sent him immediately to the Marshalsea, where he endured; till at length this 'Intonsus Cato,' being persuaded by his master to cut his hair, by suit and petition of friends, he was brought again to the lord Cromwell, with his head polled according to the accustomed sort of his other fellows; and so was dismissed.

Hereunto also pertaineth the example of friar Bartley, who, wearing still his friar's cowl after the suppression of religious houses, Cromwell, coming through Paul's Church-yard, and espying him in Rheines's shop, "Yea," said he, "will not that cowl of yours be left off yet? And if I hear, by one o'clock, that this apparel be not changed, thou shalt be hanged immediately, for example to all others." And so, putting his cowl away, he durst never wear it after.

Friar Bartley casteth away his friar's cowl.

If the same lord Cromwell, who could not abide this servingman so disfigured in his hair, were now in these our days alive, with the same authority which then he had, and saw these new-fangled fashions of attire, used here amongst us both of men and women, I suppose verily, that neither these monstrous ruffs, nor these prodigious hose, and prodigal, or rather hyperbolical, barbarous breeches (which seem rather like barrels than breeches), would have any place in England. In which unmeasurable excess of vesture this I have to marvel: First, how these servingmen, who commonly have nothing else but their wages, and that so slender and bare, can maintain such slops, so huge and so sumptuous, which commonly stand them in more than their three years' wages do come unto. Secondly, I marvel that their masters and lords (who shall yield to God account of their servants' doings) do not search and try out their servants' walks, how they come by these expenses wherewith to uphold this bravery, seeing their stipendiary wages, and all revenues else they have, will not extend thereunto. Thirdly, this most of all is to be marvelled, that magistrates, who have in their hands the ordering and guiding of good laws, do not provide more severely for the needful reformation of these enormities. But here we may well see, and truly this may say, "that England once had a Cromwell."

The monstrous slops of England lack a Cromwell.

Long it were to recite what innumerable benefits this worthy councillor, by his prudent policy, his grave authority, and perfect

zeal, wrought and brought to pass in the public realm, and especially in the church of England; what good orders he established, what wickedness and vices he suppressed, what corruptions he reformed, what abuses he brought to light; what crafty jugglings, what idolatrous deceptions and superstitious illusions, he detected and abolished out of the church. What posterity will ever think the church of the pope, pretending such religion, to have been so wicked, so long to abuse the people's eyes with an old rotten stock, called the Rood of Grace, wherein a man should stand enclosed, with a hundred wires within the rood, to make the image goggle with the eyes, to nod with his head, to hang the lip, to move and shake his jaws, according as the value was of the gift which was offered? If it were a small piece of silver, the image would hang a frowning lip; if it were a piece of gold, then should his jaws go merrily. Thus miserably were the people of Christ abused, their souls seduced, their senses beguiled, and their purses spoiled, till this idolatrous forgery, at last, by Cromwell's means, was disclosed, and the image, with all his engines, showed openly at Paul's Cross, and there torn in pieces by the people. The like was done by the blood of Hayles, which, in like manner, by Cromwell was brought to Paul's Cross, and there proved to be the blood of a duck. Who would have judged, but that the maid of Kent had been a holy woman, and a prophetess inspired, had not Cromwell and Cranmer tried her at Paul's Cross, to be a strong and lewd impostor. What should I speak of Darvel Gartheren, of the rood of Chester, of Thomas Becket, of our lady of Walsingham, with an infinite multitude more of the like affinity? all which stocks and blocks of cursed idolatry, Cromwell, stirred up by the providence of God, removed them out of the people's way, that they might walk more safely in the sincere service of Almighty God.'

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Divers corruptions in the church detected and reformed by him.

The rood of grace goggling with his eyes.

The blood of Hayles.

The holy maid of Kent read before.

Stocks and blocks removed out of the way.

While the lord Cromwell was thus blessedly occupied in profiting the commonwealth, and in purging the church of Christ, it happened to him, as commonly it doth to all good men, that where any excellency of virtue appeareth, there envy creepeth in; and where true piety seeketh most after Christ, there some persecution followeth withal.

Thus, I say, as he was labouring in the commonwealth, and doing good to the poor afflicted saints, helping them out of trouble, the malice of his enemies so wrought, continually hunting for matter against him, that they never ceased, till in the end, by false trains and crafty surmises, they brought him out of the king's favour.

The chief and principal enemy against him was Stephen Gardiner bishop of Winchester, who, ever disdaining and envying the state and felicity of the lord Cromwell, and now taking his occasion by the marriage of lady Anne of Cleves, being a stranger and foreigner, put in the king's ears what a perfect thing it were for the quiet of the realm, and establishment of the king's succession, to have an English queen and prince that were mere English; so that, in conclusion, the king's affection, the more it was diminished from the late married Anne of Cleves, the less favour he bare unto Cromwell. Besides this Gardiner, there lacked not other back friends also, and ill willers in the court about the king, which little made for Cromwell, both for

Gardiner chief enemy to Cromwell.

(1) See also page 404.—Ed.

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his religion which they maligned, and for other private grudges also, incident by the way.

Over and besides all this, it is, moreover, supposed, that some part of displeasure might arise against him by reason of a certain talk which happened a little before at Lambeth; at what time the king, after the making of the Six Articles, sent the said lord Cromwell his vicegerent, with the two dukes of Norfolk and Suffolk, with all the lords of the parliament, to Lambeth, to dine with the archbishop (who mightily had disputed and alleged in the parliament against the said articles), to cheer and comfort his daunted spirits again.

Talk between Cromwell and certain lords at Lambeth.

There the said Cromwell, with the other noble lords, sitting with the archbishop at his table in talk, as every lord brought forth his sentence in commendation of Cranmer, to signify what good will both the king and they bare unto him; among the rest, one of the company, entering into a comparison between the said Thomas Cranmer and Thomas Wolsey, late cardinal of York, declared that Cranmer, in his judgment, was much to be preferred for his mild and gentle nature, whereas the cardinal was a stubborn and a churlish prelate, and one that could never abide any noble man. "And that," said he, "know you well enough, my lord Cromwell! for he was your master," &c. At these words the lord Cromwell, being somewhat touched to hear the cardinal's service so cast in his teeth, inferred again, saying, that he could not deny but he was servant some time to cardinal Wolsey, neither did repent the same; for he received of him both fee, meat, and drink, and other commodities: but yet he was never so far in love with him, as to have waited upon him to Rome, if he had been chosen pope, as he understood that *he* would have done, if the case had so fallen out. Which when the other had denied to be true, Cromwell still persisted, affirming the same, and showing, moreover, what number of florins he should have received, to be his admiral, and to have safely conducted him to Rome, in case he had been elected bishop of Rome. The party, not a little moved with these words, told him, he lied. The other again affirmed it to be true. Upon this, great and high words rose between them; which contention, although it was, through entreaty of the archbishop and other nobles, somewhat pacified for the time, yet it might be, that some bitter root of grudge remained behind, which afterwards grew unto him to some displeasure. And this was A.D. 1539, in the month of July.[1]

A parliament. Cromwell apprehended.

After this, the next year following, which was 1540, in the month of April, was holden a parliament, which, after divers prorogations, was continued till the month of July. On the tenth of June in the said year,[2] the lord Cromwell, being in the council-chamber, was suddenly apprehended, and committed to the Tower of London: whereat as many good men, who knew nothing but truth by him, did lament and prayed heartily for him, so more there were, on the contrary side, that rejoiced, especially of the religious sort, and of the clergy, such as had been in some dignity before in the church, and now, by his means, were put from it. For indeed such was his nature, that in all his doings he could not abide any kind of popery, or of false religion creeping under hypocrisy; and less could he abide the ambitious pride of popish prelacy, which, professing all humility, was

(1) Ex testimonio secretarii Cantuar (2) Journals, p. 143.—ED.

so elated in pride, that kings could not rule in their own realms for them. These snuffing prelates as he could never abide, so they again hated him as much, which was the cause of shortening his days, and of bringing him to his end; so that on the seventeenth day[1] of the month aforesaid, he was attainted by parliament. *Henry VIII.* A.D. 1540.

In that attainder, divers and sundry crimes, surmises, objections, and accusations, were brought against him: but chiefly, and above all others, he was charged and accused of heresy, for that he was a supporter of them whom they recounted for heretics; as Barnes, Clark, and many others, whom, by his authority, and letters written to sheriffs and justices in divers shires, he had rescued, and discharged out of prison. Also that he did divulgate and disperse abroad among the king's subjects great numbers of books, containing (as they said) manifest matter of much heresy, diffidence, and misbelief. Item, that he caused to be translated into our English tongue, books comprising matter expressly against the sacrament of the altar; and that after the translation thereof, he commended and maintained the same for good and christian doctrine. Over and besides all this, they brought in certain witnesses (what they were, the attainder expresseth not), who most especially pressed (or rather oppressed) him with heinous words spoken against the king in the church of St. Peter the Poor, in the month of March, in the thirtieth year of the king's reign; which words if they be true, as the attainder doth purport, three things I have here much to marvel at. First, if his adversaries had so sure hold and matter against him, then what should move them to make such hasty speed, in all post haste to have him dispatched and rid out of the way, and in no case could abide him to come to his purgation? which if he might have done, it is not otherwise to be thought, but he would easily have cleared himself thereof. Crimes and accusations brought against him. Witnesses against him suspected.

Secondly, this I marvel, that if the words had been so heinous against the king as his enemies did pretend, why then did those witnesses who heard those words in St. Peter's church in the thirtieth year of the king's reign, conceal the said words of such treason so long, the space almost of two years, and now uttered the same in the two-and-thirtieth year of the king's reign, in the month of July.

Thirdly, here is again to be marvelled, if the king had known or believed these words to be true, and that Cromwell had been indeed such a traitor to his person, why then did the king, so shortly after, lament his death, wishing to have his Cromwell alive again? What prince will wish the life of him whom he suspecteth undoubtedly to be a traitor to his life and person? Whereby it may appear what judgment the king had of Cromwell in himself, howsoever the parliament, by sinister information, was otherwise incensed to judge upon him.

Such malicious makebates about princes and parliaments, never lacked in commonweals. By such king Athelstan was incensed to kill his brother Edwin. So was king Edward II. deposed. So likewise, when king Richard II. was once brought into the Tower, what crimes and accusations were laid against him in the parliament? So was Humphrey the good duke of Gloucester, the king's uncle, by Henry Beaufort bishop of Winchester, and others, in the parliament What mischief malicious makebates make in a commonwealth.

(1) On the 29th of June the Bill of Attainder passed. See Journals, p. 146.—Ed.

Henry VIII. A. D. 1540.

holden at Bury, arrested as a traitor, and falsely made away. What great treason was in the words of him, who, dwelling in Cheapside, at the sign of the Crown, said merrily to his son, that if he lived, he would make him heir to the crown? and yet was he therefore attainted and judged for a traitor. In the time of king Henry VIII. how was that parliament incensed, wherein both queen Anne was falsely condemned, and queen Elizabeth her daughter as falsely disherited? To omit here the attainder of the duke of Buckingham, wrought by the cardinal of York; of the lord Cobham likewise, and sir Roger Acton: if the cause of the lord Henry late earl of Surrey were well tried out, peradventure no such heinous purpose of any treason should be found therein, as then was made. Who incensed the late duke of Somerset to behead his own brother, but such make-bates as these? and afterwards, when the said duke himself was attainted for a traitor, and condemned for a felon, a briber, and extortioner, how was the parliament then incensed? Adam Damlip received of cardinal Pole at Rome but a silly crown in way of alms, and there-for, by means of Stephen Gardiner, was attainted for a traitor. George Egles did but read sometimes in woods, and by the said Gardiner was also condemned, and suffered as a traitor. Not that I here speak or mean against the high courts of parliaments of this our realm, necessarily assembled for the commonwealth, to whom I always attribute their due reverence and authority. But, as it happeneth sometimes in general councils, which, though they be ever so general, yet notwithstanding sometimes they may and do err in weighty matters of religion; so, likewise, they that say that princes and parliaments may be misinformed sometimes, by some sinister heads, in matters civil and politic, do not therein derogate or impair the high estate of parliaments, but rather give wholesome admonition to princes and parliament men, to be more circumspect and vigilant what counsel they shall admit, and what witnesses they do credit. For private affection, which commonly beareth a great stroke in all societies and doings of men, creepeth sometimes into such general councils, and into prince's courts also, either too much amplifying things that be but small, making mountains of molehills, or else too much extenuating things that be of themselves great and weighty, according as it is truly said by the poet Juvenal, "Dat veniam corvis, vexat censura columbas;" or, as our English proverb showeth, "As a man is friended, so is his matter ended;" and "Where the hedge is low, a man may lightly make large leaps;" or rather, to speak after the French phrase, "Qui son chien veut tuer, la rage lui met sur;" that is, "He that is disposed to have his dog killed, first maketh men believe that he is mad." And thus much having declared touching the matter of his accusation, the rest I refer to the high parliament of that Mighty King, who shall one day bring all things to perfect light.

Authority of parliaments.

A French proverb.

In the mean season, howsoever the cause of the lord Cromwell standeth true or false, this is certain, that Stephen Gardiner lacked not a head, nor yet privy assisters, who cunningly could fetch this matter about, and watch their time, when the king, being disposed to marry another wife, which was the lady Katherine Howard, immediately after the beheading of the lord Cromwell, did repudiate lady

Anne of Cleves, which otherwise it is to be thought, during the life of Cromwell could not so well be brought to pass. *Henry VIII.*

But these things being now done and past, let us pass them over, and return again from whence we digressed, that is, to the lord Cromwell, being now attainted and committed to the Tower; who, so long as he went with full sail of fortune, how moderately, and how temperately he did ever bear himself in his estate, before hath been declared. So now the said lord Cromwell, always one man, by the contrary wind of adversity being overblown, received the same with no less constancy and patience of a christian heart: neither yet was he so unprovided of counsel and forecast, but that he did foresee this tempest long before it fell, and also prepared for the same; for two years before, smelling the conspiracy of his adversaries, and fearing what might happen, he called unto him his servants, and there, showing unto them in what a slippery state he stood; and also perceiving some stormy weather already to gather, required them to look diligently to their order and doings, lest, through their default, any occasion might rise against him. And furthermore, before the time of his apprehension, such order he took for his servants, that many of them, especially the younger brethren, who had little else to take unto, had honestly left for them in their friends' hands to relieve them; whatsoever should him befall.

A.D. 1540.

Anne of Cleves divorced from the king.

Christian patience of Cromwell in adversity.

Preparing for his trouble beforehand.

Good to his servants.

Briefly, such a loving and kind master he was to his servants, that he provided aforehand almost for them all; insomuch, that he gave to twelve children, who were his musicians, twenty pounds a piece, and so committed them to their friends, of whom some yet remain alive, who both enjoyed the same, and also gave record of this to be true.

Furthermore, being a prisoner in the Tower, how quietly he bare it, how valiantly he behaved himself, how gravely and discreetly he answered and entertained the commissioners sent unto him, it is worthy noting. Whatsoever articles and interrogatories they propounded, they could put nothing unto him, either concerning matters ecclesiastical or temporal, wherein he was not more ripened, and more furnished in every condition, than they themselves.

Amongst the rest of those commissioners who came unto him, one there was, whom the lord Cromwell desired to carry for him a letter to the king; which when he refused, saying that he would carry no letter to the king from a traitor, then the lord Cromwell desired him at least to do from him a message to the king. To that the other was contented, and granted, so that it were not against his allegiance. Then the lord Cromwell, taking witness of the other lords, what he had promised, "You shall commend me," said he, "to the king, and tell him, by that he hath so well tried, and throughly proved you as I have done, he shall find you as false a man as ever came about him."

Besides this, he wrote also a letter from the Tower to the king, whereof when none durst take the carriage upon him, sir Ralph Sadler (whom he also had preferred to the king before, being ever trusty and faithful unto him), went unto the king to understand his pleasure, whether he would permit him to bring the letter or not; which when the king had granted, the said Master Sadler, as he was

Sir Ralph Sadler Cromwell's trusty friend.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1540.

required, presented the letter unto the king, which he commanded thrice to be read unto him, insomuch that the king seemed to be moved therewith.

At[1] last, three years after all this was done, Cromwell being circumvented with the malicious craft and policy of divers, that, by occasion of mention made touching the king's divorce with the lady Anne of Cleves, he had said these words: "That he wished his dagger in him that had dissolved or broken that marriage;" hereupon it was objected against him by Thomas duke of Norfolk and others, that it was spoken against the king, who, at that time being in love with Catherine Howard, was the chief cause and author of that divorce. Whereupon divers of the nobles conspiring against him, some for hatred, and some for religion's sake, he was cast into the Tower of London; where, as it happened (as it were by a certain fatal destiny), that whereas he, a little before, had made a law, that whosoever was cast into the Tower, should be put to death without examination, he himself suffered by the same law. It is said (which also I do easily credit), that he made this violent law, not so much for any cruelty or tyranny, as only for a certain secret purpose, to have entangled the bishop of Winchester, who, albeit he was, without doubt, the most violent adversary of Christ and his religion, notwithstanding, God, peradventure, would not have his religion set forth by any wicked cruelty, or otherwise than was meet and convenient.

Cromwell brought to the scaffold.

Notwithstanding, by reason of the act of parliament before passed, the worthy and noble lord Cromwell, oppressed by his enemies, and condemned in the Tower, and not coming to his answer, on the 28th day of July, A.D. 1540, was brought to the scaffold on Tower-hill, where he said these words following.

Lord Cromwell's words on the Scaffold.

I am come hither to die, and not to purge myself, as some think, peradventure, that I will: for if I should so do, I were a very wretch and a miser. I am, by the law, condemned to die, and thank my Lord God that hath appointed me this death for mine offence. For since the time that I have had years of discretion, I have lived a sinner, and offended my Lord God; for the which I ask him heartily forgiveness. And it is not unknown to many of you, that I have been a great travailler in this world, and being but of a base degree, was called to high estate; and since the time I came thereunto I have offended my prince, for the which I ask him heartily forgiveness, and beseech you all to pray to God with me, that He will forgive me. * O[2] Father forgive me! O Son forgive me! O Holy Ghost forgive me! O three persons in one God forgive me!* And now I pray you that be here, to bear me record, I die in the catholic faith, not doubting in any article of my faith, no nor doubting in any sacrament of the church. Many have slandered me, and reported that I have been a bearer of such as have maintained evil opinions; which is untrue: but I confess, that like as God, by his Holy Spirit, doth instruct us in the truth, so the devil is ready to seduce us; and I have been seduced. But bear me witness, that I die in the catholic faith of the holy church. And I heartily desire you to pray for the king's grace, that he may long live with you in health and prosperity; and that after him, his son, prince Edward, that goodly imp, may long reign over you. And once again I desire you to pray for me, that so long as life remaineth in this flesh, I waver nothing in my faith.

A true christian confession of the lord Cromwell at his death.

(1) See Edition 1563, p. 598.—Ed.
(2) This ejaculatory portion of Cromwell's address is from the Edition 1563, p. 598.—Ed.

And so making his prayer, * which[1] was long, but not so long as both godly and learned,* kneeling on his knees he spake these words, the effect whereof here followeth. *Henry VIII.* A.D. 1540.

A Prayer that the Lord Cromwell said at the Hour of his Death.

O Lord Jesu! which art the only health of all men living, and the everlasting life of them which die in thee, I, wretched sinner, do submit myself wholly unto thy most blessed will; and being sure that the thing cannot perish which is committed unto thy mercy, willingly now I leave this frail and wicked flesh, in sure hope that thou wilt, in better wise, restore it to me again at the last day, in the resurrection of the just. I beseech thee, most merciful Lord Jesu Christ! that thou wilt, by thy grace, make strong my soul against all temptations, and defend me with the buckler of thy mercy against all the assaults of the devil. I see and acknowledge that there is in myself no hope of salvation, but all my confidence, hope, and trust, is in thy most merciful goodness. I have no merits nor good works which I may allege before thee. Of sins and evil works, alas! I see a great heap; but yet, through thy mercy, I trust to be in the number of them to whom thou wilt not impute their sins; but wilt take and accept me for righteous and just, and to be the inheritor of everlasting life. Thou, merciful Lord! wast born for my sake; thou didst suffer both hunger and thirst for my sake; thou didst teach, pray, and fast for my sake; all thy holy actions and works thou wroughtest for my sake; thou sufferedst most grievous pains and torments for my sake: finally, thou gavest thy most precious body and thy blood to be shed on the cross for my sake. Now, most merciful Saviour! let all these things profit me, that thou freely hast done for me, which hast given thyself also for me. Let thy blood cleanse and wash away the spots and foulness of my sins. Let thy righteousness hide and cover my unrighteousness. Let the merits of thy passion and blood-shedding be satisfaction for my sins. Give me, Lord! thy grace, that the faith of my salvation in thy blood waver not in me, but may ever be firm and constant: that the hope of thy mercy and life everlasting never decay in me: that love wax not cold in me. Finally, that the weakness of my flesh be not overcome with the fear of death. Grant me, merciful Saviour! that when death hath shut up the eyes of my body, yet the eyes of my soul may still behold and look upon thee; and when death hath taken away the use of my tongue, yet my heart may cry and say unto thee, 'Lord! into thy hands I commend my soul; Lord Jesu! receive my spirit.' Amen.

Death of the lord Cromwell.

And thus his prayer made, after he had godly and lovingly exhorted them that were about him on the scaffold, he quietly committed his soul into the hands of God; and so patiently suffered the stroke of the axe, by a ragged and butcherly miser, who very ungoodly performed the office.

* This[2] valiant soldier and captain of Christ, the aforesaid lord Cromwell, as he was most studious of himself in a flagrant zeal to set forward the truth of the gospel, seeking all means and ways to beat down false religion and to advance the true, so he always retained unto him and had about him such as could be found helpers and furtherers of the same; in the number of whom were sundry and divers fresh and quick wits, pertaining to his family; by whose industry and ingenious labours, divers excellent ballads and books were contrived and set abroad, concerning the suppression of the pope and all popish idolatry. Amongst which, omitting a great sort that we might here bring in, yet this small treatise here following called 'The Fantassie

(1) See Edition 1563, p. 498.—Ed.

(2) This paragraph, with 'The Fantassie of Idolatrie,' is from the First Edition, 1563, pp. 598—600.—Ed.

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of Idolatrie,' we thought not to pass over, containing in it, as in a brief sum, the great mass of idolatrous pilgrimages; for the posterity hereafter to understand, what then was used in England.*

* A Booke entitled the Fantassie of Idolatrie.

All christen people
Beyng under the steple
Of Jesu Christes faith!
Marke and drawe nere,
And ye shall here
What the holy Scripture sayth.

First, I wyll begyn
Your hartes to wyn
With nother fable nor lye;
But with God's testament,
As is moste expedient,
Concerning idolatrie:

Wherin we myght se
Great authoritie,
Sauyng it were to long
For to rehearse,
Nowe, verse by verse,
In this same lytle song.

But I shall shewe,
In wordes fewe,
The summe of the whole effecte,
To them of good mynde,
That be wylling to fynde
The trade of idolatrous sect.

Fyrst, we will gather,
Of our heavenly Father,
Among his commaundmentes, ten;
Written as no fables,
But as in Moyse's tables,
To be kept of all christen men.

Where that he sayth,
To the chyldren of fayth,
'I am your God and Kyng;
Other gods haue ye none,
But me alone,
To love aboue all thing.'

'Idols and images
Haue none in vsage
(Of what mettel so euer they be),
Graued or carued;
My wyle be obserued,
Or els can ye not loue me.'

'Then I, a jealous God,
Wyll scourge with my rod;
I may not forbeare my hand:
And specially
For idolatry.
My power who can withstand!'

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The prophetes all,
In generall,
Of idols, as we may se,
Put us from doubte,
And set them out,
In their colours, as they ought to be.

Saynt Paule also,
With many saintes mo,
Against idols, with al their myght,
Perceiuing suche swarmes,
Did blase their armes,
And brought them out to lyght.

This should suffise
All those that be wyse;
But we, of a stoubourne mynde,
Be so harde harted,
Wyll not be conuerted,
But rather styll be blynde.

Rounyng hyther and thyther,
We cannot tell whither,
In offryng candels and pence
To stones and stockes,
And to olde rotten blockes,
That came, we know not from whense.

To Walsyngham[1] a gaddyng,
To Cantorbury a maddyng,
As men distraught of mynde;
With fewe clothes on our backes,
But an image of waxe,
For the lame and for the blynde.

To Hampton, to Ipswyche,
To Harforth, to Shordyche,
With many mo places of pryce;
As, to our lady of Worcester,
And the weet rode of Chester,
With the blessed lady of Penryce.

To Leymster, to Kyngstone,
To Yorke, to Donyngton,
To Redying, to the chyld of grace;
To Wynsore, to Waltam,
To Ely, to Caultam,
Bare foted and bare legged apace.

To Saynt Earth, a right,
Where, in the dark nyght,
Many iuglyng casts hath be done;
To Saynt Augers rotten bones
That ran away for the nones;
To the crosse that groweth at Chaldon.

(1) 'The image of our Lady at Walsingham was so famous in former times that even foreigners came on pilgrimage to visit it. Erasmus has given us a description of the chapel or shrine in which it was contained, and which appears to have been a distinct building from the priory church. Henry III. went thither in his twenty-sixth year. Edward I. in his ninth, and twenty-fifth years. Edward II. in his ninth year. Edward III. in his thirty-fifth year. John de Mountford earl of Bretaigne came over to visit it in the thirty-fifth of Edward III. David Bruce king of Scotland in the thirty-eighth year of Edward III. Henry VI. went there in 1455. Henry VII. ordered an image of silver, gilt, to be set up before it, in his will; and Henry VIII. and his first queen made more than one visit to it. Sir Henry Spelman says, that when he was a youth, the tradition was that Henry VIII. had walked barefoot from the town of Barsham to the chapel of our Lady, and presented her with a necklace of great value. This famous image, however, upon the change of belief, was taken from Walsingham to Chelsea, near London, and there burnt, the thirtieth year of Henry VIII.' See Dugdale, vol. vi. p. 71. Lond. 1825.—Ed.

Henry VIII. A. D. 1540.

To the good holy Ghoste,
That paynted poste,
Abyding at Basyngstoke;
Whiche doth as muche good
As a god made of wood,
And, yet, he beareth a great stroke.

To the holy bloud of Hayles,[1]
With your fyngers and nayles,
All that ye may scratche and wynne;
Yet it woulde not be seen,
Except you were shryven,
And clene from all deadly synne.

There, were we flocked
Lowted[2] and mocked;
For, nowe, it is knowen to be
But the bloud of a ducke,
That long did sucke
The thrifte, from euery degre.

To Pomfret, to Wylsdon,
To Saynt Anne of Bucston,
To Saynt Mighels Mount also;
But, to reken all,
My wyttes be too small,
For, God knoweth, there be many mo!

To Saynt Syth for my purse;
Saynt Loye saue my horse;
For my teth to Saynt Apolyne:
To Saynt Job for the poxe;
Saynt Luke saue myne oxe;
Saynt Anthony saue my swyne!

To Maister John Shorne,
That blessed man borne;
For the ague to hym we apply,
Whiche jugeleth with a bote:[3]
I beshrowe his herte rote
That wyle truste him, and it be I!

Suche was our truste,
Suche was our luste,
Upon creature to call and crye;
As men did please,
For every disease,
To haue a god peculiarly.

Blessed Saynt Sauiour,
For his noughty behauiour,
That dwelt not far from the stewes;
For causyng infidelitie,
Hath lost his dignitie:
Of him we shall heare more newes.

(1) 'The holy blood of Hayles.' 'Hayles Abbey in Gloucestershire, called also "Tray" (see Annales Waverl. in anno 1246), was founded by Richard, earl of Cornwall, second son to king John. The building was commenced in 1246, and was completed in 1261. Edmund, earl of Cornwall, son and heir of Richard the founder, having, in his travels in Germany with his father, obtained a portion of a relic, considered to be the blood of our Saviour, gave a third part of it, after his father's death, to this monastery in 1272, occasioning a very increased resort to it. Another portion of this blood he gave to the house of the Bonhommes at Ashridge.' See Dugdale, vol. v. p. 686.—Ed.
(2) 'Lowted,' kneeled or bowed.—Ed.
(3) 'Bote,' a recompense or fee.—Ed.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1540.

The swete rode of Rambisbery,
Twenty myle from Maumbysbery,
  Was oft times put in feare;
And nowe, at the laste,
He hath a brydling caste,
  And is become, I wote not wheare.

Yet, hath it been saide,
His virtue so wayde,
  That sixteen oxen and mo,
Were not able to cary
This rode from Rambisbery,
  Though he toke seuen horses also:

Whiche is a great lye,
For, the truth to trye
  His virtue is not worth a beane;
For one man toke hym downe,—
From his churche and towne
  Thre men conueyed him cleane.

Thus ran we about
To seke idols out,
  Wandryng farre and nere;
Thynkyng the power
Of our blessed Sauiour
  In other places more then there.

But now some may ronne,
And, when they haue done,
  Their idols they shall not finde;
They haue had such checkes,
That hath broke their neckes:
  Holde fast that be left behynde!

For the rode of grace
Hath lost his place,
  And is rubbed on the gall;
For false deuotion
Hath lost his promotion,
  And is broken in peces small.

He was made to jogle,
His eyes would gogle,
  He wold bend his browes and frowne;
With his head he wold nod
Like a proper young god,
  His shaftes[1] wold go up and downe.

The saying was:
That this rode of grace
  And our lady of Walsyngham,
Should haue bene maried,
Sauing they taried
  To spie a tyme howe and whan.

For some time in the nyght,
If the peeple say ryght,
  As two lovers eche others loue to procure,
They did mete very oft:
Whereby it was thought,
  That our lady and he had bene sure.

(1) 'Shafts,' the wooden limbs of the figure.—Ed.

Henry VIII. A. D. 1540.

Now the rode is dead,
And can not her wed,
Death gaue him so sore a stroke,
That it cost him his lyfe,
And lost hym his wyfe,
The rychest of all Northfolke.

But if he hadde lyued,
She had prouided,
With suche goodes as she wan,
(Though *he* neuer had worked
But like an idoll lurked),
To finde hym lyke an honest man.

And the rode had a gyfte
To make great shyfte,
With his bowget under his cote;
To haue gotten their lyuing,
Euen with false iugling,
Though *she* had neuer erned grote.

Also Delver Gathaerne,
As (saieth the Welcheman)
Brought outlawes out of hell,
Is come with spere and shelde,
In harneys to burne in Smythfielde;
For in Wales he may not dwell.

Then Forest the fryer,
That obstynate lyer,
That wyllingly is dead;
In his contumacy,
The gospell dyd deny,
And the kyng to be supreme head.

At Saynt Marget Patens,
The rode is gone thens,
And stoele away by nyght;
With his tabernacle and crosse,
With all that there was,
And is gone away quygte.

Yet haue we thought,
That these idols haue wrought
Myracles, in many a place,
Upon age and youth;
When, in very truth,
They were done by the deuils grace.

For the cursed deuyll,
The mayster of euyll,
To get us under his winges,
Hath such a condicion,
By God's permission,
To worke right wonderful thinges.

For when they bored holes
In the roodes' back of poles,
Which, as some men saye, dyd speake,
Then lay he still as a stocke,
Receyued there many a knocke,
And did not ones crie 'creake.'

Yet offer what ye wolde,
Were it otes, syluer, or golde
  Pyn, poynt, brooche, or rynge,
The churche were as then,
Such charitable men,
  That they would refuse nothyng.

But now may we see,
What gods they be,
  Euen puppets, maumats and elfes:
Throw them downe thryse,
They can not aryse,
  Not onse, to helpe them selues.

Thus were we poore soules
Begyled with idolles,
  With fayned myracles and lyes,
By the deuyll and his docters,
The pope and his procters:
  That, with such, haue blerid our eyes.

For they were the souldiers
Of those idols and wonders,
  In euery abbey and towne,
Like a syght of false deacons:
Wherefore all men rekyns,
  For suche juglyng, 'they shall downe.

For it was great reuth,
To se age and yeuth
  To be blynde after this facion;
But, thanke we our Lorde,
That them hath abhorde,
  And had upon us compassion!

Besydes these stockes and stones,
Haue we not had, of late, traytors bones,[1]
  Thus their trompery to maintain?
Whiche is a token, verely,
They go about most earnestly
  To bryng in superstition again!

With dyvers other trickes,
Whiche sore in mens' consciences stickes:
  But to Christ let us all pray!
To plucke it up, by the hard rote
(Seeing there is none other bote),[2]
  And utterly to banyshe it away.

And now, to make an end:
Lorde! we beseche Thee to sende
  Us, peace and tranquillitie;
And, that of thy mere mercy and grace,
Within short tyme and space,
  To illumine us with thy sincere veritie![3]*

(1) 'Traytors bones,' the bones of Thomas Becket.—Ed.
(2) 'Bote,' amends, or means of safety.—Ed.
(3) Thus ended this little treatise, made and compiled by Gray.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1540.

Of the Bible in English, printed in the large Volume;

AND OF EDMUND BONNER, PREFERRED TO THE BISHOPRIC OF LONDON BY MEANS OF THE LORD CROMWELL.

About the time and year when Edmund Bonner, bishop of Hereford, and ambassador resident in France, began first to be nominated and preferred, by means of the lord Cromwell, to the bishopric of London, which was A.D. 1540, it happened that the said Thomas lord Cromwell, earl of Essex, procured of the king of England his gracious letters to the French king, to permit and license a subject of his to imprint the Bible in English within the university of Paris; because paper was there more meet and apt to be had for the doing thereof, than in the realm of England, and also that there were more store of good workmen for the ready dispatch of the same. And in like manner, at the same time, the said king wrote unto his ambassador, who then was Edmund Bonner, bishop of Hereford, lying in Paris, that he should aid and assist the doers thereof[1] in all their reasonable suits: the which bishop, outwardly, showed great friendship to the merchants that were the imprinters of the same; and, moreover, did divers and sundry times call and command the said persons to be in a manner daily at his table, both dinner and supper; and so much rejoiced in the workmanship of the said Bible, that he himself would visit the imprinter's house, where the same Bibles were printed, and also would take part of such dinners as the Englishmen there had, and that to his cost, which, as it seemed, he little weighed. And further, the said Bonner was so fervent, that he caused the said Englishmen to put in print a New Testament in English and Latin, and himself took a great many of them, and paid for them, and gave them to his friends. And it chanced in the meantime, while the said Bible was in printing, that king Henry VIII. preferred the said Bonner from the bishopric of Hereford, to be bishop of London; at which time the said Bonner, according to the statute law of England, took his oath to the king, acknowledging his supremacy, and called one of the aforesaid Englishmen that printed the Bible, whom he then loved, although afterwards, upon the change of the world, he did hate him as much, whose name was Richard Grafton; to whom the said Bonner said, when he took his oath, "Master Grafton, so it is, that the king's most excellent majesty hath, by his gracious gift, presented me to the bishopric of London; for the which I am sorry, for, if it would have pleased his grace, I could have been well content to have kept mine old bishopric of Hereford." Then said Grafton, "I am right glad to hear of it, and so I am sure will be a great number of the city of London; for though they yet know you not, yet they have heard so much goodness of you from hence, as no doubt they will heartily rejoice of your placing." Then said Bonner, "I pray God I may do what may content them. And to tell you, Master Grafton, before God (for that was commonly his oath), the greatest fault that ever I found in Stokesley was, for vexing and troubling of poor men, as Lobley the bookbinder, and others, for having the Scripture in English; and, God willing, he did not so

The Bible of the greater volume printed in Paris.

Bonner a great furtherer in printing the Bible.

The New Testament in English and Latin put in print by Bonner.

Bonner made bishop of London.

Bonner reproveth Stokesley for persecuting.

(1) The doers hereof were Richard Grafton and Whitchurch.

much hinder it, but I will as much further it; and I will have of your Bibles set up in the church of Paul's, at least in sundry places six of them; and I will pay you honestly for them, and give hearty thanks." These words he then spake in the hearing of divers credible persons, as Edmund Stile, grocer, and others. "But now, Master Grafton, at this time I have specially called you to be a witness with me, that upon this translation of bishops' sees, I must, according to the statute, take an oath unto the king's majesty, acknowledging his supremacy, which, before God, I take with my heart, and so think him to be; and beseech Almighty God to save him, and long to prosper his grace." "Hold the book, sirrah! and read you the oath," said he to one of his chaplains; and he laid his hand on the book, and so he took his oath: and after this he showed great friendship to the said Grafton, and to his partner Edward Whitchurch; but especially to Miles Coverdale, who was the corrector of the great Bible.

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Bonner's promise to set forth the Scripture in English. Sweareth heartily to the king's supremacy.

Now after that the aforesaid letters were delivered, the French king gave very good words, and was well contented to permit the doing thereof; and so the printer went forward, and printed forth the book, even to the last part; and then was the quarrel picked with the printer, and he was sent for to the inquisitors of the faith, and there charged with certain articles of heresy. Then were sent for the Englishmen that were at the cost and charge thereof, and also such as had the correction of the same, who was Miles Coverdale: but having some warning what would follow, the said Englishmen posted away as fast as they could, to save themselves, leaving behind them all their Bibles, which were to the number of two thousand five hundred (called the Bible of the great Volume), and never recovered any of them, saving that the lieutenant-criminal, having them delivered unto him to burn in a place of Paris (like Smithfield), called Maulbert Place, was somewhat moved with covetousness, and sold four great dry-fats of them to a haberdasher, to lap caps in, and those were bought again; but the rest were burned, to the great and importunate loss of those that bare the charge of them. But notwithstanding the said loss, after they had recovered some part of the aforesaid books, and were comforted and encouraged by the lord Cromwell, the said Englishmen went again to Paris, and there got the presses, letters, and servants of the aforesaid printer, and brought them to London; and there they became printers themselves (which before they never intended), and printed out the said Bible in London, and, after that, printed sundry impressions of them: but yet not without great trouble and loss, for the hatred of the bishops, namely Stephen Gardiner and his fellows, who mightily did stomach and malign the printing thereof.

The printing of the Bible stayed at Paris through the English bishops.

English Bibles burnt at Paris.

How Grafton and Whitchurch became printers.

Here, by the way, for the more direction to the story, thou hast, loving reader, to note and understand, that in those days there were two sundry Bibles in English, printed and set forth, bearing divers titles, and printed in divers places: the first was called 'Thomas Matthewe's Bible,' printed at Hamburgh, about A.D. 1537; the corrector of which print was then John Rogers, of whom ye shall hear more, Christ willing, hereafter. The printers were Richard Grafton, and Whitchurch. In the translation of this Bible, the greatest doer was indeed William Tyndale, who, with the help of Miles Coverdale, had translated all the books thereof, except only the Apocrypha, and

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certain notes in the margin, which were added after. But, because the said William Tyndale, in the mean time, was apprehended, before this Bible was fully perfected, it was thought good to them that had the doing thereof, to change the name of William Tyndale, because that name then was odious, and to father it by a strange name of Thomas Matthewe; John Rogers, at the same time, being corrector to the print, who had then translated the residue of the Apocrypha, and added also certain notes thereto in the margin: and thereof came it to be called Thomas Matthewe's Bible. Which Bible of Thomas Matthewe, after it was imprinted and presented to the lord Cromwell, and to the lord Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, who liked very well of it, the said Cromwell presented it to the king, and obtained that the same might freely pass to be read of his subjects with his grace's license: so that there was printed upon the same book, one line in red letters, with these words, "Set forth with the king's most gracious license."

Matthew's Bible, by whom and how.

The Bible presented to the king by Cromwell.

The Bible put forth with the king's privilege.

The setting forth of this book did not a little offend the clergy, namely the bishops aforesaid, both for the prologues, and, especially, because in the same book was one special table collected of the common places in the Bible, and the Scriptures for the approbation of the same; and chiefly about the supper of the Lord, and marriage of priests, and the mass, which there was said not to be found in the Scripture.

Another Bible, of the great volume, printed at Paris.

Furthermore, after the restraint of this aforesaid Bible of Thomas Matthewe, another Bible began to be printed at Paris, A.D. 1540; which was called the Bible of the large Volume. The printers thereof were the aforesaid Richard Grafton, and Whitchurch, who bare the charges. A great helper thereto, was the lord Cromwell. The chiefest overseer was Miles Coverdale, who, taking the translation of Tyndale, conferred the same with the Hebrew, and amended many things.

*The[1] King's Brief, for setting up the Bible of the Greater Volume in English.

Henry, by the grace of God, king of England and of France, defender of the faith, lord of Ireland, and, in earth, supreme head of the church of England; to the reverend father in Christ, Edmund bishop of London, or, in his absence, to his vicar-general, health.

We command you, that immediately upon the receipt of these presents, in every cathedral, collegiate, and other parish churches and chapels, you cause, on our behalf, to be solemnly published and read, a certain decree made by us, by the advice of our council, which we have sent you by the bringer, imprinted in certain schedules annexed to this brief: charging you moreover, that immediately upon the publishing of the said decree so by you made, you cause the said decree to be set up upon every church door through your diocese, that it may more largely appear unto our subjects and liege people; and that with all diligence you perform the same, as you will answer us for the contrary.

Witness myself, at Westminster, the seventh day of May, in the thirty-second year of our reign.

Here also we have thought good to infer a letter which Edmund Bonner, bishop of London, wrote, and sent unto the archdeacon of London, for the execution of the king's writ, which we have here also put in Latin, for this only cause, to manifest his own words unto the people, and to show how that which he himself was once a setter-

(1) For this and the succeeding documents see Edition 1563, pp. 620, 621.—Ed.

forth of, he afterwards became the chief putter-down again of the same; and made the reading of the Bible to be a trap or snare to entangle many good men, and to bring them to ruin and destruction. The copy of which letter here ensueth. *Henry VIII.* A.D. 1540.

A Letter of Edmund Bonner, Bishop of London, for the execution of the King's Writ.

Edmundus, permissione divina Londinensis. Episcopus, dilecto nobis in Christo archidiacono nostro Londinensis, ejusve officiali, salutem gratiam et benedictionem. Litteras sive breve regium potentissimi et illustrissimi in Christo principis et domini nostri Henrici Octavi, Dei gratia Angliæ et Franciæ regis, fidei defensoris, domini Hiberniæ, et sub Christo in terra supremi capitis ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, noveritis nos cum ea qua decuit reverentia nuper recepisse exequendum, verborum sequentium sub tenore, Henricus Octavus, &c. ut supra in brevi regio proximè prescripto. Vobis igitur ex parte dicti illustrissimi domini nostri regis conjunctim et divisim committimus ac firmiter injungendo mandamus, quod immediate post receptionem presentium in omnibus et singulis ecclesiis collegiatis et parochiis capellisque ac aliis quibuscunque infra dictum archidiaconatum Londinensem et jurisdictionem ejusdem decretum illud, de quo in preinserto brevi regio fit mentio, publicari et solemniter denunciari, quodque immediate post publicationem et pronunciationem dicti decreti per vos sic factas illud super ostium cujuslibet ecclesiæ et capellæ predictæ poni et affigi faciatis, juxta formam et tenorem brevis hujusmodi; vobis etiam ut supra mandantes, quatenus nos vel vicarium nostrum in spiritualibus generalem de omni eo quod in premissis et circa executionem earundem feceritis, citra festum Ascensionis Domini proximè jam futurum, bene te certificare curetis literis vestris patentibus, harum et seriem in se continentibus, auctentice sigillatis. Datum in palatio nostro Londinensi, sub sigillo officialis communis nostri episcopalis Londinensis quo utimur in hac parte xi. die Maii, anno Domini 1541; et nostræ translationis anno secundo.*

In this Bible, although the former notes of Thomas Matthewe were omitted, yet sundry marks and hands were annexed on the sides, which meant that in those places should be made certain notes, wherewith also the clergy were offended, though the notes were not made.

The bishops offended at the Bible in English.

After this the bishops, bringing their purpose to pass, brought the lord Cromwell out of favour, and shortly to his death; and, not long after, great complaint was made to the king of the translation of the Bible, and of the preface of the same; and then was the sale of the Bible commanded to be stayed, the bishops promising to amend and correct it, but never performing the same. Then Grafton was called, and first charged with the printing of Matthewe's Bible, but he, being fearful of trouble, made excuses for himself in all things. Then was he examined of the great Bible, and what notes he was purposed to make: to which he answered, that he knew none. For his purpose was, to have retained learned men to have made the notes; but when he perceived the king's majesty and his clergy not willing to have any, he proceeded no further. But for all these excuses, Grafton was sent to the Fleet, and there remained six weeks, and before he came out, was bound, in three hundred pounds, that he should neither sell, nor imprint, nor cause to be imprinted, any more Bibles, until the king and the clergy should agree upon a translation. And thus was the Bible from that time stayed, during the reign of king Henry VIII.

Its sale stayed by the king through the bishops' means.

Grafton imprisoned for printing the Bible.

But yet one thing more is to be noted, that after the imprinters had lost their Bibles, they continued suitors to Bonner, as is aforesaid, to be a mean to obtain of the French king their books again: but so long they continued suitors, and Bonner ever fed them with

Henry VIII. A. D. 1540.

fair words, promising them much, but did nothing for them, till, at last, Bonner was discharged of his ambassade, and returned home, where he was right joyfully welcomed home by the lord Cromwell, who loved him dearly, and had a marvellous good opinion of him. And so long as Cromwell remained in authority, so long was Bonner at his beck, and friend to his friends, and enemy to his enemies; as namely, at that time to Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, who never favoured Cromwell, and therefore Bonner could not favour *him*, but he and Winchester were the greatest enemies that might be. But, so soon as Cromwell fell, immediately Bonner and Winchester pretended to be the greatest men that lived; and no good word could Bonner speak of Cromwell, but the lewdest, vilest, and bitterest that he could speak, calling him the rankest heretic that ever lived. And then, such as the said Bonner knew to be in good favour with Cromwell, he could never abide their sight: insomuch that the next day after that Cromwell was apprehended, the above-named Grafton, who before had been very familiar with Bonner, met with the said Bonner suddenly, and said unto him, that he was sorry to hear of the news that then were abroad. "What are they?" said he. "Of the apprehension of the lord Cromwell," said Grafton. "Are ye sorry for that?" said he. "It had been good that he had been dispatched long ago." With that Grafton looked upon him, and knew not what to say, but came no more to Bonner. Howbeit afterwards, the said Grafton, being charged for the imprinting of a ballad made in favour of Cromwell, was called before the council, where Bonner was present; and there Bonner charged him with the words that he spake to him of Cromwell, and told out a great long tale. But the lord Audley, who then was lord Chancellor, right discreetly and honourably cut off the matter, and entered into other talk.

Bonner a great friend to Cromwell all the time of his prosperity.

Gardiner and Bonner made friends.

Bonner altereth his friendship and religion.

Bonner against Cromwell.

The History of Robert Barnes, Thomas Garret, and William Jerome, Divines.

Like as in foreign battles the chief point of victory consisteth in the safety of the general or captain, even so, when the valiant standard-bearer and stay of the church of England, Thomas Cromwell I mean, was made away, pity it is to behold what miserable slaughter of good men and good women ensued thereupon, whereof we have now (Christ willing) to entreat. For Winchester, having now gotten his full purpose, and free swing to exercise his cruelty, wonder it was to see that 'aper Calydonius,' or, as the Scripture speaketh,[1] that 'ferus singularis,' what troubles he raised in the Lord's vineyard. And lest, by delays, he might lose the occasion presently offered, he straightways made his first assaults upon Robert Barnes, Thomas Garret, and William Jerome, whom, in the very same month, within two days after Cromwell's death, he caused to be put to execution; whose histories severally to comprehend, first of all we will somewhat speak of Barnes, doctor of divinity, whose particular story here followeth.

This Barnes, after he came from the university of Louvain, went to Cambridge, where he was made prior and master of the house of

(1) Psalm lxxx. 13.

the Augustines. At that time the knowledge of good letters was scarcely entered into the university, all things being full of rudeness and barbarity, saving in very few, who were privy and secret: whereupon Barnes, having some feeling of better learning and authors, began in his house to read Terence, Plautus, and Cicero; so that what with his industry, pains, and labour, and with the help of Thomas Parnell, his scholar, whom he brought from Louvain with him, reading "copia verborum et rerum," he caused the house shortly to flourish with good letters, and made a great part of the house learned (who before were drowned in barbarous rudeness), as Master Cambridge, Master Field, Master Coleman, Master Burley, Master Coverdale, with divers others of the university, that sojourned there for learning's sake. After these foundations laid, then did he read openly in the house Paul's Epistles, and put by Duns and Dorbel; and yet he was a questionary himself: and only because he would have Christ there taught, and his holy word, he turned their unsavoury problems and fruitless disputations to other better matter of the holy Scripture; and thereby, in short space, he made divers good divines. The same order of disputation which he kept in his house, he observed likewise in the university abroad, when he should dispute with any man in the common schools. And the first man that answered Dr. Barnes in the Scriptures, was Master Stafford, for his form to be bachelor of divinity, which disputation was marvellous in the sight of the great blind doctors, and joyful to the godly spirited.

Barnes prior of the house of Augustine in Cambridge.

Parnell a Londoner, scholar to Barnes.

Thus Barnes, what with his reading, disputation, and preaching, became famous and mighty in the Scriptures, preaching ever against bishops and hypocrites; and yet did not see his inward and outward idolatry, which he both taught and maintained, till that good Master Bilney with others (as is aforesaid, in the life of Master Bilney) converted him wholly unto Christ.

The first sermon that ever he preached of this truth, was the Sunday before Christmas-day, at St. Edward's church, belonging to Trinity Hall in Cambridge, by the Peas-market, whose theme was the epistle of the same Sunday, 'Gaudete in Domino,' &c.; and so postilled the whole epistle, following the Scripture and Luther's Postil: and for that sermon he was immediately accused of heresy by two fellows of the King's Hall. Then the godly learned in Christ both of Pembroke-hall, St. John's, Peter-house, Queen's college, the King's college, Gunwell-hall, and Benet college, showed themselves, and flocked together in open sight, both in the schools, and at open sermons at St. Mary's, and at the Augustines, and at other disputations; and then they conferred continually together.

The first sermon that Barnes preached in defence of the truth.

The house that they resorted most commonly unto, was the White Horse, which, for despite of them, to bring God's word into contempt, was called Germany. This house especially was chosen because many of them of St. John's, the King's college, and the Queen's college, came in on the back side. At this time much trouble began to ensue. The adversaries of Dr. Barnes accused him, in the Regent-house, before the vice-chancellor, where his articles were presented with him and received, he promising to make answer at the next convocation; and so it was done. Then Dr. Nottoris, a rank enemy to Christ, moved Dr. Barnes to recant; but he refused

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so to do: which appeareth in his book that he made to king Henry VIII. in English, confuting the judgment of cardinal Wolsey, and the residue of the bishops papistical, and so, for the time Barnes stood steadfast. And this tragedy continued in Cambridge, one preaching against another, in trying out of God's truth, until within six days of Shrovetide. Then, suddenly, was sent down to Cambridge a serjeant-at-arms, called Master Gibson, dwelling in St. Thomas Apostle's in London, who suddenly arrested Dr. Barnes openly in the convocation-house, to make all others afraid; and privily they had determined to make search for Luther's books, and all the Germans' works suddenly.

Trouble amongst the Cambridge men.

Barnes arrested by Gibson.

Search in Cambridge for books.

But good Dr. Farman, of the Queen's college, sent word incontinently thereof, to the chambers of those that were suspected, who were in number thirty persons. But, God be praised! they were conveyed away by that time that the serjeant-at-arms, the vice-chancellor, and the proctors, were at every man's chamber, going directly to the place where the books lay (whereby it was perceived that there were some privy spies amongst that small company); and that night they studied together, and gave him his answer, which answer he carried with him to London the next morning, which was the Tuesday before Shrove-Sunday, and came on the Wednesday to London, and lay at Master Parnell's house by the stocks.

Barnes brought to London.

In the morning he was carried by the serjeant-at-arms to cardinal Wolsey, to Westminster, waiting there all day, and could not speak with him till night. Then, by reason of Dr. Gardiner, secretary to the cardinal (of whose familiar acquaintance he had been before), and Master Foxe, master of the Wards, he spake the same night with the cardinal in his chamber of estate, kneeling on his knees. Then said the cardinal to them, "Is this Dr. Barnes your man that is accused of heresy?" "Yea, and please your grace; and we trust you shall find him reformable, for he is both well learned and wise." "What! master doctor," said the cardinal; "had you not a sufficient scope in the Scriptures to teach the people, but that my golden shoes, my pole-axes, my pillars, my golden cushions, my crosses did so sore offend you, that you must make us 'ridiculum caput' amongst the people? We were jollily that day laughed to scorn. Verily it was a sermon more fit to be preached on a stage, than in a pulpit; for at the last you said, I wear a pair of red gloves (I should say bloody gloves, quoth you), that I should not be cold in the midst of my ceremonies." And Barnes answered, "I spake nothing but the truth out of the Scriptures, according to my conscience, and according to the old doctors."

Gardiner secretary to the cardinal.

Talk between Wolsey and Barnes.

And then did Barnes deliver him six sheets of paper written, to confirm and corroborate his sayings. The cardinal received them smiling on him, and saying, "We perceive then that you intend to stand to your articles, and to show your learning." "Yea," said Barnes, "that I do intend, by God's grace, with your lordship's favour."

The cardinal answered, "Such as you are, do bear us and the catholic church little favour. I will ask you a question: "Whether do you think it more necessary that I should have all this royalty, because I represent the king's majesty's person in all the high courts of this realm, to the terror and keeping down of all rebellious treasons,

traitors, all the wicked and corrupt members of this commonwealth; or to be as simple as you would have us? to sell all these aforesaid things, and to give it to the poor, who shortly will cast it against the walls? and to pull away this majesty of a princely dignity, which is a terror to all the wicked, and to follow your counsel in this behalf?" He answered, "I think it necessary to be sold and given to the poor. For this is not comely for your calling, nor is the king's majesty maintained by your pomp and pole-axes; but by God who saith, "Per me reges regnant," "Kings and their majesties reign and stand by me." *Henry VIII.* A.D. 1540. The pretensed reasons whereby Wolsey maintained his pomp.

Then answered he, "Lo, Master Doctors! here is the learned wise man, that you told me of." Then they kneeled down and said, "We desire your grace to be good unto him, for he will be reformable."

Then said he, "Stand you up! for your sakes, and the university, we will be good unto him. How say you, Master Doctor; do you not know that I am Legatus de latere, and that I am able to dispense in all matters concerning religion within this realm, as much as the pope may?" He said, "I know it to be so."

"Will you then be ruled by us, and we will do all things for your honesty, and for the honesty of the university." He answered, "I thank your grace for your good will; I will stick to the holy Scripture, and to God's book, according to the simple talent that God hath lent me." "Well," said he, "thou shalt have thy learning tried to the uttermost, and thou shalt have the law."

Then Dr. Barnes required him that he might have justice with equity; and forthwith he should have gone to the Tower, but that Gardiner and Foxe became his sureties that night: and so he came home to Master Parnell's house again, and that night fell to writing again and slept not; Master Coverdale, Master Goodwin, and Master Field, being his writers. And in the morning he came to York-place, to Gardiner and Foxe, and by and by he was committed to the serjeant-at-arms, to bring him into the chapter-house at Westminster, before the bishops, and the abbot of Westminster, called Islip. Gardiner a suitor for Barnes.

The same time when Dr. Barnes should appear before the cardinal, there were five Still-yard men to be examined for Luther's books and Lollardy; but, after they spied Barnes, they set the others aside, and asked the serjeant-at-arms what was his errand. He said, he had brought one Dr. Barnes to be examined of heresy: and presented both his articles and his accusers. Then immediately, after a little talk, they sware him, and laid his articles to him; who, like as he answered the cardinal before, so said he unto them. And then he offered the book of his probations unto them; who asked him whether he had another for himself, and he said "Yea," showing it unto them: who then took it from him, and said they would have no leisure to dispute with him at that present, for other affairs of the king's majesty, which they had to do; and therefore bade him stand aside. Then they called the Still-yard men again, one by one, and when they were examined, they called forth the Master of the Fleet, and they were committed all to the Fleet. Then they called Dr. Barnes again, and asked him whether he would subscribe to his articles or no; and he subscribed willingly: and then they committed him, and young Master Parnell to the Fleet also, with the others. There they Still-yard men examined for Lollardy. Committed to the Fleet.

Henry VIII. remained till Saturday in the morning, and the warden of the Fleet was commanded that no man should speak with him.

A.D. 1540. On the Saturday he came again before them into the Chapter-house, and there, with the Still-yard men, remained till five o'clock at night; and after long disputations, threatenings, and scornings, about five o'clock at night they called him, to know whether he would abjure or burn. He was then in a great agony, and thought rather to burn, than to abjure. But then was he sent again to have the counsel of Gardiner and Foxe, and they persuaded him rather to abjure than to burn, because (they said) he should do more in time to come; and with divers other persuasions, that were mighty in the sight of reason and foolish flesh. Upon that, kneeling upon his knees, he consented to abjure, and the abjuration put in his hand, he abjured as it was there written, and then he subscribed with his own hand; and yet they would scarcely receive him into the bosom of the church, as they termed it. Then they put him to an oath, and charged him to execute, do, and fulfil, all that they commanded him: and he promised so to do.

Barnes with Parnell committed.

They are brought again before the cardinal.

Barnes persuaded to abjure.

Then they commanded the warden of the Fleet to carry him and his fellows to the place from whence he came, and to be kept in close prison, and in the morning to provide five faggots, for Dr. Barnes and the four Still-yard men. The fifth Still-yard man was commanded to have a taper of five pounds weight to be provided for him, to offer to the rood of Northen,[1] in Paul's; and all these things to be ready by eight o'clock in the morning; and that he, with all that he could make, with bills and glaves, and the knight-marshal, with all his tipstaves that he could make, should bring them to Paul's, and conduct them home again. In the morning they were all ready, by their hour appointed, in Paul's church, the church being so full that no man could get in. The cardinal had a scaffold made on the top of the stairs for himself, with six-and-thirty abbots, mitred priors, and bishops, and he, in his whole pomp, mitred (which Barnes spake against), sat there enthronised, his chaplains and spiritual doctors in gowns of damask and satin, and he himself in purple; even like a bloody Antichrist. And there was a new pulpit erected on the top of the stairs also, for the bishop of Rochester to preach against Luther and Dr. Barnes; and great baskets full of books standing before them, within the rails, which were commanded, after the great fire was made before the rood of Northen, there to be burned; and these heretics, after the sermon, to go thrice about the fire, and to cast in their faggots. Now, while the sermon was a doing, Dr. Barnes and the Still-yard men were commanded to kneel down, and ask forgiveness of God, of the catholic church and of the cardinal's grace: and, after that, he was commanded, at the end of the sermon to declare, that he was more charitably handled than he deserved, or was worthy; his heresies were so horrible and so detestable. And once again he kneeled down on his knees, desiring of the people forgiveness and to pray for him. And so the cardinal departed under a canopy, with all his mitred men with him, till he came to the second gate of Paul's; and then he took his mule, and the mitred men came back again. Then these

Barnes and the Still-yard men bear faggots.

(1) The crucifix near the north door: pulled down in 1547. See Dugdale's History of St. Paul's (Lond. 1814), pp. 15 and 112.—Ed.

poor men, being commanded to come down from the stage (whereon the sweepers use to stand when they sweep the church), the bishops sat them down again, and commanded the knight-marshal and the warden of the Fleet, with their company, to carry them about the fire. And so were they brought to the bishops, and there, for absolution, kneeled down; where Rochester stood up and declared unto the people, how many days of pardon and forgiveness of sins they had, for being at that sermon; and there did he assoil Dr. Barnes with the others, and showed the people that they were received into the church again.

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Days of pardon for hearing a popish sermon.

This done, the warden of the Fleet, and the knight-marshal, were commanded to have them to the Fleet again, and charged that they should have the liberty of the Fleet, as other prisoners had, and that their friends might resort unto them; and there to remain till the lord cardinal's pleasure was known.

After Barnes there, in the Fleet, had continued the space of half a year, at length being delivered, he was committed to be a free prisoner at the Austin Friars in London. When those caterpillars and bloody beasts had there undermined him, they complained again to their lord cardinal; whereupon he was removed to the Austin Friars of Northampton, there to be burned. Yet he himself, understanding nothing thereof, but supposing still that he should there remain, and continue in free prison, at last one Master Horne, who had brought him up, and was his special friend, having intelligence of the writ which should shortly be sent down to burn him, gave him counsel to feign himself to be desperate; and that he should write a letter to the cardinal, and leave it on his table where he lay, and a paper by, to declare whither he was gone to drown himself; and to leave his clothes in the same place; and another letter to be left there, to the mayor of the town, to search for him in the water, because he had a letter written in parchment about his neck, closed in wax, for the cardinal, which should teach all men to beware by him.

Barnes feigned himself to be drowned.

Upon this, they were seven days in searching for him, but he was conveyed to London in a poor man's apparel; and so tarried not there, but took shipping, and went by long seas to Antwerp, and so to Luther; and there fell to study till he had made an answer to all the bishops of the realm, and had made a book entitled, 'Acta Romanorum Pontificum,' and another book with a supplication to king Henry. Immediately it was told the cardinal, that he was drowned, and he said, "Perit memoria ejus cum sonitu;" but this did light upon himself shortly after, who wretchedly died at Leicester.

In the mean season Dr. Barnes was made strong in Christ, and got favour both with the learned in Christ, and with foreign princes in Germany, and was great with Luther, Melancthon, Pomeran, Justus Jonas, Hegendorphinus, and Æpinus, and with the duke of Saxony, and with the king of Denmark; which king of Denmark, in the time of More and Stokesley, sent him, with the Lubecks, as an ambassador to king Henry VIII. He lay with the Lubecks' chancellor, at the Still-yard.

Sent ambassador from the king of Denmark, to king Henry.

Sir Thomas More, then chancellor, would fain have entrapped him, but the king would not let him, for Cromwell was his great friend. And ere he went, the Lubecks and he disputed with the bishops of

More sought the death of Barnes.

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this realm in defence of the truth; and so he departed again, without restraint, with the Lubecks. After his going again to Wittenberg, to the duke of Saxony, and to Luther, he remained there, to set forward his works in print that he had begun; from whence he returned again in the beginning of the reign of queen Anne, as others did, and continued a faithful preacher in this city, being all her time well entertained and promoted. After that, he was sent ambassador by king Henry VIII. to the duke of Cleves, for the marriage of the lady Anne of Cleves between the king and her, and well accepted in the ambassade, and in all his doings, until the time that Stephen Gardiner came out of France: but, after he came, neither religion prospered, nor the queen's majesty, nor Cromwell, nor the preachers; who, after the marriage of the lady Anne of Cleves, never ceased until he had grafted the marriage on another stock, by the occasion whereof he began his bloody broil.

Barnes, returned to England in the time of queen Anne; is sent ambassador by king Henry, to the duke of Cleves.

For not long after, Dr. Barnes, with his brethren, were apprehended and carried before the king's majesty to Hampton Court, and there he was examined; where the king's majesty, seeking the means of his safety, to bring Winchester and him agreed, at Winchester's request granted him leave to go home with the bishop, to confer with him: and so he did. But, as it happened, they not agreeing, Gardiner and his co-partners sought, by all subtle means, how to entangle and to entrap them in further danger, which not long after was brought to pass; for, by certain complaints made to the king of them, they were enjoined to preach three sermons the next Easter following, at the Spittal; at which sermons, besides other reporters who were thither sent, Stephen Gardiner also was there present, sitting with the mayor, either to bear record of their recantation, or else, as the pharisees came to Christ, to trip them in their talk, if they had spoken any thing awry. When these three had thus preached their sermons, among whom Barnes preaching the first sermon, and seeing Stephen Gardiner there present, humbly desired him, in the face of all the audience, if he forgave him, to hold up his hand; and the said Gardiner thereupon held up his finger. Yet notwithstanding, shortly after, by means of the said reporters, they were sent for to Hampton Court; who from thence were carried to the Tower, by sir John Gostwike. From thence they never came out till they came to their death, as, Christ willing, shall more hereafter appear.

* Then[1] the protestants went again beyond the seas; the priests were divorced from their wives; certain bishops were deposed from their bishoprics; and other good men denied Christ and bare faggots at Paul's cross. Then immediately, without judgment, they were put to death, as it is manifest; but the death was in such form, that a papist and a protestant were laid upon one hurdle, to be drawn to Smithfield. This was Winchester's device, to colour his own tyranny, and to make the people doubtful what faith they should trust to.

At his death, Dr. Barnes gave great commendations to the king's majesty, that he should fear God, and maintain religion, and keep marriage undefiled most honourably; and then declared his faith and his articles. Then they prayed together, and Barnes said to Master

(1) See Edition 1563, p. 604.—Ed.

Priest, being sheriff, "Know ye wherefore I die, seeing I was never examined nor called to any judgment?" He answered, He knew nothing, but thus we are commanded. Then he took Master Sheriff by the hand, and said, "Bear me witness, and my brother, that we die christianly and charitably; and I pray you and all the people to pray for us: and if the dead may pray for the quick, we will pray for you." And so he, and the rest, forgave their enemies, and kissed one another, and stood hand in hand at the stake, praying continually until the fire came: and so rested in Christ Jesus.* *Henry VIII.* A.D. 1540.

And thus, hitherto, concerning the history of Barnes. Now let us, likewise, consider the story and doings of Thomas Garret.

The Story of Thomas Garret or Garrard, and of his Trouble in Oxford.

TESTIFIED AND RECORDED BY ANTHONY DALABER, WHO WAS THERE PRESENT THE SAME TIME.

About the year of our Lord 1526, Master Garret, curate in Honey-lane, in London, came unto Oxford, and brought with him sundry books in Latin, treating of the Scripture, with the first part of 'Unio dissidentium,' and Tyndale's first translation of the New Testament in English; which books he sold to divers scholars in Oxford,* whose[1] names, for his accountable memory, belike, he wrote in a small book of accounts.* Garret brought books to Oxford.

After he had been there awhile, and had dispatched those books, news came from London that he was searched for through all London, to be apprehended and taken as a heretic, and to be imprisoned for selling of those heretical books (as they termed them), because they spake against the usurped authority and erroneous doctrine of the bishop of Rome, and his no less impure and filthy synagogue. For it was not unknown to cardinal Wolsey, and to the bishop of London, and to others of that ungodly generation, that Master Garret had a great number of those *heretical[1] books, as the world then accounted them;* and that he was gone to Oxford, to make sale of them there, to such as he knew to be the lovers of the gospel. Wherefore they determined to make forthwith a privy search through all Oxford, to apprehend and imprison him, and to burn all and every his aforesaid books, and him too, if they could: so burning hot was the charity *of[1] these holy fathers.* But yet at that time, one of the aforesaid proctors, called Master Cole, of Magdalen college, who afterwards was cross-bearer unto cardinal Wolsey, was well acquainted with Master Garret; and, therefore, he gave secret warning unto a friend or two of Master Garret's, of this privy search; and willed, therefore, that he should forthwith, as secretly as he could, depart out of Oxford: for if he were taken in the same search, no remedy but he should be forthwith sent up unto the cardinal, and so he should be committed unto the Tower. Sought for at London. A privy search in Oxford for him.

The Christmas before that time, I, Anthony Dalaber, then scholar of Alban's-hall,[2] who had books of Master Garret, had been in my country in Dorsetshire, at Stalbridge, where I had a brother parson of that parish, who was very desirous to have a curate out of Oxford, and willed me, in any wise, to get him one there, if I could. This just occasion offered, it was thought good among the brethren (for so did we not only call one another, but were indeed one to another,) that Master Garret, changing his name, should be sent forth with my letters into Dorsetshire to my brother, to serve him there for a time, until he might secretly convey himself from thence some whither over the sea. According hereunto I wrote my letters in all haste possible unto my brother, for Master Garret to be his curate, but not declaring what he was indeed; for my brother was a rank papist, and afterwards was the most mortal enemy that ever I had, for the gospel's sake. Brother against brother.

So the Wednesday, in the morning before Shrovetide, Master Garret departed out of Oxford towards Dorsetshire, with my letters for his new service. How far he went, and by what occasion he so soon returned, I know not. But, the

(1) See Edition 1563, p. 604.—Ed. (2) Anthony Dalaber was the reporter hereof.

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Friday next, in the night time, he came again to Radley's house, where he lay before, and so, after midnight, in the privy search which was then made for him, he was apprehended and taken there in his bed by the two proctors; and, on the Saturday, in the morning, was delivered unto one Dr. Cottisford, master of Lincoln college, then being commissary of the university, who kept him as prisoner in his own chamber. There was great joy and rejoicing among all the papists for his apprehension, and especially with Dr. London, warden of the New college, and Dr. Higdon, dean of Frideswide's, two arch-papists, who immediately sent their letters, in post-haste, unto the cardinal, to inform him of the apprehension of this notable heretic; for which their doing, they were well assured to have great thanks. But of all this sudden hurly-burly was I utterly ignorant, so I knew neither of Master Garret's so sudden return, neither that he was so taken; *for[1] after I had sent him out of Oxford with my letters, as before is said, the same week having taken a chamber in Gloucester college, for the purpose of studying the civil law, because the scholars in Alban's-hall were all sophisters, I removed all such poor stuff as I had, from thence, unto Gloucester college; and there was I much busied in setting up in order, my bed, my books, and such things else as I had, so that I had no leisure to go forth any where those two days, Friday and Saturday. And having set up all my things handsomely in order the same day before noon, I determined to spend that whole afternoon, until even-song time, at Fridesewide college, at my book in mine own study; and so shut my chamber-door unto me, and my study door also, and took into my hand to read Francis Lambert, upon the Gospel of St. Luke, which book only I had then within there; all my other books written on the Scripture, of which I had a great number, as of Erasmus, of Luther, of Œcolampadius, &c., I had yet left in my chamber at Alban's-hall, where I had made a very secret place to keep them safe in, because it was so dangerous to have any such books. And so, as I was diligently reading in the said book of Lambert upon Luke, suddenly one knocked at my chamber-door very hard, which made me astonished, and yet I sat still, and would not speak; then he knocked again more hard, and yet I held my peace; and straightway he knocked yet again more fiercely, and then I thought this: peradventure it is somebody that hath need of me; and therefore I thought myself bound to do, as I would be done unto: and so, laying my book aside, I came to the door, and opened it, and there was Master Garret as a man amazed (whom I thought then to have been with my brother), and one with him.*

Garret taken in the privy search.

As soon as he saw me, he said he was undone, for he was taken. Thus he spake unadvisedly, in the presence of a young man that came with him. When the young man was departed, I asked him what he was, and what acquaintance he had with him. He said, he knew him not; but he had been to seek a monk of his acquaintance in that college, who was not in his chamber; and thereupon desired his servant (not knowing my chamber, for that I was newly removed thither) to bring him to me; and so forth declared how he was returned and taken that night in the privy search, as ye have heard; and that now, when the commissary and all his company were gone to even-song, and had locked him alone in his chamber, he, hearing nobody stirring in the college, put back the bar of the lock with his finger, and so came straight unto Gloucester college, to speak with that monk, if he had been within, who had also bought books of him.

His miraculous deliverance out of the commissary's chamber.

Then said I unto him, 'Alas Master Garret! by this your uncircumspect coming unto me, and speaking so before this young man, you have disclosed yourself, and utterly undone me.' I asked him, why he went not unto my brother, with my letters accordingly. He said, after that he was gone a day's journey and a half, he was so fearful, that his heart would no other but that he must needs return again unto Oxford; and so he came again on Friday at night, and then was taken as ye heard before. But now, with deep sighs and plenty of tears, he prayed me to help to convey him away; and so he cast off his hood and his gown, wherein he came unto me, and desired me to give him a coat with sleeves, if I had any; and told me that he would go into Wales, and thence convey himself into Germany, if he might. Then I put on him a sleeved coat of mine. He would also have had another manner of cap of me, but I had none but priestlike, such as his own was.

(1) See Edition 1563, p. 605.—Ed.

Then kneeled we both down together upon our knees, and lifting up our hearts and hands to God, our heavenly Father, desired him, with plenty of tears, so to conduct and prosper him in his journey, that he might well escape the danger of all his enemies, to the glory of his holy name, if his good pleasure and will so were. And then we embraced, and kissed the one the other, the tears so abundantly flowing out from both our eyes, that we all-be-wet both our faces, and scarcely for sorrow could we speak one to another: and so he departed from me, appareled in my coat, being committed unto the tuition of our almighty and merciful Father.

Hechangeth his apparel and flieth.

When he was gone down the stairs from my chamber, I straightways did shut my chamber-door, and went into my study, and taking the New Testament[1] in my hands, kneeled down on my knees, and with many a deep sigh and salt tear, I did, with much deliberation, read over the tenth chapter of St. Matthew's Gospel; and when I had so done, with fervent prayer I did commit unto God that our dearly beloved brother Garret, earnestly beseeching him, in and for Jesus Christ's sake, his only begotten Son our Lord, that he would vouchsafe not only safely to conduct and keep our said dear brother from the hands of all his enemies; but also, that he would endue his tender and lately born little flock in Oxford with heavenly strength, by his Holy Spirit, that they might be well able thereby valiantly to withstand, to his glory, all their fierce enemies; and also might quietly, to their own salvation, with all godly patience bear Christ's heavy cross, which I now saw was presently to be laid on their young and weak backs, unable to bear so huge a burden, *without* the great help of his Holy Spirit.

Parting between Garret and Dalaber.

Dalaber's prayer for Garret.

This done, I laid aside my book safe, folded up Master Garret's gown and hood, and laid them in my press among mine apparel; and so, having put on my short gown, shut up my study and chamber-doors, and went toward Frideswide's, to speak with that worthy martyr of God, Master Clark, and others, and to declare unto them what had happened that afternoon. But of purpose I went by St. Mary's church, to go first unto Corpus Christi college, to speak with Diet and Udal, my faithful brethren and fellows in the Lord there. But by chance I met by the way with a brother of ours, one Master Eden, fellow of Magdalen college, who, as soon as he saw me, came with a pitiful countenance unto me, saying, that we were all undone, for Master Garret was returned again to Oxford, taken the last night in the privy search, and was in prison with the commissary. I said, it was not so. He said, it was so. I told him, it could not be so, for I was sure he was gone. He answered me and said, 'I know he was gone with your letters, but he came again yesterday in the even, and was taken in his bed at Radley's, this night, in the privy search;' 'for,' quoth he, 'I heard our proctor, Master Cole, say and declare the same this day in our college, to divers of the house. But I told him again, that I was well assured he was now gone, for I spake with him later than either the proctor or the commissary did: and then I declared the whole matter unto him, how and when he came unto me, and how he went his way, willing him to declare the same unto our other brethren, whom he should meet withal, and to give God hearty thanks for this his wonderful deliverance, and to pray him, also, that he would grant him safely to pass away from all his enemies. And I told him that I was going unto Master Clark of Frideswide's, to declare unto him this matter; for I knew and thought verily, that he, and divers others there, were in great sorrow for this matter. Then I went straight to Frideswide's, and even-song was begun, and the dean and the other canons were there in their grey amices; they were almost at Magnificat before I came thither. I stood at the choir door and heard Master Taverner play, and others of the chapel there sing, with and among whom I myself was wont to sing also; but now my singing and music were turned into sighing and musing.

Master Clark a famous or worthy learned man.

As I thus and there stood, in cometh Dr. Cottisford, the commissary, as fast as ever he could go, bare-headed, as pale as ashes (I knew his grief well enough); and to the dean he goeth into the choir, where he was sitting in his stall, and talked with him very sorrowfully: what, I know not; but whereof, I might and did well and truly guess. I went aside from the choir door, to see and hear more. The commissary and dean came out of the choir wonderfully troubled, as it seemed. About the middle of the church met them Dr. London,

The pharisees troubled at Garret's escape out of prison.

(1) The New Testament of Erasmus's Translation. Ed. 1563, p. 606.—Ed.

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puffing, blustering, and blowing, like a hungry and greedy lion seeking his prey. They talked together awhile, but the commissary was much blamed by them for keeping of his prisoner so negligently, insomuch that he wept for sorrow. And it was known abroad that Master Garret was escaped, and gone out of the commissary's chamber at even-song time; but whither, no man could tell.

These doctors departed, and sent abroad their servants and spies everywhere. Master Clark, about the middle of the 'compline,'[1] came forth of the choir: I followed him to his chamber, and declared what had happened that afternoon, of Master Garret's escape. He was glad, for he knew of his fore-taking.

Sumner and Bets.

Then he sent for one Master Sumner, and for Master Bets, fellows and canons there. In the meanwhile he gave me a very godly exhortation, praying God to give me, and all the rest of our brethren, 'Prudentiam serpentinam et simplicitatem columbinam;' for we should have shortly much need thereof, as he verily thought. When Master Sumner and Master Bets were come unto him, he caused me to declare again the whole matter to them two; and they were very glad that Master Garret was so delivered, trusting that he should escape all his enemies. Then, desiring them to tell unto our other brethren what had happened (for there were divers other in that college), I went to Corpus Christi college, to comfort our brethren there, being in like heaviness. *When[2] I came to Corpus Christi college I found together, in sir Diet's chamber, tarrying and looking for me, Fitzjames, Diet, and Udal. They knew all the matter before by Master Eden, whom I had sent unto Fitzjames; but yet I declared the matter unto them again. And so I tarried there, and supped with them in that chamber, where they had provided meat and drink for us, before my coming: at which supper we were not very merry, considering our state and peril at hand. When we had ended our supper and committed our whole cause, with fervent sighs and hearty prayers, unto God our heavenly Father, Fitzjames would needs have me to lie that night with him, in my old lodging at Alban's hall; and so I did. But small rest, and little sleep, took we both there that night.

On the Sunday, in the morning, I was up and ready by five o'clock; and as soon as I could get out at Alban's hall door, I went straight towards Gloucester college to my chamber.* It had rained that morning a good shower, and with my going I had all besprinkled my hose and shoes with mire. And when I was come unto Gloucester college, which was about six o'clock, I found the gates fast shut; whereat I did much marvel, for they were wont to be opened daily long before that time. Then did I walk up and down by the wall there, a whole hour before the gates were opened. In the meanwhile, my musing head being full of forecasting cares, and my sorrowful heart flowing with doleful sighs, I fully determined in my conscience before God, that if I should chance to be taken and be examined, I would accuse no man, nor declare any thing further than I did already perceive was manifestly known before. And so, when the gate was opened, thinking to shift myself, and to put on a longer gown, I went in towards my chamber, and, going up the stairs, would have opened my door, but I could not in a long season do it; whereby I perceived that my lock had been meddled withal, and therewith was somewhat altered: yet,

Dalaber's chamber searched for Garret.

at last, with much ado, I opened the lock and went in. When I came in, I saw my bed all to be tossed and tumbled, my clothes in my press thrown down, and my study-door open; whereat I was much amazed, and thought verily that some search was made there that night for Master Garret, and that it was known of his being with me, by the monk's man that brought him to my chamber.

Now was there lying in the next chamber unto me a monk, who, as soon as he had heard me in the chamber, came to me, and told how Master Garret was sought for in my chamber that night, and what ado there was made by the commissary, and the two proctors, with bills and swords thrust through my bed-straw, and how every corner of my chamber was searched for Master Garret: and albeit his gown and his hood lay there in my press with my clothes, yet they perceived them not. Then he told me he was commanded to bring me, as soon as I came in, unto the prior of the students, named Anthony Dunstan, a monk of Westminster. This so troubled me, that I forgot to make clean my hose and shoes, and to shift me into another gown; and therefore so

(1) The 'compline' was the last or evening prayer.—Ed. (2) See Edition 1563, p. 607.—Ed.

all be-dirted as I was, and in my short gown, I went with him to the said prior's chamber, where I found the said prior standing, and looking for my coming. He asked me where I had been that night. I told him I lay at Alban's hall, with my old bedfellow Fitzjames; but he would not believe me. He asked me, if Master Garret were with me yesterday. I told him, Yea. Then he would know where he was, and wherefore he came unto me. I told him, I knew not where he was, except he were at Woodstock. For so (said I) he had showed me that he would go thither, because one of the keepers there, his friend, had promised him a piece of venison to make merry withal the Shrovetide; and that he would have borrowed a hat and a pair of high shoes of me, but I had none indeed to lend him. This tale I thought meetest, though it were nothing so. Then had he spied on my finger a big ring of silver, very well double gilt, with two letters A. D., engraved in it for my name: I suppose he thought it to be gold. He required to see it. I took it unto him. When he had it in his hand, he said it was his ring, for therein was his name: An A, for Anthony, and a D, for Dunstan. When I heard him so say, I wished in my heart to be as well delivered from and out of his company, as I was assured to be delivered from my ring for ever.

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Brought to the prior of Glouces-ter Col-lege.

Dalaber's ring taken from him.

Then he called for pen, ink, and paper, and commanded me to write when and how Garret came unto me, and where he was become. I had scarcely written three words, but the chief beadle, with two or three of the commissary's men, were come unto Master Prior, requiring him straightways to bring us away unto Lincoln college, to the commissary, and to Dr. London: whither when I was brought into the chapel, there I found Dr. Cottisford, commissary; Dr. Higdon, then dean of the cardinal's college; and Dr. London, warden of the New college, standing together at the altar in the chapel. When I was brought unto them, after salutations given and taken between them, they called for chairs and sat down, and called for me to come to them. And first they asked what my name was. I told them that my name was Anthony Dalaber. Then they also asked me how long I had been student in the university, and I told them almost three years: and they asked me what I studied. I told them that I had read sophistry and logic in Alban's hall, and now was removed unto Gloucester college, to study the civil law, which the aforesaid prior of the students affirmed to be true. Then they asked me whether I knew Master Garret, and how long I had known him. I told them I knew him well, and had known him almost a twelvemonth. They asked me, when he was with me. I told them yesterday at afternoon.

Appre-hended and trou-bled for Garret.

Now by this time, while they had me in this talk, one came unto them who was sent for, with pen, ink, and paper; I trow it was the clerk of the univer-sity. As soon as he was come, there was a board and tressles, with a form for him to sit on, set between the doctors and me, and a great mass book laid before me; and I was commanded to lay my right hand on it, and to swear that I should truly answer unto such articles and interrogatories as I should be by them examined upon. I made danger of it awhile at first, but afterwards, being persuaded by them, partly by fair words, and partly by great threats, I promised to do as they would have me; but in my heart meant nothing so to do. So I laid my hand on the book, and one of them gave me my oath, and, that done, commanded me to kiss the book. Then made they great courtesy between them, who should examine me, and minister interrogatories unto me. At the last, the rankest papistical pharisee of them all, Dr. London, took upon him to do it.

The exa-mination of Dala-ber.

Dr. London, warden of New col-lege, an arch-pha-risee.

Then he asked me again, by my oath, where Master Garret was, and whither I had conveyed him. I told him, I had not conveyed him, nor yet wist where he was, nor whither he was gone, except he were gone to Woodstock (as I had before said), as he showed me he would. Then he asked me again, when he came to me, how he came to me, what and how long he talked with me, and whither he went from me. I told him he came to me about even-song time; and that one brought him unto my chamber-door, whom I knew not; and that he told me he would go to Woodstock for some venison to make merry withal this Shrovetide; and that he would have borrowed a hat, and a pair of high shoes of me, but I had none such to lend him; and then he straight went his way from me, but whither I know not. All these my sayings the scribe wrote in a paper book.

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Then they earnestly required me to tell them whither I had conveyed him, for surely, they said, I brought him going some whither this morning; for they might well perceive, by my foul shoes and dirty hosen, that I had travelled with him the most part of this night. I answered plainly, that I lay at Alban's hall, with sir Fitzjames, and that I had good witness thereof there. They asked me where I was at even-song. I told them, at Frideswide's, and that I saw first Master Commissary, and then Master Doctor London, come thither at that time unto Master Dean of Frideswide's; and that I saw them talking together in the church there. Dr. London and the dean threatened me, that if I would not tell the truth, where I had done him, or whither he was gone, I should surely be sent to the Tower of London, and there be racked, and put into Little-ease.[1] But Master Commissary prayed me, with gentle words, to tell him where he was, that he might have him again, and he would be my very great friend, and deliver me out of trouble straightway. I told him I could not tell where he was, nor whither he was become. Thus they did occupy and toss me almost two hours in the chapel, sometimes with threatenings and foul words; and then with fair words and fair promises flattering me. Then was he that brought Master Garret unto my chamber brought before me, and caused to declare what Master Garret said unto me, at his coming to my chamber: but I said plainly, I heard him say no such thing; for I thought my 'nay' to be as good as his 'yea,' seeing it was to rid and deliver my godly brother out of trouble and peril of his life.

At last, when they could get nothing of me whereby to hurt or accuse any man, or to know any thing of which they sought, they all three together brought me up a long stairs into a great chamber over Master Commissary's chamber, wherein stood a great pair of very high stocks. Then Master Commissary asked me for my purse and girdle, took away my money and my knives, and then they put both my legs into the stocks, and so locked me fast in them; in which I sat, my feet being almost as high as my head; and so departed they (I think to their abominable mass), locking fast the chamber-door, and leaving me alone.

Anthony Dalaber sent in the stocks.

When they all were gone, then came unto my remembrance the worthy forewarning and godly declaration of that most constant martyr of God, Master John Clark, my father in Christ, who, well nigh two years before that, when I did earnestly desire him to grant me to be his scholar, and that I might go with him continually when and wheresoever he should teach or preach (which he did daily), said unto me much after this sort, 'Dalaber! you desire you wot not what, and that which you are, I fear me, unable to take upon you: for though now my preaching be sweet and pleasant unto you, because there is yet no persecution laid on you for it, yet the time will come, and that peradventure shortly, if ye continue to live godly therein, that God will lay on you the cross of persecution, to try you withal, whether you can, as pure gold, abide the fire, or, as stubble and dross, be consumed therewith. For the Holy Ghost plainly affirmeth by St. Paul, 'Quod omnes qui piè volunt vivere in Christo Jesu, persecutionem patientur.'[2] Yea, you shall be called and judged a heretic; you shall be abhorred of the world; your own friends and kinsfolk will forsake you, and also hate you; and you shall be cast into prison; and no man shall dare to help or comfort you; and you shall be accused and brought before the bishops, to your reproach and shame, to the great sorrow of all your faithful friends and kinsfolk. Then will ye wish ye had never known this doctrine; then will ye curse Clark, and wish that ye had never known him, because he hath brought you to all these troubles. Therefore, rather than that you should do this, leave off from meddling with this doctrine, and desire not to be, and continue, in my company.'

Exhortation of Master Clark to Dalaber.

The cross commonly followeth the gospel.

At which his words I was so grieved, that I fell down on my knees at his feet, and with abundance of tears and sighs, even from the very bottom of my heart I earnestly besought him, that for the tender mercy of God, showed to us in our Lord Jesus Christ, he would not refuse me, but receive me into his company, as I had desired; saying that I trusted verily, that he which had begun this in me, would not forsake me, but give me grace to continue therein unto the end. When he heard me say so, he came to me, took me up in his arms, and kissed me, the tears trickling down from his eyes, and said unto me: 'The

(1) 'Little-ease,' was one of the cells in the Tower.—Ed. (2) 2 Tim. iii. 12.

'Lord Almighty grant you so to do, and from henceforth for ever take me for your father, and I will take you for my son in Christ.' Now were there at that time in Oxford divers graduates and scholars of sundry colleges and halls, whom God had called to the knowledge of his holy word, who all resorted unto Master Clark's disputations and lectures in divinity at all times as they might; and when they might not come conveniently, I was, by Master Clark, appointed to resort to every one of them weekly, and to know what doubts they had in any place of the Scripture; that by me, from him, they might have the true understanding of the same; which exercise did me much good and profit, to the understanding of the holy Scriptures, which I most desired. *Henry VIII.* A. D. 1540.

This aforesaid forewarning and godly declaration (I say) of this most godly martyr of God Master Clark, coming to my remembrance, caused me, with deep sighs, to cry unto God from my heart, to assist me with his Holy Spirit, that I might be able patiently and quietly to bear and suffer whatsoever it should please him, of his fatherly love, to lay on me, to his glory, and the comfort of my dearly beloved brethren, whom I thought now to be in great fear and anguish, lest I would be an accuser of them all: for unto me they all were well known, and all their doings in that matter. But, God be blessed! I was fully bent never to accuse any of them, whatsoever should happen to me. Before dinner Master Cottisford came up to me, and requested me earnestly to tell him where Master Garret was, and, if I would so do, he promised me straightways to deliver me out of prison. But I told him I could not tell where he was: no more indeed I could. Then he departed to dinner, asking me if I would eat any meat: I told him, 'Yea, right gladly.' He said he would send me some. When he was gone, his servants asked me divers questions, which I do not now remember, and some of them spake to me fair, and some threatened me, calling me heretic; and so departed, locking the door fast upon me.

Dalaber armed with patience and constancy.

Cottisford persecutor of Dalaber and Garret.

Thus far Anthony Dalaber hath prosecuted this story, who, before the finishing, departed, A.D. 1562, in the diocese of Salisbury; the residue whereof, as we could gather it out of ancient and credible persons, so have we added here unto the same.

After this, Garret was apprehended and taken by Master Cole the proctor, or his men going westward, at a place called Hinxsey, a little beyond Oxford, and so, being brought back again, was committed to ward: that done, he was convented before the commissary, Dr. London, and Dr. Higdon, dean of Frideswide's (now called Christ's college), into St. Mary's church, where they, sitting in judgment, convicted him according to their law as a heretic (as they said), and afterwards compelled him to carry a faggot in open procession from St. Mary's church to Frideswide's, and Dalaber likewise with him; Garret having his red hood on his shoulders, like a master of arts. After that, they were sent to Osney, there to be kept in prison till further order was taken.

Garret apprehended, and brought to Oxford.

London, and Higdon, persecutors of Garret.

Garret and Dalaber bear faggots in Oxford.

*Articles[1] objected against Thomas Garret,[2] Master of Arts, some time Parish Priest, Curate of All-Hallows in Honey-lane.

First, for having divers and many books, treatises and works of Martin Luther and of his sect, as also for dispersing abroad of the said books to divers and many persons within this realm; as well students in the university of Oxford and Cambridge, as other spiritual, temporal, and religious men, to the intent to have advanced the said sects and opinions.

(1) These articles are introduced from the first edition of the Acts and Monuments, London, 1563, p. 477.—Ed.

(2) The name of this good man varies slightly in the spelling. In the Latin edition, Basle, 1559, p. 165, see 'Garardus.' In vol. iv. p. 586, in a very rare catalogue, from the first edition, of certain persons 'who were forced to abjure in king Henry's days,' he appears as Thomas Gerarde, priest; while at page 421 of this volume he is designated as Garret or Garrerd.—Ed.

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Item, for having the said books in his custody; for reading them, secretly in privy places and suspected company, declaring and teaching heresies and errors contained in them.

Item, for that in his own person, he followed, advanced, and set forth, the said sect and opinions, and also moved, stirred, and counselled others to follow and advance the same; not only within the city and diocese of London and Lincoln, but also in the universities of Oxford and Cambridge, with divers other places.

Item, for affirming and believing 'Quod opera nostra quantumvis bona in specie nihil conducunt ad justificationem nec ad meritum, sed sola fides.'

Item, for affirming and believing, that pardons do not profit, either them that be dead, nor yet them that live.

Item, that the laws and constitutions of holy church are not to be observed, nor ought to bind any man.

Item, for reputing catholic bishops of the church to be pharisees, and so naming them in writing.

Item, that fasting days ordained by the church, are not to be observed.

Item, that we should pray only to God and to no saints.

Item, that images in churches ought not to be used and had.

Item, that vows of pilgrimages are not to be kept.

Item, that every man may preach the word of God, and that no law to the contrary can be made.

Item, that he knew certain religious persons who printed English books or some that intended to print such books.

Item, that he fled away, in a layman's apparel, from Oxford to Bedminster, when he should have been attached for heresy.

For these articles, and such like, he was abjured before Cuthbert, bishop of London; John, bishop of Lincoln; and John, bishop of Bath and Wells: no mention made of the year and time,[1] nor yet of any penance then enjoined.*

The names of godly brethren at Oxford.

There were suspected, besides, a great number to be infected with heresy, as they called it, for having such books of God's truth as Garret sold unto them; as Master Clark, who died in his chamber, and could not be suffered to receive the communion, being in prison, and saying these words, "crede, et manducasti;" Master Sumner, Master Bets, Taverner the musician, Radley, with others of Frideswide college; of Corpus Christi college, as Udal and Diet; with others of Magdalen college; one Eden, with others of Gloucester college; and two black monks, one of St. Augustine's of Canterbury, named Langport, the other of St. Edmund's Bury, monk, named John Salisbury; two white monks of Bernard college; two canons of St. Mary's college, one of them named Robert Ferrar, afterwards bishop of St. David's, and burned in queen Mary's time. These two canons, because they had no place in the university with the others, went on the contrary side of the procession bare-headed, and a beadle before them to be known from the others. Divers others there were, whose names I cannot remember, who were forced and constrained to forsake their colleges, and sought their friends. Against the procession time there was a great fire made upon the top of Carfax,[2] whereinto all such as were in the said procession, either convicted or suspected of heresy, were commanded, in token of repentance and renouncing of their errors, every man to cast a book into the fire, as they passed by.

Ferrar, bishop of St. David's.

After this, Master Garret, flying from place to place, escaped their

(1) By comparing the last article with Dalaber's History, as given above, the 'year and time' appear to be about A.D. 1526.—Ed. (2) 'Carfax,' the market-place at Oxford.—Ed.

tyranny, until this present time that he was again apprehended, and burned with Dr. Barnes; with whom also William Jerome, some time vicar of Stepney, was likewise drawn into Smithfield, and there together with them, constantly endured martyrdom in the fire. Now let us also add to these the story of Jerome. *Henry VIII.* A.D. 1540.

The Life and Story of William Jerome, Vicar of Stepney, and Martyr of Christ.

The third companion who suffered with Barnes and Garret, was William Jerome, vicar of Stepney. This Jerome, being a diligent preacher of God's word, for the comfort and edification of the people, had preached divers and sundry sermons; wherein, to the intent to plant in the consciences of men the sincere truth of christian religion, he laboured as much as time then served, to extirp and weed out the roots of men's traditions, doctrines, dreams, and fantasies. In so doing it could not otherwise be but he must needs provoke much hatred against him amongst the adversaries of Christ's gospel.

It so happened, that the said Jerome, preaching at Paul's on the fourth Sunday in Lent last past, made there a sermon, wherein he recited and mentioned of Hagar and Sarah, declaring what these two signified: in process whereof he showed further how that Sarah and her child Isaac, and all they that were Isaac's, and born of the free woman Sarah, were freely justified: contrary, they that were born of Hagar, the bondwoman, were bound and under the law, and cannot be freely justified. In these words what was here spoken, but that which St. Paul himself uttereth and expoundeth in his Epistle to the Galatians,[1] or what could here be gathered of any reasonable or indifferent hearer, but consonant to sound doctrine, and the vein of the gospel? Now see what rancour and malice, armed with crafty and subtle sophistry, can do. This sermon finished, it was not long but he was charged and convented before the king at Westminster, and there accused for erroneous doctrine.

Quarrel picked against Jerome's sermons.

Percase thou wilt muse, gentle reader! what erroneous doctrine here could be picked out. Note therefore, for thy learning; and he that listeth to study how to play the sycophant, let him here take example. The knot found in this rush was this: for that he preached erroneously at Paul's cross, teaching the people that all that were born of Sarah were freely justified, speaking there absolutely, without any condition either of baptism, or of penance, &c. Who here doubteth, but if St. Paul himself had been at Paul's cross, and had preached the same words to the Englishmen, which he wrote to the Galatians in this behalf, 'ipso facto,' he had been apprehended for a heretic, for preaching against the sacrament of baptism and repentance?

Jerome accused for preaching against magistrates.

Furthermore it was objected against him touching matter against magistrates, and laws by them made. Whereunto he answered again and affirmed (as he had before preached), that no magistrate of himself could make any law or laws, private or otherwise, to bind the inferior people, unless it were by the power, authority, and commandment of his or their princes to him or them given, but only the prince.

(1) Gal. iv. 22—31.

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And moreover, to confirm the same he added, saying, that if the prince make laws consenting to God's laws, we are bound to obey them. And if he make laws repugnant to the laws of God, and be an evil and wicked prince, yet are we bound humbly to suffer him, and not violently to resist or grudge against him.

Works no part of our salvation.

Good works avail only by imputation.

Also concerning his sermons, one Dr. Wilson entered into disputation with him, and defended, that good works justified before God, and were necessary and available to salvation. To whom Jerome answered again, that all works, whatsoever they were, were nothing worth, nor any part of salvation of themselves, but only referred to the mercy and love of God, which mercy and love of God direct the workers thereof; and yet it is at his mercy and goodness to accept them: which, to be true, Dr. Wilson neither could, nor did, deny.

THE STORY OF BARNES, JEROME, AND GARRET, CONTINUED, WITH THE CAUSES OF THEIR MARTYRDOM.

And thus much concerning the several stories of these three good men. Now let us see the order of their martyrdom, joining them all together; what was the cause of their condemnation; and what were their protestations and words at their suffering.

Ye heard before, how Barnes, Jerome, and Garret, were caused to preach at Easter at the Spittal; the occasion whereof, as I find it reported by Stephen Gardiner writing against George Joye, I thought good here to discourse more at large.[1]

Stephen Gardiner, hearing that the said Barnes, Jerome, and Garret should preach the Lent following, A.D. 1540, at Paul's cross, to stop the course of their doctrine, sent his chaplain to the bishop of London, the Saturday before the first Sunday in Lent, to have a place for him to preach at Paul's; which to him was granted, and time appointed that he should preach the Sunday following, which should be on the morrow; which Sunday was appointed before for Barnes to occupy that room. Gardiner therefore, determining to declare the gospel of that Sunday containing the devil's three temptations, began amongst other things to note the abuse of Scripture amongst some, as the devil abused it to Christ; and so, alluding to the temptation of the devil, wherein he alleged the Scripture against Christ, to cast himself downward, and that he should take no hurt, he inferred thereupon, saying:

The effect of Stephen Gardiner's sermon.

'Now-a-days,' quoth he, 'the devil tempteth the world, and biddeth them to cast themselves backward. There is no 'forward' in the new teaching, but all backward. Now the devil teacheth, come back from fasting, come back from praying, come back from confession, come back from weeping for thy sins; and all is backward, insomuch that men must now learn to say their Pater-Noster backward. For where we said, *Forgive us our debts, as we forgive our debtors*; now it is, *As thou forgavest our debts, so I will forgive my debtors*; and so God must forgive first; and all, I say, is turned backward, &c.

Pardon procured by the devil, quoth Gardiner, against friars and pardons

Amongst other things, moreover, Gardiner 'noted the devil's craft and shift in deceiving man; who, envying his felicity, and therefore coveting to have man idle, and void of good works, and to be led in that idleness with a vain hope to live merrily at his pleasure here, and yet to have heaven at the last, hath, for that purpose, procured out pardons from Rome, wherein heaven was sold for a little money; and to retail that merchandise, the devil used friars for his ministers. Now they be gone, with all their trumpery; but the devil is not

(1) Out of the preface of Stephen Gardiner against George Joye. [London, 1546. 8vo.—Ed.]

yet gone, &c. And now that the devil perceiveth that it can no longer be borne to buy and sell heaven by the friars, he hath excogitated to offer heaven, without works for it, so freely, that men shall not need for heaven to work at all, whatsoever opportunity they have to work: marry! if they will have any higher place in heaven, God will leave no work unrewarded; but as to be in heaven needs no works at all, but only belief, only, only,[1] and nothing else,' &c. *Henry VIII.* A.D. 1540.

This sermon of Stephen Gardiner finished, Dr. Barnes, who was put off from that Sunday, had his day appointed, which was the third Sunday next following, to make his sermon; who, taking the same text of the gospel which Gardiner had done before, was, on the contrary side, no less vehement in setting forward the true doctrine of christian religion, than Winchester had been before in plucking men backward from truth to lies, from sincerity to hypocrisy, from religion to superstition, from Christ to Antichrist. In the process of which sermon he proceeding, and calling out Stephen Gardiner by name to answer him, alluding in a pleasant allegory to a cock-fight; terming the said Gardiner to be a fighting cock, and himself to be another: but the garden cock (he said) lacketh good spurs: objecting moreover to the said Gardiner, and opposing him in his grammar rules; thus saying, that if he had answered him in the schools, so as he had there preached at the Cross, he would have given him six stripes: declaring furthermore what evil herbs this Gardiner had set in the garden of God's Scripture, &c. The sermon of Barnes replying to Gardiner.

Finally, with this sermon Gardiner was so tickled in the spleen, that he immediately went to the king to complain, showing how he, being a bishop and prelate of the realm, was handled and reviled at Paul's cross.

Hereupon the king, giving too much ear to Gardiner's grief, was earnestly incensed against Barnes, and with many high words rebuked his doings in his privy closet; having with him the earl of Southampton, who was the lord Wriothesley, and the master of the horse, who was Anthony Brown; also Dr. Cox, and Dr. Robinson. Unto whom when Barnes had submitted himself, "Nay," said the king, "yield thee not to me; I am a mortal man;" and therewith rising up and turning to the sacrament, and putting off his bonnet, said, "Yonder is the Master of us all, the author of truth: yield in truth to him, and that truth will I defend; and otherwise yield thee not unto me." Much ado there was, and great matter laid against Barnes. In conclusion this order was taken, that Barnes should go apart with Winchester, to confer and commune together of their doctrine, certain witnesses being thereunto appointed, to be as indifferent hearers, of whom one was Dr. Cox, the other was Dr. Robinson, with two others also to them assigned, who should be reporters to the king of the disputation; at the first entry of which talk, Gardiner, forgiving him (as he saith) all that was past, offered him the choice, whether he would answer or oppose; which was the Friday after that Barnes had preached. The king displeased against Barnes. Cox and Robinson arbiters between Barnes and Gardiner.

The question between them propounded, by Gardiner's narration, was this: "Whether a man could do any thing good or acceptable before the grace of justification, or not?" This question arose upon

(1) Stephen Gardiner cannot abide 'only, only.'

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a certain contention which had been between them before: for Barnes had affirmed, that albeit God requireth of us to forgive our neighbour, to obtain forgiveness of him; yet, he said, that God must forgive us first, before we forgive our neighbour; for else, to forgive our neighbour were sin, by the text which saith: "All that is not of faith, is of sin,"[1] &c. Thus the matter being propounded, Gardiner, to prove the contrary, came forth with his arguments two or three: to the which arguments (saith Gardiner) Barnes could not answer, but desired to be spared that night, and the next morning he would answer his arguments. In the morning, Gardiner with the hearers being again assembled, Dr. Barnes, according to the appointment, was present, who then went about to assoil his arguments. To his solutions Gardiner again replied: and thus continued they in this altercation by the space of two hours. In the end of this cock-fight, Winchester thus concludeth this glorious tale,[2] and croweth up the triumph; declaring how Barnes besought him to have pity on him, to forgive him, and to take him to be his scholar: whom then the said Winchester (as he himself confesseth) receiving, not as his scholar, but as his companion, offered to him a portion out of his living, to the sum of forty pounds a year, which if it be true (as Stephen Gardiner himself reporteth), why then doth this glorious cockatrice crow so much against Barnes afterwards, and cast him in the teeth, bearing all the world in hand that Barnes was his scholar? whereas he himself here refuseth Barnes to be his scholar, and receiveth him as his companion, fellow-like: but to the story.

The question between Barnes and Gardiner.

God forgiveth us, before we forgive our neighbour.

Gardiner's report.

Disputation between Barnes and Gardiner.

Gardiner offereth to Barnes forty pounds a year.

This done, the king being advertised of the conclusion of this matter between Barnes and Winchester, was content that Barnes should repair to the bishop's house at London the Monday following: which he did, with a certain other companion joined unto him. Who he was, Winchester there doth not express, only he saith that it was neither Jerome nor Garret. In this next meeting between Barnes and the bishop, upon the aforesaid Monday, the said bishop studying to instruct Barnes, uttered to him certain articles or conclusions, to the number of ten, the effect whereof here followeth.

Winchester's Articles against Barnes.

I. The effect of Christ's passion hath a condition. The fulfilling of the condition diminisheth nothing the effect of Christ's passion.

II. They that will enjoy the effect of Christ's passion must fulfil the condition.

III. The fulfilling of the condition requireth first knowledge of the condition; which knowledge we have by faith.

IV. Faith cometh of God, and this faith is a good gift; it is good and profitable to me; it is profitable to me to do well, and to exercise this faith: ergo, by the gift of God, I may do well before I am justified.

V. Therefore I may do well by the gift of God before I am justified, towards the attainment of justification.

VI. There is ever as much charity towards God as faith: and as faith increaseth, so doth charity increase.

VII. To the attainment of justification are required faith and charity.

VIII. Every thing is to be called freely done, whereof the beginning is free and set at liberty, without any cause of provocation.

IX. Faith must be to me the assurance of the promises of God made in

1) Rom. xiv. 23. (2) Stephen Gardiner, in his preface to George Joye.

Christ (if I fulfil the condition), and love must accomplish the condition: whereupon followeth the attainment of the promise according to God's truth. *Henry VIII.*

X. A man being in deadly sin, may have grace to do the works of penance, whereby he may attain to his justification. A. D. 1540.

These articles, forasmuch as they be sufficiently answered and replied unto by George Joye, in his joinder[1] and rejoinder[2] against Winchester, I shall not need to cumber this work with any new ado therewith, but only refer the reader to the books aforesaid, where he may see matter enough to answer to these popish articles. Answer and rejoinder of Joye.

I told you before, how the king was contented that Barnes should resort to the house of the bishop of Winchester, to be trained and directed by the bishop: which Barnes then hearing the talk of the people, and having also conference with certain learned men, within two days after his coming to the bishop's house, waxed weary thereof, and so coming to the bishop signified unto him, that if he would take him as one that came to confer, he would come still, but else he would come no more; and so clean gave over the bishop. Barnes will only come to Gardiner to confer with him.

This being known unto the king, through sinister complaints of popish sycophants, Barnes again was sent for, and convented before the king; who, being grievously incensed against him, enjoined both him, Jerome, and Garret, at the solemn Easter sermons at St. Mary Spittal, openly in writing to revoke the doctrine which they before had taught; at which sermon Stephen Gardiner also himself was present, to hear their recantation.

First Dr. Barnes, according to his promise made to the king, solemnly and formally began to make his recantation; which done, he, with much circumstance and obtestation, called upon the bishop (as is above touched), and, asking of him forgiveness, required him, in token of a grant, to hold up his hand, to the intent that he there openly declaring his charity before the world, the bishop also would declare his charity in like manner. Which when the bishop at first refused to do as he was required, Barnes again called for it, desiring him to show his charity, and to hold up his hand; which when he had done with much ado, wagging his finger a little, then Barnes, entering into his sermon, after his prayer made, beginneth the process of a matter, preaching contrary to that which before he had recanted; insomuch that the mayor, when the sermon was finished, sitting with the bishop of Winchester, asked him whether he should from the pulpit send him to ward, to be forthcoming for that his bold preaching, contrary to his recantation. The like also did Jerome, and Garret after him. Barnes desired Winchester, at his sermon, to hold up his hand. The mayor ready to trouble Barnes for his sermon.

The king had before appointed certain to make report of the sermons. Besides them, there was one, who, writing to a friend of his in the court, in the favour of these preachers, declared how gaily they had all handled the matter, both to satisfy the recantation, and also in the same sermons to utter out the truth, that it might spread without let of the world. Wherefore, partly by these reporters, and partly by the negligent looking to this letter, which came to the lord Cromwell's hands, saith Gardiner, Barnes with his other fellows, were apprehended, and committed to the Tower. Stephen Gardiner, in his aforesaid book against George Joye, would needs clear himself, Barnes, Garret, and Jerome committed to the Tower.

(1) Printed in 1543. 16mo.—Ed. (2) Printed in 1546. 16mo.—Ed.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1540.

that he was no party to, nor cause of their casting into the Tower; and giveth this reason for him, for that he had then no access, nor had after, so long as Cromwell's time lasted, to the king's secret counsel: yet, notwithstanding, the said Gardiner cannot persuade us to the contrary, but that his privy complaining to the king, and his secret whisperings in his friend's ears, and his other workings by his factors about the king, was a great sparkle to set their faggots afire.

Gardiner had no access to the king's council a year and more before the lord Cromwell's fall.

Thus then Barnes, Jerome, and Garret, being committed to the Tower after Easter, there remained till the thirtieth day of July, which was two days after the death of the lord Cromwell. Then ensued process against them, by the king's council in the parliament, to which process Gardiner confesseth himself that he was privy, amongst the rest. Whereupon all those three good saints of God, the thirtieth day of July, not coming to any answer, nor yet knowing any cause of their condemnation, without any public hearing were brought together from the Tower to Smithfield, where they, preparing themselves to the fire, had there at the stake divers and sundry exhortations; among whom Dr. Barnes first began with this protestation following:

Process against Barnes, Jerome, and Garret.

The Protestation of Doctor Barnes at the Stake.

I am come hither to be burned as a heretic, and you shall hear my belief, whereby you shall perceive what erroneous opinions I hold. God I take to record, I never (to my knowledge) taught any erroneous doctrine, but only those things which Scripture led me unto; and that in my sermons I never maintained any error, neither moved nor gave occasion of any insurrection, although I have been slandered to preach that our Lady was but a saffron-bag, which I utterly protest before God that I never meant, nor preached it; but all my study and diligence hath been utterly to confound and confute all men of that doctrine, as are the anabaptists, who deny that our Saviour Christ did take any flesh of the blessed Virgin Mary; which sects I detest and abhor. And in this place there have been burned some of them, whom I never favoured nor maintained; but with all diligence evermore did I study to set forth the glory of God, the obedience to our sovereign lord the king, and the true and sincere religion of Christ: and now hearken to my faith.

Barnes falsely slandered.

Barnes confession.

'I believe in the holy and blessed Trinity, three Persons and one God, that created and made all the world: and that this blessed Trinity sent down the second person, Jesu Christ, into the womb of the most blessed and purest Virgin Mary. And here, bear me record, that I do utterly condemn that abominable and detestable opinion of the Anabaptists, who say that Christ took no flesh of the Virgin. For I believe, that without man's will or power he was conceived by the Holy Ghost, and took flesh of her, and that he suffered hunger, thirst, cold, and other passions of our body, sin excepted, according to the saying of St. Peter, He was made in all things like to his brethren, except sin. And I believe that this his death and passion was the sufficient ransom for the sin of all the world. And I believe that through his death he overcame sin, death, and hell; and that there is none other satisfaction unto the Father, but this his death and passion only; and that no work of man did deserve any thing of God, but only his passion, as touching our justification: for I know the best work that ever I did is impure and unperfect.' [And with this he cast abroad his hands, and desired God to forgive him his trespasses.] 'For although perchance,' said he, 'you know nothing by me, yet do I confess, that my thoughts and cogitations be innumerable: wherefore I beseech thee, O Lord! not to enter into judgment with me, according to the saying of the prophet David, Non intres in judicium cum servo tuo, Domine, Enter not into judgment with thy servant, O Lord:[1] and in another place, Si iniquitates observaveris Domine, quis sustinebit? Lord, if thou straitly mark our iniquities, who

All men's works imperfect.

(1) Psalm cxliii. 2.

is able to abide thy judgment?[1] Wherefore I trust in no good work that ever I did, but only in the death of Christ. I do not doubt but through him to inherit the kingdom of heaven. Take me not here that I speak against good works, for they are to be done; and verily they that do them not, shall never come into the kingdom of God. We must do them, because they are commanded us of God, to show and set forth our profession, not to deserve or merit; for that is only the death of Christ.

'I believe that there is a holy church, and a company of all them that do profess Christ; and that all that have suffered for and confessed his name be saints; and that all they do praise and laud God in heaven, more than I or any man's tongue can express: and that always I have spoken reverently, and praised them as much as Scripture willed me to do. And that our Lady, I say, was a virgin immaculate and undefiled, and that she is the most pure virgin that ever God created, and a vessel elect of God, of whom Christ should be born.'

Then said Master Sheriff, "You have said well of her before." And, being afraid that Master Sheriff had been or should be aggrieved with any thing that he should say, he said, Barnes obedient to magistrates.

'Master Sheriff, if I speak any thing that you will me not, do no more but beckon me with your hand, and I will straightway hold my peace; for I will not be disobedient in any thing, but will obey.'

Then there was one that asked him his opinion of praying to saints. Then said he,

'Now of saints you shall hear my opinion. I have said before somewhat that I think of them: how that I believe they are in heaven with God, and that they are worthy of all the honour that Scripture willeth them to have. But, I say, throughout all Scripture we are not commanded to pray to any saints. Therefore I neither can nor will preach to you that saints ought to be prayed unto; for then should I preach unto you a doctrine of mine own head. Notwithstanding, whether they pray for us or no, that I refer to God. And if saints do pray for us, then I trust to pray for you within this half hour, Master Sheriff, and for every christian man living in the faith of Christ, and dying in the same as a saint. Wherefore, if the dead may pray for the quick, I will surely pray for you.' Pray not to saints.

"Well, have you any thing more to say?" Then spake he to Master Sheriff, and said, "Have ye any articles against me for the which I am condemned?" And the sheriff answered, "No." Then said he, "Is there here any man else that knoweth wherefore I die, or that by my preaching hath taken any error? Let them now speak, and I will make them answer." And no man answered. Then said he, No cause showed why Barnes died.

'Well! I am condemned by the law to die, and as I understand by an act of parliament; but wherefore, I cannot tell, but belike for heresy, for we are like to burn. But they that have been the occasion of it, I pray God forgive them, as I would be forgiven myself. And Dr. Stephen, bishop of Winchester that now is, if he have sought or wrought this my death either by word or deed, I pray God forgive him, as heartily, as freely, as charitably, and without feigning, as ever Christ forgave them that put him to death. And if any of the council, or any others have sought or wrought it through malice or ignorance, I pray God forgive their ignorance, and illuminate their eyes that they may see, and ask mercy for it. I beseech you all, to pray for the king's grace, as I have done ever since I was in prison, and do now, that God may give him prosperity, and that he may long reign among you; and after him that godly prince Edward may so reign, that he may finish those things that his Father hath begun. I have been reported a preacher of sedition and disobedience unto the king's majesty; but here I say to you, that you are all bound by the commandment of God to obey your prince with all humility, and with all your heart, yea, not Barnes praying for his enemies.

(1) Psalm cxxx. 3.

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so much as in a look to show yourselves disobedient unto him; and that not only for fear of the sword, but also for conscience' sake before God. Yea, and I say further, if the king should command you any thing against God's law, if it be in your power to resist him, yet may you not do it.'

Then spake he to the sheriff and said,

Barnes prayeth for the king. Five requests of Barnes to the king.

'Master Sheriff, I require you, on God's behalf, to have me commended unto the king's grace, and to show him that I require of his grace these five requests: first, that whereas his grace hath received into his hands all the goods and substance of the abbeys:'—Then the sheriff desired him to stop there. He answered, 'Master Sheriff! I warrant you I will speak no harm; for I know it is well done that all such superstition be clean taken away, and the king's grace hath well done in taking it away. But his grace is made a whole king, and obeyed in his whole realm as a king (which neither his father nor grandfather, neither his ancestors that reigned before him, ever had), and that, through the preaching of us, and such other wretches as we are, who always have applied our whole studies, and given ourselves for the setting forth of the same; and this is now our reward. Well! it maketh no matter. Now he reigneth among you; I pray God long he may live and reign among you! Would to God it might please his grace to bestow the said goods, or some of them, to the comfort of his poor subjects, who surely have great need of them.'

'The second that I desire his grace is, that he will see that matrimony be had in more reverence than it is; and that men, for every light cause invented, cast not off their wives, and live in adultery and fornication; and that those that be not married should not abominably live in whoredom, following the filthy lusts of the flesh.

'The third, that the abominable swearers may be punished and straightly looked upon; for the vengeance of God will come on them for their mischievous oaths.'

Barnes's request to Master Edgar to leave swearing.

Then desired he Master Pope to have him commended to Master Edgar, and to desire him, for the dear blood of Jesus Christ, that he would leave that abominable swearing which he used; for surely except he did forsake it, he would come to some mischievous end.

'The fourth request, that his grace would set forth Christ's true religion, and seeing he hath begun, go forward, and make an end; for many things have been done, but much more is to do. And that it would please his grace to look on God's word himself, for that it hath been obscured with many traditions invented of our own brains. Now,' said he, 'how many petitions have I spoken of?' And the people said, 'Four.' 'Well,' said he, 'even these four be sufficient, which I desire you, that the king's grace may be certified of; and say, that I most humbly desire him to look earnestly upon them; and that his grace take heed that he be not deceived with false preachers and teachers, and evil counsel; for Christ saith, that such false prophets shall come in lambs' skins.'

Barnes cleareth himself of all heresy.

Then desired he all men to forgive him, and if he had said any evil at any time unadvisedly, whereby he had offended any man, or given any occasion of evil, that they would forgive it him, and amend that evil they took of him; and to bear him witness that he detested and abhorred all evil opinions and doctrines against the word of God, and that he died in the faith of Jesu Christ, by whom he doubted not but to be saved. And with those words he desired them all to pray for him, and then he turned him about, and put off his clothes, making him ready to the fire, patiently there to take his death, yielding his soul unto the hands of Almighty God.

The protestation of Jerome and Garret.

The like confession made also Jerome and Garret, professing in like manner their belief, reciting all the articles of the christian faith, briefly declaring their minds upon every article, as the time would suffer; whereby the people might understand that there was no cause

nor error in their faith, wherefore justly they ought to be condemned: protesting moreover, that they denied nothing that was either in the Old or New Testament, set forth by their sovereign lord the king, whom they prayed the Lord long to continue amongst them, with his most dear son prince Edward: which done, Jerome added this exhortation in few words following: *Henry VIII.* A. D. 1540.

The Exhortation of Jerome to the People.

'I say unto you, good brethren! that God hath bought us all with no small price, neither with gold nor silver, nor other such things of small value, but with his most precious blood. Be not unthankful therefore to him again, but do as much as to christian men belongeth, to fulfil his commandments, that is, 'Love your brethren.' Love hurteth no man, love fulfilleth all things. If God hath sent thee plenty, help thy neighbour that hath need. Give him good counsel. If he lack, consider if thou wert in necessity, thou wouldest gladly be refreshed. And again, bear your cross with Christ. Consider what reproof, slander, and reproach, he suffered of his enemies, and how patiently he suffered all things. Consider that all that Christ did was of his mere goodness, and not of our deserving. For if we could merit our own salvation, Christ would not have died for us. But for Adam's breaking of God's precepts we had been all lost, if Christ had not redeemed us again. And like as Adam broke the precepts, and was driven out of Paradise, so we, if we break God's commandments, shall have damnation, if we do not repent and ask mercy. Now, therefore, let all Christians put no trust nor confidence in their works, but in the blood of Christ, to whom I commit my soul to guide, beseeching you all to pray to God for me, and for my brethren here present with me, that our souls, leaving these wretched carcases, may constantly depart in the true faith of Christ.'

In much like sort Garret also, protesting and exhorting the people, after his confession made, ended his protestation in manner as followeth:

The concluding Protestation of Thomas Garret.

'I also detest, abhor, and refuse, all heresies and errors, and if, either by negligence or ignorance, I have taught or maintained any, I am sorry for it, and ask God mercy. Or if I have been too vehement or rash in preaching, whereby any person hath taken any offence, error, or evil opinion, I desire of him, and all other persons whom I have any way offended, forgiveness. Notwithstanding, to my remembrance I never preached wittingly or willingly any thing against God's holy word, or contrary to the true faith, to the maintenance of errors, heresies, or vicious living, but have always, for my little learning and wit, set forth the honour of God, and the right obedience to his laws, and also the king's accordingly: and if I could have done better, I would. Wherefore, Lord! if I have taken in hand to do that thing which I could not perfectly perform, I desire of thee pardon for my bold presumption. And I pray God send the king's grace good and godly counsel, to his glory, to the king's honour, and the increase of virtue in this his realm. And thus now I yield up my soul unto Almighty God, trusting and believing that he, of his infinite mercy, for his promise made in the blood of his Son, our most merciful Saviour Jesu Christ, will take it, and pardon me of all my sins, whereby I have most grievously, from my youth, offended his majesty: wherefore I ask him mercy, desiring you all to pray with me and for me, that I may patiently suffer this pain, and die steadfastly in true faith, perfect hope, and charity.'

Garret cleareth himself.

Garret prayeth for the king.

And so, after their prayer made, wherein most effectually they desired the Lord Jesus to be their comfort and consolation in this their affliction, and to establish them with perfect faith, constancy, and patience through the Holy Ghost, they, taking themselves by the hands, and kissing one another, quietly and humbly offered

The patient suffering of these three martyrs.

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themselves to the hands of the tormentors; and so took their death both christianly and constantly, with such patience as might well testify the goodness of their cause, and quiet of their conscience.

Difference between them that suffer for God's truth, and others that die for their own deserts.

Wherein is to be noted how mightily the Lord worketh with his grace and fortitude in the hearts of his servants, especially in such as causeless suffer, with a guiltless conscience, for religion's sake, above others who suffer otherwise for their deserts. For whereas they who suffer as malefactors, are commonly wont to go heavy and pensive to their death; so the others, with heavenly alacrity and cheerfulness, do abide whatsoever it pleaseth the Lord to lay upon them: example whereof we have right well to note, not only in these three godly martyrs above mentioned, but also in the lord Cromwell, who suffered but two days before, the same no less may appear; who, although he was brought to his death, attainted and condemned by the parliament, yet what a guiltless conscience he bare to his death, his christian patience well declared; who, first calling for his breakfast, and cheerfully eating the same, and, after that, passing out of his prison down the hill within the Tower, and meeting there by the way the lord Hungerford, going likewise to his execution (who, for other matter, here not to be spoken of, was there also imprisoned), and perceiving him to be all heavy and doleful, with cheerful countenance and comfortable words, asking why he was so heavy, he willed him to pluck up his heart, and to be of good comfort; "for," said he, "there is no cause for you to fear; for if you repent, and be heartily sorry for that you have done, there is for you mercy enough with the Lord, who, for Christ's sake, will forgive you; and therefore be not dismayed. And though the breakfast which we are going to, be sharp, yet, trusting to the mercy of the Lord, we shall have a joyful dinner." And so went they together to the place of execution, and took their death patiently, July 28th, 1540.

Cheerful patience of Cromwell at his death.

Comfortable words of Cromwell to lord Hungerford, both going to their deaths.

A NOTE OF THREE PAPISTS, POWEL, FETHERSTONE, AND ABEL, EXECUTED THE SAME TIME WITH BARNES, JEROME, AND GARRET.

The same time and day, and in the same place, where and when these three above mentioned did suffer, three others also were executed, though not for the same cause, but rather the contrary, for denying the king's supremacy; whose names were Powel, Fetherstone, and Abel: which spectacle so happening upon one day, in two so contrary parts or factions, brought the people into a marvellous admiration and doubt of their religion, which part to follow and take; as might so well happen amongst ignorant and simple people, seeing two contrary parts so to suffer, the one for popery, the other against popery, both at one time. Insomuch that a certain stranger being there present the same time, and seeing three on the one side, and three on the other side to suffer, said in these words, "Deus bone! quomodo hic vivunt gentes? hic suspenduntur papistæ, illic comburuntur antipapistæ." But to remove and take away all doubt hereafter from posterity, whereby they shall the less marvel how this so happened, here is to be understood how the cause thereof did rise and proceed; which happened by reason of a certain division and

The words of a stranger, seeing both papists and protestants to suffer.

THE BURNING AND DEATH OF BARNES, GARRET, AND JEROME.

discord among the king's council, who were so divided among themselves in equal parts, that the one half seemed to hold with the one religion, the other half with the contrary; the names of whom, although it were not necessary to express, yet being compelled for the setting forth of the truth of the story, we have thought good here to annex, as the certainty thereof came to our hands. *Henry VIII.* A. D. 1540.

PROTESTANTS.

Canterbury,	Viscount Lisle,	Sadler,
Suffolk,	Russell, Treasurer,	Audeley.
Viscount Bewchamp,	Paget,	

PAPISTS.

Winchester,	William Paulet,
Durham,	John Baker,
Norfolk,	Richard, Chancellor of the Augmentation.
Southampton,	Wingfield, Vice Chancellor.
Anthony Brown,	

This division and separation of the council amongst themselves, caused both these parts above mentioned, the one for one religion, the other for another, to suffer together. For, as the one part of the council called for the execution of Barnes, Garret, and Jerome; so the other part, likewise, called for the execution of the law upon Powel, Fetherstone, and Abel; which six, being condemned and drawn to the place of execution, two upon a hurdle, one being a papist, the other a protestant, thus, after a strange manner, were brought into Smithfield, where all the said six together, for contrary doctrine, suffered death; three, by the fire, for the gospel; the other three, by hanging, drawing, and quartering, for popery.

The council divided in religion.

Two together laid upon the hurdle; the one a papist, the other a protestant.

Alan Cope, in his worshipful Dialogues, making mention of these three aforesaid, Powel, Fetherstone, and Abel, amongst others who died in king Henry's days in the like popish quarrel, that is, for the like treason against their prince (being in all to the number of twenty-four), extolleth them not only in words, but with miracles also, up to the height of heaven, among the crowned martyrs and saints of God. To the which Cope, because in this haste of story I have no leisure at this present to give attendance, I shall wait attendance (the Lord willing) another time, to join in this issue with him more at leisure. In the meantime, it shall suffice at this present to recite the names only of those twenty-four rebels, whom he, of his popish devotion, so dignified with the pretensed title of martyrs: the names of thirteen of which monkish rebels be these here following:[1]

Traitors made martyrs.

Neither good martyrs to God, nor good subjects to the king.

John Houghton,	John Rochester,	William Horne,
Robert Laurence,	Jacobus Wannere,	Powell,
Augustine Webster,	John Stone,	Fetherstone,
Reginald of Sion,	John Traverse,	Abel.
John Haile,		

Besides these there were other nine Carthusian monks who died in the prison of Newgate; to which number if you add Master More and the bishop of Rochester, the 'summa totalis' cometh to twenty-

(1) 'Dialogi Sex' (Antw. 1566), pp. 993—995. Reginald is said to be 'ordinis Brigitani.'—Ed.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1541.

four, whom the said Cope unjustly crowned for martyrs. But of these more shall be said (the Lord willing) hereafter.

Great disturbance in England after the six articles.

Thus, having discoursed the order of the six articles, with other matter likewise following in the next parliament, concerning the condemnation of the lord Cromwell, of Dr. Barnes, and his fellows, let us now (proceeding further in this history) consider what great disturbance and vexations ensued after the setting forth of the said articles, through the whole realm of England, especially among the godly sort: wherein first were to be mentioned the straight and severe commissions sent forth by the king's authority, to the bishops, chancellors, officials, justices, mayors, and bailiffs in every shire, and other commissioners by name in the same commissions expressed; and, amongst others, especially to Edmund Bonner bishop of London, to the mayor, sheriffs, and aldermen of the same, to inquire diligently after all heretical books, and to burn them. Also to inquire after all such persons whatsoever, culpable or suspected of such felonies, heresies, contempts, or transgressions, or speaking any words contrary to the aforesaid act, set forth, of the six articles. The tenor of the said commissions being sufficiently expressed in ancient records, and in the bishops' registers, and also partly touched before,[1] therefore, for tediousness I here omit: only showing forth the commission directed to Edmund Bonner bishop of London, to take the oath of the mayor of London, and of others, for the execution of the commission aforesaid; the tenor whereof here followeth:

The Commission for taking the Oath of the Mayor of London and Others, for the execution of the Act aforesaid.

Henry the Eighth, by the grace of God, king of England and of France, defender of the faith, lord of Ireland, and in earth supreme head of the church of England, unto the reverend father in Christ Edmund Bonner, bishop of London, and to his wellbeloved the bishop's chancellor, health. Know ye that we have given you, jointly and severally, power and authority to receive the oaths of William Roche, mayor of London; John Allen, knight; Ralph Warren, knight; Richard Gresham, knight; Roger Cholmley, knight, serjeant-at-law; John Gresham; Michael Dormer, archdeacon of London, the bishop's commissary and official; Robert Chidley, Guy Crayford, Edward Hall, Robert Broke, and John Morgan, and every of them, our commissioners for heresies, and other offences done within our city of London and diocese of the same, according to the tenor of a certain schedule hereunto annexed. And therefore we command you that you receive the oaths aforesaid; and when you have received them, to certify us into our chancery, under your seals, returning this our writ.

Teste me ipso at Westminster the twenty-ninth of January, in the thirty-second year of our reign.

What the oath was of these commissioners whereunto they were bound, read before.

A NOTE HOW BONNER SAT IN THE GUILDHALL IN COMMISSION FOR THE SIX ARTICLES: ALSO OF THE CONDEMNING OF MEKINS.

Upon this commission given unto Edmund Bonner, he, coming to the Guildhall, with other commissioners, to sit upon the statute

(1) Read before page 262.

of the Six Articles, began eftsoons to put in execution his authority after a rigorous sort, as ye shall hear. And first, he charged certain juries to take their oath upon the statute aforesaid, who, being sworn, had a day appointed to give their verdict: at which day they indicted sundry persons, who, shortly after, were apprehended and brought to ward; who, after awhile remaining there, were, by the king and his council, discharged at the Star-chamber, without any further punishment. *Henry VIII.* A.D. 1541.

Not long after this, sir William Roche being mayor, Bonner with other commissioners sat at the Guildhall aforesaid, before whom there were a certain number of citizens warned to appear; and after the commission read, the said parties were called to the book, and when five or six were sworn, one of the said persons, being called to the book, Bonner seemed to mislike, and said, "Stay awhile, my masters," quoth he; "I would ye should consider this matter well that we have in hand, which concerneth the glory of God, the honour of the king, and the wealth of the realm; and if there be any here among you that doth not consider the same, it were better that he were hence than here." Then communed the commissioners with Bonner about that man, so that at length he was called to the book and sworn, not altogether with his good will.

When the two juries were sworn, Bonner taketh upon him to give the charge unto the juries, and began with a tale of Anacharsis, by which example he admonished the juries to spare no persons, of what degree soever they were. And at the end of his charge, he brought forth to the bar a boy, whose name was Mekins, declaring how grievously he had offended by speaking of certain words against the state, and of the death of Dr. Barnes; and produced into the said court two witnesses, who were there sworn in the face of the court. So a day was assigned upon which the juries aforesaid should give up their verdict; at which day both the commissioners, and the said juries, met at Guildhall aforesaid. Then the clerk of the peace called on the juries by their names, and when their appearance was taken, Bonner bade them put in their presentments. Then said the foreman of that jury, whose name was William Robins; "My lord," with a low courtesy, "we have found nothing:" at which words he fared as one in an agony, and said, "Nothing? have ye found nothing? what nothing? By the faith I owe to God," quoth he to the foreman, "I would trust you upon your obligation; but by your oath I will trust you nothing." Then said some of the commissioners; "My lord, give them a longer day." "No," quoth he, "in London they ever find nothing. I pray you what say you to Mekins?" "My lord," quoth the foreman, "we can say nothing to him, for we find the witnesses to disagree. One affirmeth that he should say the sacrament was nothing but a ceremony; and the other, nothing but a signification." "Why," quoth Bonner, "did he not say that Barnes died holy?" Then pausing awhile, he bade call the other jury. "Put in your verdict," quoth he. "My lord," said one, "we have found nothing." "Jesus!" quoth he, "is not this a strange case?"

Mekins presented by Bonner.

William Robins, juror.

Then spake one of the same jury, whose name was Ralph Foxley, and said, "My lord, when you gave us charge, we desired to have

Ralph Foxley, juror.

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the parsons and curates of every parish to give us instructions; and it was denied us." Then stood up the recorder,[1] and said, it was true indeed that he had spoken; and therewithal said, "This last year were charged two juries, which did many things naughtily and foolishly, and did as much as in them lay to make an uproar among the king's people; and therefore it was thought not meet that they should give information to you." "Nay, nay," quoth Bonner, "this was the cause: If the parson or curate should give information according to his knowledge, then what will they say? 'I must tell my confession to a knave-priest, and he shall go by-and-by and open it.'" "What!" said my lord mayor, "there is no man, I trow, that will say so?" "Yes, by my troth," quoth Bonner, "knave-priest, knave-priest." Then said my lord mayor, somewhat smiling, "There be some of them slippery fellows; and as men find them, so will they ofttimes report." Bonner, not well contented with those words, said to the jury, "My masters, what say you to Mekins?" They answered, "The witnesses do not agree, therefore we do not allow them." "Why," quoth Bonner, "this court hath allowed them." Then said one of the jury to the recorder, "Is it sufficient for our discharge, if this court do allow them?" "Yea," said the recorder, "it is sufficient;" and said, "Go you aside together awhile, and bring in your verdict." After the jury had talked together a little while, they returned to the bar again with their indictment, which at Bonner's hand was friendly received; so both they and the other jury were discharged, and bidden take their ease. Thus ended the court for that day. Shortly after they sat for life and death. Mekins being brought to the bar, and the indictment read, Bonner said to him, "Mekins, confess the truth, and submit thyself unto the king's law, that thy death may be an example to all others."

Against popish priests of London.

Bonner calleth for the condemnation of Mekins.

Mekins brought to the bar.

This Richard Mekins, being a child that passed not the age of fifteen years (as Hall reporteth),[2] as he had heard some other folks talk, so chanced he to speak against the sacrament of the altar; which coming to Bonner's ears, he never left him (as afore doth plainly appear) before he had brought him to the fire. During the time of his imprisonment, neither his poor father nor mother, for fear, durst aid him with any relief; whereby he there endured in great misery. At what time he was brought unto the stake, he was taught to speak much good of the bishop of London, and of the great charity he showed to him, and to defy and detest all heretics and heresies, but especially Dr. Barnes,[3] unto whom he imputed the learning of that heresy, which was the cause of his death. The poor lad would, for safeguard of his life, have gladly said that the twelve apostles had taught it him; such was his childish innocency and fear. But for this deed many spake and said, "It was great shame for the bishop, whose part and duty it had been rather to have laboured to save his life, than to procure that terrible execution; seeing that he was such an ignorant soul, that he knew not what the affirming of heresy was.

(1) This recorder was sir Roger Cholmley. (2) Page 841. Edit. 1809.—Ed.
(3) And how could he take that learning of Dr. Barnes, when Dr. Barnes was never of that opinion.

Richard Spencer, Ramsey, and Hewet, Martyrs, who suffered at Salisbury.

About the same time also a certain priest was burned at Salisbury, who, leaving his papistry, had married a wife, and became a player in interludes, with one Ramsey and Hewet, which three were all condemned and burned; against whom, and especially against Spencer, was laid matter concerning the sacrament of the altar. He suffered at Salisbury.

Although this inquisition above mentioned was meant properly and especially concerning the Six Articles, yet so it fell out, that in short space doubts began to arise, and to be moved by the quest: whether they might inquire as well of all other opinions, articles, and cases of Lollardy, or for speaking against holy bread, holy water, or for favouring the cause of Barnes, of friar Ward, sir Thomas Rose, &c.:[1] whereupon great perturbation followed in all parishes almost through London in the year aforesaid, which was 1541, as here ensueth in a brief summary table to be seen.

A brief Table of the Troubles at London, in the time of the Six Articles,

CONTAINING THE PERSONS PRESENTED, WITH THE CAUSES OF THEIR PERSECUTION.

In St. Alban's Parish in London.

John Dixe was noted never to be confessed in Lent, nor to receive at Easter, and to be a sacramentary.

Richard Chepeman; for eating flesh in Lent, and for working on holy-days, and not coming to the church.

Mrs. Cicely Marshall; for not bearing her palm, and despising holy bread and holy water.

Michael Hawkes; for not coming to the church, and for receiving young men of the new learning.

Master John Browne; for bearing with Barnes.

Anne, Bedike's wife; for despising our Lady, and not praying to saints.

Andrew Kempe, William Pahen, and Richard Manerd; for disturbing the service of the church, with brabbling of the New Testament.

In the Parish of Trinity the Less.

William Wyders denied, two years before, the sacrament to be Christ's body, and said that it was but only a sign.

William Stokesly; for rebuking his wife at the church for taking holy water.

Roger Davy; for speaking against worshipping of saints.

Master Blage; for not coming to his parish church, not confessing, nor receiving.

St. John Baptist in Wallbrook.

William Clinch; for saying, when he seeth a priest preparing to the mass, 'Ye shall see a priest now go to masking.' Item, For calling the bishop of Winchester, 'False flattering knave.' Item, For burying his wife without dirge, and causing the Scot of St. Katherine's to preach the next day after the burial.

William Plaine; seeing a priest going to mass, said, 'Now you shall see one in masking.' Item, When he came to the church, with loud reading the English Bible he disturbed the divine service.

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St. Botolph's at Billingsgate.

Herman Johnson, Jerome Akon, Giles Hosteman, Richard Bonfeld, Thomas Cowper, Humphrey Skinner, John Sneudnam, Richard Philips, John Celos: these nine persons were presented, for that they were not confessed in Lent, nor had received at Easter.

St. Nicholas, in the Flesh Shambles.

John Jones, William Wright, Peter Butcher, Roger Butcher: these four were presented for not keeping the divine service in the holy days.

Brisley's wife, for busy reasoning on the new learning, and not keeping the church.

St. Andrew's in Holborn.

Mrs. Castle; for being a meddler, and a reader of the Scripture in the church.

Master Galias, of Bernard's Inn; for withstanding the curate censing the altars on Corpus Christi even, and saying openly that he did naught.

Master Pates, of David's Inn, and Master Galias; for vexing the curate in the body of the church, in declaring the king's injunctions and reading the Bishop's Book, so that he had much ado to make an end.

St. Mildred in Bread-street.

William Beckes and his wife; suspected to be sacramentaries, and for not creeping to the cross on Good Friday.

Thomas Langham, William Thomas, Richard Beckes, William Beckes: these four were presented for interrupting the divine service.

Ralph Symonds; for not keeping our Lady's mass, which he was bound to keep.

John Smith, apprentice; for saying that he had rather hear the crying of dogs, than priests singing matins or even-song.

St. Magnus' Parish.

Thomas Bele, John Sturgeon, John Wilshire, Thomas Symon, Ralph Clervis and his wife, James Banaster, Nicholas Barker, John Sterky, Christopher Smith, Thomas Net: these eleven persons of St. Magnus' parish were presented and accused for maintaining of certain preachers (as then it was called) of the new learning, as Wisedom, Rose, friar Ward, and sir William Smith, alias Wright.

Nicholas Philip; for maintaining heresies and Scripture books, and for using neither fasting nor prayer.

Richard Bigges; for despising holy bread, putting it in the throat of a bitch, and for not looking up to the elevation.

St. Mary Magdalen in Milk-street.

Mrs. Elizabeth Statham; for maintaining in her house Latimer, Barnes, Garret, Jerome, and divers others.

John Duffet; for marrying a woman who was thought to be a nun.

St. Owen's Parish, in Newgate Market.

William Hilliard and Duffet; for maintaining Barnes, Jerome, and Garret, with others.

Grafton and Whitchurch; suspected not to have been confessed.

St. Martin's at the Well with two Buckets.

John Greene, Mother Palmer, Christopher Coots, William Selly, Alexander Frere, William Bredi, John Bush, William Somerton, George Durant, Master David's apprentice: all these being of the parish of St. Martin's, at the Well with two Buckets, were presented for contemning the ceremonies of the church:

also some for walking in the sacring time with their caps on: some for turning their heads away: some for sitting at their doors when sermons were in the church, &c.

St. Michael's in Wood-street.

Robert Andrew; for receiving heretics into his house, and keeping disputation of heresy there.

John Williamson, Thomas Buge, Thomas Gilbert, W. Hickson, Robert Daniel, Robert Smitton: these other six were suspected to be sacramentaries and rank heretics, and procurers of heretics to preach, and to be followers of their doctrine.

St. Botolph's at Billingsgate.

John Mayler; to be a sacramentary, and a railer against the mass.

Richard Bilby, draper; presented for saying these words, 'That Christ is not present in the blessed sacrament.'

St. Giles's Without Cripplegate.

Henry Patinson and Anthony Barber: these two were detected for maintaining their boys to sing a song against the sacrament of the altar: also Patinson came not to confession.

Robert Norman also refused to come to confession, saying, that none of his servants 'should be shriven of a knave-priest.'

John Humfrey; for speaking against the sacraments and ceremonies of the church.[1]

William Smith and his wife, John Cooke and his wife: these two couple were presented for not coming to service in their parish church, and for saying it was lawful for priests to have wives.

William Gate or Cote, William Aston, John Humfrey, John Cooke: to these four it was laid, for saying, that the mass 'was made of pieces and patches.' Also for depraving of matins, mass, and even-song.

John Miles and his wife, John Millen, John Robinson, Richard Millar, John Green and his wife, Arnold Chest: all these were put up for railing against the sacraments and ceremonies.

St. Giles's Without Cripplegate.

John Crosdall, John Clerke, John Owel: these three labouring men, for not coming to divine service on holy-days, and for labouring on the same.

Thomas Grangier and John Dictier; noted for common singers against the sacraments and ceremonies.

John Sutton and his wife, and John Segar: these three were noted to be despisers of auricular confession.

John Rawlins, John Shiler, William Chalinger, John Edmonds, John Richmond and his wife; for despising holy bread and holy water, and letting divine service.

Margaret Smith; for dressing flesh-meat in Lent.

Thomas Trentham; for reasoning against the sacrament of the altar, and saying that the sacrament was a good thing, but it was not as men took it, very God.

St. Thomas the Apostle.

Robert Granger, William Petingale, William May and his wife, John Henrison and his wife, Robert Welch, John Benglosse, John Pitley, Henry Foster, Robert Causy, William Pinchbeck and his wife: all these thirteen were put up by the inquisition, for giving small reverence at the sacring of the mass.

St. Benet Finch.

Martyn Bishop's wife: she was presented by her curate, for being not shriven in Lent, nor receiving at Easter: also she did set light by the curate, when he told her thereof.

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Robert Plat and his wife: these were great reasoners in Scripture, saying, that they had it of the Spirit; and that confession availeth nothing; and that he, not able to read, would use no beads.

St. Michael at Queenhithe.

Thomas Aduet, John Palmer, and Robert Cooke: the cause laid to these three persons, was for reasoning of the Scripture, and of the sacraments.

The register saith, that they denied all the sacraments: but this popish hyperbole will find little credit, where experience, acquainted with popish practices, sitteth to be the judge.

John Cockes: this man was noted for a great searcher out of new preachers, and maintainer of Barnes's opinions.

John Boultes; for forbidding his wife to use beads.

Thomas Kelde; he refused to take penance and absolution, and did eat flesh upon a Friday before Lent.

St. Mary Woolchurch.

Nicholas Newell, a Frenchman; presented to be a man far gone in the new sect, and that he was a great jester at the saints, and at our Lady.

John Hawkins and his servant, Thomas Chamberlaine and his wife, John Curteys, Master Dissel, his wife, and his servant: these eight were great reasoners and despisers of ceremonies.[1]

St. Katherine Coleman.

The curate of St. Katherine Coleman: he was noted for calling of suspected persons to his sermons by a beadle, without ringing of any bell; and when he preached, he left his matters doubtful.

Item, for preaching without the commandment of his parson.

Item, for that he was a Scottish friar, driven out of his country for heresy.

Tulle Bustre, his wife and his son-in-law: these were noted for coming seldom to the church, and many times were seen to labour upon the holy-days.

St. Matthew's Parish.

William Ettis and his wife were noted for maintaining certain preachers; and for causing one Taverner, being a priest, to preach against the king's injunctions.

Merifield, and his son-in-law, Nicholas Russel; the good man of the Saracen's Head in Friday-street; William Callaway, John Gardiner, with three apprentices: against this company presentation was made for gathering together in the evening, and for bringing ill preachers (that is to say, good preachers) amongst the people.

Thomas Plummer was presented, for saying that the blessed sacrament was to him that doth take it, so; and to him that doth not, it was not so.

Shoreditch.

Shermons, keeper of the Carpenters' Hall in Christ's parish, was presented for procuring an interlude to be openly played, wherein priests were railed on, and called knaves.

Saint Benet at Paul's Wharf.

Lewes Morall, a servant; also James Ogule and his wife; noted not to have been confessed certain years before.

Saint Margaret in Fish-street.

Thomas Babam; accused not to have been confessed nor houseled in his parish church.

Saint Antholine's.

The parson and curate of St. Antholine's; for not using the ceremonies in making holy water, nor keeping their processions on Saturdays.

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Lewis Bromfield; for not taking his housel, and for absenting himself from the church on holy-days. *Henry VIII.* A. D. 1541.

Saint Mary-hill.

John Sempe and John Goffe; for dispraising a certain anthem of our Lady, beginning 'Te matrem,' &c.; saying that there is heresy in the same.

Gilbert Godfrey; for absenting himself from the church on holy-days.

Saint Mary Magdalen in Old Fish-street.

Thomas Cappes; for saying these words, 'That the sacrament of the altar was but a memory and a remembrance of the Lord's death.'

Saint Botolph's at Billingsgate.

John Mailer, grocer; for calling the sacrament of the altar 'the baken god,' and for saying that the mass was called beyond the sea, 'miss,' for that all is amiss in it.

Saint Martin's in Ironmonger Lane.

John Hardyman, parson of St. Martin's in Ironmonger-lane; presented for preaching openly that confession is confusion and deformation; and that the butcherly ceremonies of the church were to be abhorred. Also for saying, 'What a mischief is this, to esteem the sacraments to be of such virtue! for in so doing they take the glory of God from him:' and for saying, that faith in Christ is sufficient, without any other sacraments, to justify.[1]

Saint Bridget's in Fleet-street.

Christopher Dray, plumber; for saying of the sacrament of the altar, that it was not offered up for remission of sins; and that the body of Christ was not there, but only by representation and signification of the thing.

Saint Andrew's in Holborn.

Robert Ward, shoemaker; presented by three witnesses, for holding against the sacrament of the altar: he died in prison in Bread-street.

Allhallows, Barking.

Nicholas Otes; for not coming to the housel at Easter, he was sent to Newgate.

Herman Peterson and James Gosson; for not coming to shrift and housel at the time of Easter. These were committed to prison in Bread-street.

Saint Olave's in the Old Jewry.

Richard White, haberdasher; for saying, that he did not think that Christ was in the sacrament of the altar within the sepulchre, but in heaven above.

Saint Botolph's Without Aldgate.

Giles Harrison, being in a place without Aldgate, merrily jesting in a certain company of neighbours, where some of them said, 'Let us go to mass:' 'I say tarry,' said he; and so taking a piece of bread in his hands, lifted it up over his head: and likewise taking a cup of wine, and bowing down his head, made therewith a cross over the cup, and so taking the said cup in both his hands, lifted it over his head, saying these words, 'Have ye not heard mass now?' For the which he was presented to Bonner, then bishop of London; against whom came these, namely, Thomas Castle, William Greene, Andrew Morice, and John Margetson, as witnesses against him.

Richard Bostock, priest; for saying that auricular confession hath killed

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more souls than all the bills, clubs, and halters have done since king Henry was king of England, &c. Also for saying, that the water in the Thames hath as much virtue, as the water that the priests do hallow.

Margaret Ambsworth; for having no reverence to the sacrament at sacring time. Item, for instructing of maids, and being a great doctress.

In Aldermanbury.

John Leicester, Christopher Townesend, Thomas Mabs, Christopher Holybread, W. Raynold, Thomas David Skinner, Thomas Starckey, Martyn Donam, and W. Derby: all these noted and presented for maintaining of Barnes, and such other preachers; and many of their wives, for not taking holy bread, nor going in procession on Sundays.

Lawrence Maxwel, bricklayer; for speaking and reasoning against auricular confession.

Saint Martin's the Great.

John Coygnes, or Livelonde; for holding against the sacrament of the altar, and not receiving at Easter.

Saint Clement's Without Temple Bar.

Gerard Frise; presented by two witnesses, for affirming that a sermon preached, is better than the sacrament of the altar; and that he had rather go to hear a sermon, than to hear a mass.

Saint Katherine's.

Dominick Williams, a Frenchman; for not receiving the sacrament of the altar at Easter.

Thomas Lancaster, priest; he lay in the compter in the Poultry, for compiling and bringing over books prohibited.

Item, Gough, the stationer; troubled for resorting unto him.

Friar Ward; laid in the Compter in Bread-street; for marrying one Elizabeth to his wife, after his vow made of chastity.

Wilcock, a Scottish friar; prisoned in the Fleet, for preaching against confession, holy water, against praying to saints, and for souls departed; against purgatory, and holding that priests might have wives, &c.

John Taylor, doctor in divinity; presented for preaching at St. Bride's in Fleet-street, that it is as profitable to a man to hear mass and see the sacrament, as to kiss Judas's mouth, who kissed Christ our Saviour, &c.

W. Tolwine, parson of St. Antholine's; presented and examined before Edmund Bonner, for permitting Alexander Seton to preach in his church, having no license of his ordinary; and also for allowing the sermons of the said Alexander Seton, which he preached against Dr. Smith.

Tolwine making of holy water.

To the said Tolwine, moreover, it was objected, that he used, the space of two years, to make holy water, leaving out the general exorcism, beginning 'Exorciso te,' &c.; using these words for the same, 'Benedicite, Dominu: ab eo sit benedicta, à cujus latere fluxit sanguis et aqua:' adjoining thereto, 'commixtio salis et aquæ fiat, in nomine Patris, et Filii, et Spiritus Sancti.'

The like usage of making holy water was also used in Aldermary church, where Dr. Crome was, and in Honey-lane.

Against this objection thus Tolwine defended himself, saying, that he took occasion so to do by the king's injunctions, which say, that ceremonies should be used, all ignorance and superstition set apart.

His recantation.

In the end, this Tolwine was forced to stand at Paul's cross, to recant his doctrine and doings.

The same time also Robert Wisedom, parish priest of St. Margaret's in Lothbury, and Thomas Becon, were brought to Paul's cross, to recant and to revoke their doctrine, and to burn their books.

Little Allhallows.

Sir George Parker, priest and parson of St. Pancras, and curate of Little

Allhallows, was noted, suspected, and convented before the ordinary, for certain books; especially for having 'Unio dissidentium,' &c. (Henry VIII. A. D. 1541.

Sir John Byrch, priest of St. Botolph's Lane, was complained of by one Master Wilson, for being a busy reasoner in certain opinons which agreed not with the pope's church.

Alexander Seton, a Scottish man, and a worthy preacher, was denounced, detected, and presented, by three priests, of whom one was fellow of Whittington College, called Richard Taylor; another was John Smith; the third was John Huntingdon, who afterwards was converted to the same doctrine himself.

This Seton was chaplain to the duke of Suffolk, and by him was made free denizen. In his sermon preached at St. Antholine's, his adversaries picked against him matter containing fifteen objections, or rather cavillations, which, for example, I thought here to exhibit to the reader, to the intent that men may see, not only what true doctrine Seton then preached, consonant to the Scriptures; but also what wrangling cavillers can do, in depraving what is right, or in wresting what is well meant, or in tarping at what they understand not, or in seeking out faults where none are; as by these their sinister cavillations may appear. Seton chaplain to the duke of Suffolk.

Certain Places or Articles gathered out of Alexander Seton's Sermons by his Adversaries.

The sayings and words of Alexander Seton, spoken and preached by him in his sermon, made the 13th day of November, at afternoon, in the parish church of St. Antholine's in London: 'Paul saith, Of ourselves we can do nothing; I pray thee then where is thy will? Art thou any better than Paul, James, Peter, and all the apostles? Hast thou any more grace than they? Tell me now, if thy will be any thing or nothing: if it be any thing, tell me whether it be to do good or ill? If thou say to do ill, I will grant thou hast a great deal. If thou say to do good, I ask whether is more, somewhat or nothing? for Paul said, he could do nothing, and I am sure thou hast no more grace than Paul and his companions.'

'Scripture speaketh of three things in man; the first is will, the other two are consent and deed. The first, that is will, God worketh without us, and beside us. The other two he worketh in us, and with us.'—And here he alleged St. Augustine, to prove that we can will nothing that is good. Moreover he said, 'Thou hast not one jot, no not one tittle, to do any good.' No will in man of himself to do good.

'There is nothing in heaven or earth, creature or other, that can be any mean towards our justification; nor yet can nor may any man satisfy God the Father for our sin, save only Christ, and the shedding of his blood.'

'He that preacheth that works do merit, or be any mean to our salvation, or any part of our justification, preacheth a doctrine of the devil.'

'If any thing else, save only Christ, be any mean towards our justification, then did not Christ only justify us.'

'I say, that neither thy good works, nor any thing that thou canst do, can be one jot or tittle towards thy justification. For if they be, then is not Christ a full justifier; and that I will prove by a familiar example. Be it in case I have two servants: the one is called John, and the other Robert; and I promise to send you such a day twenty pounds by John my servant, and at my day I send you by John my servant, nineteen pounds nineteen shillings and eleven pence three farthings, and there lacketh but one farthing, which Robert doth bring thee, and so thou hast thy twenty pounds, every penny and farthing: yet will I ask, if I be true of my promise, or no; and thou mayest say, 'Nay.' And why? 'Because I promised to send thee that whole twenty pounds by John, and did not, for there lacked a farthing, which Robert brought. Wherefore I say, if thy works do merit or bring one little jot or tittle towards thy justification, then is Christ false of his promise, who said that he would do all together.'

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One scripture I will bring you, which they cannot writhe, to prove that Christ only was promised to be our only justifier, our only mean; and that is in the 22d of Genesis, where it is written, 'In thy seed shall all people be blessed;' meaning thereby only Christ: and he said not, 'in thy seeds,' nor, 'in the works of thy seeds.' Wherefore, all they that preach that works be any part or mean toward our justification, do make God false of his promise.'

'They that preach that works do merit, do make works the tree, which are but the fruits of justice, wrought by him that is already a just man, who cannot choose but bring forth good fruit.'

'I would ask a question, whether he that worketh be a good man, or bad; for he must be one of them. If he be a good man, he cannot choose but bring forth good fruits; if he be an ill man, he can bring forth no fruit, but ill fruit; for a good tree cannot bring forth ill fruit.'

Man's works made checkmate with Christ.

'He that saith that works do merit any thing towards our salvation, doth make works checkmate with Christ, and plucketh from Christ what is his, and giveth it to works. Some will ask, Wherefore then should I do good works? I answer, Good works are to be done for no cause else, but only for the glory of God, and not that they do merit any thing at all. And he that saith that good works are to be done for any other cause than for the glory of God only, and will have them to merit, or be any mean towards our justification, I say, he lieth, and believe him not.'

'He that can show me in any scripture, that works do merit, or be any mean to our justification, for the first scripture I will (without any further judgment) lose both mine ears; for the second, my tongue; and for the third, my neck. For of this I dare say he cannot prove in all the whole Scripture one tittle. Wherefore believe them not.'

The papists bely the protestants, as though they denied good works.

'Men say that we deny good works, and fasting and prayer. They lie on us: we deny nothing but popish works, and popish fasting, and popish prayer; and he that preacheth that works do merit, or fasting doth merit, or prayer doth merit, doth preach a popish doctrine.'

'If you ask me, when we will leave preaching only Christ: even when they do leave to preach that works do merit, and suffer Christ to be a whole satisfier, and only mean to our justification; and, till then, we will not cease, in God's cause, to set forth only Christ, to be a full, and perfect, and only satisfaction.'

Good works, how they be rewarded.

'If you ask, if good works shall be rewarded, I say, yea, and with no less than eternal glory, but for no merit that they deserve, for they deserve nothing; but only because God hath promised, not for the merit of the work, but for his promise' sake; and he will not break his promise.'

Other Articles gathered out of Alexander Seton's Sermons.

Touching reconciliation, spoken of by Dr. Smith, preaching in the forenoon at Paul's Cross, Alexander Seton, preaching at afternoon at St. Antholine's, and, reciting his sayings and Scriptures, reproved him for alleging this saying; 'Reconciliamini Deo;' and englishing the same thus, 'Reconcile yourselves to God:'[1] because it is there spoken passively, and not actively; so that there should be nothing in man pertaining to reconciliation, but all in God.

Also, reproving the said Dr. Smith, for that the said doctor said, that man, by his good works, might merit: which saying of Dr. Smith the said Alexander Seton reproved in the pulpit at St. Antholine's, the 13th day of November, in the year of our Lord 1541, as naughtily spoken.

Moreover the said Alexander Seton said, in the same place, that it was a shame that any such preacher should be suffered so openly to preach such erroneous doctrine as to say that works should merit; adducing, 'Non sunt condignæ passiones,'[2] &c.; 'Et post quam feceritis omnia,' &c.[3]

Finally Seton said, 'Peradventure ye will say the church hath determined this matter touching works. And I say,' quoth he, 'that it is ecclesia malignantium, so determining any thing against Scripture.'

To these pretensed objections of his adversaries he made his answer again by writing, first denying many things there presented,

(1) 2 Cor. v. 20. (2) Rom. viii. 18. (3) Luke xvii. 10.

taking upon his conscience, that he never spake divers of those words, and again many things that he never meant to such end or purpose; as in the said register may appear. But all this notwithstanding, for all that he could say for himself, the ordinary proceeded in his consistory judgment, ministering to him certain interrogatories (after the popish course) to the number of ten articles. The greatest matter laid against him was, for preaching free justification by faith in Christ Jesu; against false confidence in good works; and man's free will. Also it was laid unto him, for affirming that private masses, dirges, and other prayers, profited not the souls departed: so that in the end, he, with Tolwine aforesaid, was caused to recant at Paul's Cross, A.D. 1541.

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Seton bearing a faggot at Paul's cross.

Add to these aforesaid, Dr. Taylor, parson of St. Peter's in Cornhill; South, parish priest of Allhallows in Lombard-street; Some, a priest; Giles, the king's beer-brewer, at the Red Lion in St. Katherine's; Thomas Lancaster, priest: all which were imprisoned likewise, for the six articles.

To be short, such a number out of all parishes in London, and out of Calais and divers other quarters, were then apprehended, through the said inquisition, that all prisons in London were too little to hold them, insomuch that they were fain to lay them in the halls. At last, by the means of good lord Audeley, such pardon was obtained of the king, that the said lord Audeley, then lord chancellor, being content that one should be bound for another, they were all discharged, being bound only to appear in the Star Chamber, the next day after All-Souls, there to answer, if they were called; but neither was there any person called, neither did there any appear.

The prisons too little to hold them that were taken for the six articles.

The lord chancellor Audeley.

The Story of John Porter, cruelly martyred for reading the Bible in Paul's.

In the number of these beforenamed cometh the remembrance of John Porter, who, in the same year (A.D. 1541), for reading the Bible in Paul's church, was cruelly handled, and that unto death, as you shall hear. It was declared in this history above, how Edmund Bonner, bishop of London, in the days of the lord Cromwell, being then ambassador at Paris, was a great doer in setting forward the printing of the Bible in the great volume; promising moreover, that he would, for his part, have six of those Bibles set up in the church of St. Paul in London; which, also, at his coming home, he no less performed, according to the king's proclamation set forth for the same, whereof read before.

The Bible commanded by the king to be set in churches.

The Bibles thus standing in Paul's by the commandment of the king, and the appointment of Bonner the bishop, many well-disposed people used much to resort to the hearing thereof, especially when they could get any that had an audible voice to read unto them, misdoubting therein no danger toward them; and no more there was, so long as the days of Cromwell lasted. After he was gone, it happened amongst divers and sundry godly-disposed persons, who frequented there the reading of the aforesaid Bible, that one John Porter used sometimes to be occupied in that godly exercise, to the

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edifying as well of himself, as of others. This Porter was a fresh young man, and of a big stature; who, by diligent reading of the Scripture, and by hearing of such sermons as then were preached by them that were the setters-forth of God's truth, became very expert.

Porter, a great reader in the Bible at Paul's.

The Bible then being set up, by Bonner's commandment, upon divers pillars in Paul's church, fixed unto the same with chains for all men to read in them that would, great multitudes would resort thither to hear this Porter, because he could read well, and had an audible voice.

Bonner and his chaplains grieved with the Bibles which they had set up.

Bonner and his chaplains, being grieved withal (and the world beginning then to frown upon the gospellers), sent for the aforesaid Porter, and rebuked him very sharply for his reading. But Porter answered him that he trusted he had done nothing contrary to the law, neither contrary to his advertisements, which he had fixed in print over every Bible.

Bonner then laid unto his charge that he had made expositions upon the text, and gathered great multitudes about him to make tumults. He answered, he trusted that should not be proved by him.

Porter sent to Newgate by Bonner.

But, in fine, Bonner sent him to Newgate, where he was miserably fettered in irons, both legs and arms, with a collar of iron about his neck fastened to the wall in the dungeon; being there so cruelly handled, that he was compelled to send for a kinsman of his,

This Porter was alive at the writing hereof.

whose name is also Porter, a man yet alive, and can testify that it is true, and dwelleth yet without Newgate. He, seeing his kinsman in this miserable case, entreated Jewet, then keeper of Newgate, that he might be released out of those cruel irons; and so, through friendship and money, had him up among other prisoners, who lay there for felony and murder; where Porter, being amongst them, hearing and seeing their wickedness and blasphemy, exhorted them to amendment of life, and gave unto them such instructions as he had learned of the Scriptures; for which his so doing he was complained on, and so carried down, and laid in the lower dungeon of all, oppressed with

Cruel handling of Porter.

bolts and irons, where, within six or eight days after, he was found dead.

His death and martyrdom.

It is signified to us, by credible information, that the same night before he was found dead, they that dwelt near to the same place of the prison where Porter lay, did hear him piteously to groan, and make a lamentable noise, where some suppose that he was put in certain strait irons which be there in the house, called, "the devil on the neck;" being after an horrible sort devised; straining and wrenching the neck of a man with his legs together, in such sort as the more he stirreth in it, the straighter it presseth him; so that within three or four hours it breaketh and crusheth a man's back and body in pieces: in which devilish torment, whether John Porter was slain or no, it is not certain. But howsoever it was, this is known, that he was found dead (as is aforesaid) in the dungeon, with such groaning and piteous noise heard the night before in the said dungeon, as is declared.

A Note of one Thomas Sommers, imprisoned for the Gospel.

The penance of Sommers.

Amongst these Londoners thus troubled by the clergy, we will add also (though a little out of place) another note of a merchant, called Thomas Sommers, who died in the tower of London, for con-

fessing of the gospel; which Thomas, being a very honest merchant and wealthy, was sent for by the lord cardinal, and committed to the tower, for that he had Luther's books (as they termed them); and after great suit made for him to the said cardinal, his judgment was, that he should ride from the Tower into Cheapside, carrying a new book in his hand, and with books hanging round about him, with three or four other merchants after the same order; which was done. And when Master Sommers should be set on a collier's nag, as the rest of his fellow-prisoners were, a friend of his, called Master Copland, brought him a very good gelding, fair dressed with bridle and saddle; and when the bishop's officers came to dress him with books, as they had trimmed the others, and would have made holes in his garment, to have thrust the strings of the books therein; "Nay," said Sommers, "I have always loved to go handsomely in my apparel:" and taking the books and opening them, he bound them together by the strings, and cast them about his neck (the leaves being all open) like a collar; and being on horseback, rode foremost through the streets, till they came about the Standard in Cheapside, where a great fire was made to burn their books in, and a pillory set up there for four persons, in token that they had deserved it.

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Luther's books burned in Cheapside.

In the mean time, by the way as they should come, it was appointed that one should go before them with a basin, at the noise whereof Master Sommers's horse, being a lofty gelding and fierce, was in such a rage, that he who rung the basin, being afraid of himself, was fain to go alone a great space before that any horseman followed after. At length, when they came to the fire, every of them having a book in his hand, they were commanded to cast their books into the fire. But when Master Sommers saw that his New Testament should be burned, he threw it over the fire, which was seen by some of God's enemies, and brought to him again, commanding him to cast it into the fire, which he would not do, but cast it through the fire; which thing was done three times; but at last a stander-by took it up, and saved it from burning. But not long after, the said Master Sommers was again cast into the Tower by the cardinal, through the cruelty of the bishops and their adherents, who, soon after, died in the said prison for the testimony of his faith.

The Papists burn the New Testament.

Sommers dieth in the Tower.

What trouble and vexation happened amongst the godly brethren in London for the Six Articles, hitherto we have discoursed: albeit neither have I comprehended all who were molested through all the parishes of London, nor again did this rigorous inquisition so cease within the precincts of this city only, but also extended further to Salisbury, Norfolk, Lincoln, and through all other shires and quarters of the realm; so that where any popish prelate most bare stroke, there persecution most increased. The bishop of Lincoln, the same time, was John Longland, and Dr. Draycot, his chancellor; of whose rigorous doings ye have heard enough and too much before. His ready diligence in all popish quarrels, as it never lacked before, so now, in the execution of these Six Articles, it was not far behind: in whose diocese divers good men and women, especially about Buck-

Henry VIII. ingham and Amersham,[1] and quarters thereabouts, were grievously disquieted, appearing yet in the register; as for instance:

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Elenore Godfrey, of Great Marlow,

For laughing and speaking certain words against one Thomas Collard, who, like a pope-holy hypocrite, in the church of Marlow, used at mass-time to crouch behind the children; and when the priest crossed his head with the saucer (as she termed it) he would cross his head likewise. And for these words she was convented before the bishop, and miserably vexed.

William Hart, of Great Brickhill,

For saying these words: 'Thinkest thou that God Almighty will abide over a knave priest's head?'

Christopher Erles, of Risborough,

Because he did no reverence unto the sacrament, coming to the church; and for looking upon his book at the time of elevation; and that he would not come to see the elevation, &c. Item, as he was working upon a piece of fustian on a holy-day, and being asked why he kept not the holy-day, he answered that that was no work, and that it was better to do that, than to sit at the alehouse drinking drunk.

William Fastendich, of Woburn,

For speaking certain words against the sacrament of the altar, and because he believed not that it was the very body of Christ.

William Garland, of West Wycombe.

William Garland, talking of extreme unction, said that those things were godly signs, but there were but two sacraments, &c.

William Web, of the same Parish,

Because he set the image of a headless bear in the tabernacle of St. Roke.

Thomas Bernard and James Morton, Martyrs,

Also Master Barber, who recanted.

About the same time John Longland, bishop of Lincoln, burned two upon one day, the one named Thomas Bernard, and the other James Morton; the one for teaching the Lord's Prayer in English, and the other for keeping the Epistle of St. James translated into English.

In Oxford also the same time, or much thereabout, recanted one Master Barber, master of arts of that university, a man excellently learned; who, being called up to Lambeth before the archbishop Thomas Cranmer, was in his examination so stout in the cause of the sacrament, and so learnedly defended himself therein, that (as it is credibly affirmed of them that yet be alive, and were present thereat) neither Cranmer himself, nor all they could well answer to his allegations brought out of Augustine; wherein he was so prompt and ripe of himself, that the archbishop, with the residue of his company, were brought in great admiration of him. Notwithstanding, by compulsion of the time, and danger of the Six Articles,

The recantation of Barber at Oxford.

(1) Ex Regist. Lincoln.

at last he relented, and, returning again to Oxford, was there caused to recant. After which the good man long prospered not, but wore away.[1] *Henry VIII.* A.D. 1541.

A merry and pleasant Narration, touching a false fearful Imagination of Fire,

RAISED AMONG THE DOCTORS AND MASTERS OF OXFORD, IN ST. MARY'S CHURCH, AT THE RECANTATION OF MASTER MALARY, MASTER OF ARTS OF CAMBRIDGE.

* Hitherto,[2] gentle reader, we have remembered a great number of lamentable and bloody tragedies of such as have been slain through extreme cruelty: now I will here set before thee again a merry and comical spectacle, whereat thou mayest now laugh and refresh thyself, which, forasmuch as it did necessarily accord with our present enterprise, I have not thought it good to pass it over with silence. For God hath oftentimes, by divers manifest means, deluded the craft and subtlety of the bishops and their vain hypocrisy; as, for example, in Joan of Mentz, who, being a woman, and secretly dissimuling her kind, ruled the bishopric of Rome; but, by being delivered of a child before her time, even in the midst of open procession, she defiled that see, that the note or blot thereof will never be wiped out again. Besides that, how great reproach and derision, even of children, was in that pompous and ridiculous ambassade of Thomas Wolsey and Lawrence the cardinal, whereof we have before spoken. And now again the divine Wisdom deluded the cruel toils of the bishops; for* this recantation of Master Barber aforesaid, in the university of Oxford, bringeth me in remembrance of another recantation likewise, happening not long before in the said university, which I thought here not to overpass.

Recantation of Malary.

There was one Master Malary, master of arts of Cambridge, scholar of Christ's College, who, for the like opinions to those above rehearsed, holden contrary to the catholic determination of holy mother church of Rome, that is, for the right truth of Christ's gospel, was convented before the bishops, and, in the end, sent to Oxford, there openly to recant, and to bear his faggot, to the terror of the students of that university. The time and place were appointed, that he should be brought solemnly into St. Mary's church upon a Sunday; where a great number of the head doctors and divines, and others of the university were together assembled, besides a great multitude of citizens and town-dwellers, who came to behold the sight. Furthermore, because that solemnity should not pass without some effectual sermon for the holding up of the mother-church of Rome, Dr. Smith, reader then of the divinity lecture, was appointed to make the sermon at this recantation. Briefly, at the preaching of this sermon there was assembled a mighty audience of all sorts and degrees, as well of students as others. Few almost were absent who loved to hear or see any news; insomuch that there was no place almost in the whole church, which was not fully replenished with concourse and throng of people.

Malary brought into St. Mary's church with his faggot.

Dr. Smith preacheth at the recantation of Malary.

(1) Ex testimonio Rad. Moric.
(2) See Edition 1563, page 621. Also the Latin edition, 1559, p. 139.—Ed.

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All things being thus prepared and set in readiness, cometh forth poor Malary with his faggot upon his shoulder. Not long after, also, proceedeth the doctor into the pulpit, to make his sermon, the purpose and argument whereof was wholly upon the sacrament; the which doctor, for the more confirmation and credit to his words, had provided the holy catholic cake, and the sacrament of the altar, there to hang by a string before him in the pulpit. Thus the doctor, with his god-almighty, entering his godly sermon, had scarce proceeded into the midst thereof, the people giving great silence with all reverence unto his doctrine, but suddenly was heard into the church the voice of one crying in the street, "Fire, fire!" The party who thus cried first in the street was called Heuster. *The[1] occasion of this exclamation came by a chimney that was on fire in the town, wherein the fire, having taken hold of the soot and dry matter, burned out at the top of the chimney, and so caused the neighbours to make an outcry.* This Heuster coming from Allhallows parish saw the chimney on fire, and so passing through the street by St. Mary's church, cried "fire, fire!" as the fashion is; meaning no hurt. *Such[1] is the order and manner amongst the Englishmen, much diverse and contrary to that which is used among the Germans. For whensoever any fire happeneth in Germany, by and by, the bells ringing in the steeples stir up the people to help, who immediately are all ready in armour; some go unto the walls, others beset the ways, and the residue are appointed to quench the fire. The labour is diversely divided amongst them, for while some fetch water in leather buckets, others cast on the water, some climb the houses, and some with hooks pull them down; some again attend and keep watch without, riding about the fields, so that, by this means, there lacketh neither help within, neither safeguard without. But the like is not used here in England: for when any such thing happeneth, there is no public sign or token given, but the outcry of the neighbours doth stir up all the others to help. There is no public or civil order in doing of things, neither any division of labour, but every man, running headlong together, catcheth whatsoever cometh next to hand to quench the fire.*

The sacrament of the altar brought into the pulpit.

A maze among Smith's audience.

This sound of fire being heard in the church, first of them that stood outermost next to the church door, so increased and went from one to another, that at length it came unto the ears of the doctors, and at last to the preacher himself; who, as soon as they heard the matter, being amazed with sudden fear, and marvelling what the matter should mean, began to look up into the top of the church, and to behold the walls. The residue seeing them look up, looked up also. Then began they, in the midst of the audience, to cry out with a loud voice, "Fire, fire!" "Where?" saith one; "Where?" saith another. "In the church!" saith one. The mention of the church was scarcely pronounced, when, as in one moment, there was a common cry amongst them, "The church is on fire! the church is set on fire by heretics!" &c. And albeit no man did see any fire at all, yet, forasmuch as all men cried out so, every man thought it true that they heard. Then was there such fear, concourse, and tumult of people, through the whole church, that it cannot be declared in words as it was indeed.

St. Mary's church in Oxford falsely supposed to be set on fire by heretics.

Deluders deluded.

And as in a great fire (where fire is indeed), we see many times

(1) See Edition, 1563, p. 622.—Ed.

how one little spark giveth matter of a mighty flame, setting whole stacks and piles a-burning; so here, upon a small occasion of one man's word, kindled first a general cry, then a strong opinion, running in every man's head within the church, thinking the church to be on fire, where no fire was at all. Thus it pleased Almighty God to delude these deluders; that is, that these great doctors and wise men of the schools, who think themselves so wise in God's matters as though they could not err, should see, by their own senses and judgments, how blinded and infatuated they were, in these so small matters and sensible trifles. *Henry VIII.* A. D. 1541. How great clerks, are deceived oftentimes in small trifles.

Thus this strong imagination of fire being fixed in their heads, as nothing could remove them to think contrary but that the church was on fire, so every thing that they saw or heard increased this suspicion in them, to make it seem most true, which was indeed most false. The first and chiefest occasion that augmented this suspicion, was the heretic there bearing his faggot, which gave them to imagine that all other heretics had conspired with him, to set the church on fire.

After this, through the rage of the people, and running to and fro, the dust was so raised, that it showed as it had been the smoke of fire; which thing, together with the outcry of the people, made all men so afraid, that, leaving the sermon, they began all together to run away. But such was the press of the multitude, running in heaps together, that the more they laboured, the less they could get out. For, while they ran all headlong unto the doors, every man striving to get out first, they thrust one another in such sort, and stuck so fast, that neither they that were without could get into the church again, neither they that were within could get out by any means. So then, one door being stopped, they ran to another little wicket on the north side, toward the college called Brasennose, thinking so to pass out. But there again was the like or greater throng. So the people, clustering and thronging together, it put many in danger, and brought many unto their end, by bruising of their bones or sides.[1] There was yet another door towards the west, which albeit it was shut and seldom opened, yet now ran they to it with such sway, that the great bar of iron (which is incredible to be spoken) being pulled out and broken by force of men's hands, the door, notwithstanding, could not be opened for the press or multitude of people. Much hurt done in the throng, whereof some died.

At last, when they were there also past all hope to get out, then they were all exceedingly amazed, and ran up and down, crying out upon the heretics who had conspired their death. The more they ran about and cried out, the more smoke and dust rose in the church, even as though all things had now been on a flaming fire. I think there was never such a tumultuous hurly-burly rising so of nothing heard of before, nor so great a fear where was no cause to fear, nor peril at all: so that if Democritus,[2] the merry philosopher, sitting in the top of the church, and seeing all things in such safety as they were, had looked down upon the multitude, and beholden so great a number, some howling and weeping, running up and down, and playing the mad men, now hither now thither, as being tossed to and fro with waves or tempests; trembling and quaking, raging and fuming,

(1) Some yet are alive whose mothers' arms were there broken.

(2) Democritus was a philosopher who used to laugh at all things, as Heraclitus used to weep at all things.

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without any manifest cause; especially if he had seen those great rabbins, the doctors, laden with so many badges or cognisances of wisdom, so foolishly and ridiculously seeking holes and corners to hide themselves in; gasping, breathing, and sweating, and for very horror being almost beside themselves: I think he would have satisfied himself with this one laughter for all his life-time; or else rather would have laughed his heart out of his belly, whilst one said, that he plainly heard the noise of the fire, another affirmed, that he saw it with his eyes, and another sware that he felt the molten lead dropping down upon his head and shoulders. Such is the force of imagination, when it is once grafted in men's hearts through fear. In all the whole company, there was none that behaved himself more modestly than the heretic that was there to do penance; who, casting his faggot off from his shoulders upon a monk's head that stood by,[1] kept himself quiet, minding to take such part as the others did.

All the others, being careful for themselves, never made an end of running up and down and crying out. None cried out more earnestly than the doctor that preached (who was, as I said, Dr. Smith), who, in manner first of all, cried out in the pulpit, saying, "These are the trains and subtleties of the heretics against me: Lord have mercy upon me! Lord have mercy upon me!" But might not God, as it had been (to speak with Job[2]) out of a whirlwind, have answered again unto this preacher thus: "Thou dost now implore my mercy, but thou thyself showest no mercy unto thy fellows and brethren! How doth thy flesh tremble now at the mention of fire! But you think it a sport to burn other simple innocents, neither do ye any thing at all regard it. If burning and to suffer a torment of fire seem so grievous a matter unto you, then you should also have the like consideration in other men's perils and dangers, when you do burn your fellows and brethren! Or, if you think it but a light and trifling matter in them, go to now, do you also, with like courage, contemn, and, with like patience, suffer now, the same torments yourselves. And if so be I should now suffer you, with the whole church, to be burned to ashes, what other thing should I do unto you, than you do daily unto your fellows and brethren? Wherefore, since you so little esteem the death of others, be now content that other men should also little regard the death of you." With this, I say, or with some other like answer, if that either God, or human charity, on the common sense of nature would expostulate with them, yea if there had been a fire indeed (as they were more feared than hurt), who would have doubted, but that it had happened unto them according to their deserts? But now, worthy it is the noting, how the vain fear and folly of those catholics either were deluded, or how their cruelty was reproved, whereby they, being better taught by their own example, might hereafter learn what it is to put other poor men to the fire, which they themselves here so much abhorred.

Prosopopœia.

A just expostulation against these burners of God's people.

A good warning for the papists to know what burning meaneth.

But, to return again to the description of this pageant, wherein (as I said before) there was no danger at all, yet were they all in such fear, as if present death had been over their heads. *For[3] almost all the churches in England are covered with lead, like as in Germany

(1) Some say that the monk's head was broken with the faggot. (2) Job xl. 6.
(3) See Edition 1563, p. 623.—Ed.

they are for the most part tiled.* In all this great maze and garboil, there was nothing more feared than the melting of the lead, which many affirmed that they felt dropping upon their bodies. Now in this sudden terror and fear, which took from them all reason and counsel out of their minds, to behold what practices and sundry shifts every man made for himself, it would make not only Democritus and Heraclitus also to laugh, but rather a horse well near to break his halter. But none used themselves more ridiculously, than such as seemed greatest wise men, saving that in one or two, peradventure, somewhat more quietness of mind appeared; among whom was one Claymund, president of Corpus Christi College (whom, for reverence, and learning's sake, I do here name), and a few other aged persons with him, who, for their age and weakness, durst not thrust themselves into the throng amongst the rest, but kneeled down quietly before the high altar, committing themselves and their lives unto the sacrament. The others, who were younger and stronger, ran up and down through the press, marvelling at the incivility of men, and waxed angry with the unmannerly multitude that would give no room unto the doctors, bachelors, masters, and other graduates and regent-masters. But, as the terror and fear was common unto all men, so was there no difference made of persons or degrees, every man scrambling for himself. The violet cap, or purple gown, did there nothing avail the doctor; neither the master's hood, nor the monk's cowl, was there respected.

Clay-mund president of Corpus College.

Yea, if the king or queen had been there at that present, and in that perplexity, they had been no better than a common man. After they had long striven and assayed all manner of ways, and saw no remedy, neither by force nor authority to prevail, they fell to entreating and offering of rewards; one offering twenty pounds of good money, another his scarlet gown, so that any man would pull him out, though it were by the ears!

Some stood close unto the pillars, thinking themselves safe under the vaults of stone from the dropping of the lead: others, being without money, and unprovided of all shifts, knew not which way to turn them. One, being a president of a certain college (whose name I need not here to utter), pulling a board out from the pews, covered his head and shoulders therewith against the scalding lead, which they feared much more than the fall of the church. Now what a laughter would this have ministered unto Democritus amongst other things, to behold there a certain grand paunch, who, seeing the doors stopped, and every way closed up, thought, by another compendious means, to get out through a glass window, if it might be by any shift? But here the iron grates letted him; notwithstanding his greedy mind would needs attempt, if he could haply bring his purpose to pass. When he had broken the glass, and was come to the space between the grates where he should creep out, first he thrust in his head with the one shoulder, and it went through well enough. Then he laboured to get the other shoulder after; but there was a great labour about that, and long he stuck by the shoulders with much ado; for what doth not importune labour overcome? Thus far forth he was now gotten; but, by what part of his body he did stick fast, I am not certain, neither may I feign, forasmuch as there

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be yet witnesses who did see these things, who would correct me, if I should so do. Notwithstanding, this is most certain, that he did stick fast between the grates, and could neither get out, nor in.

Thus this good man, being indeed a monk, and having but short hose, by the which way he supposed soonest to escape, by the same he fell into further inconvenience, making of one danger two. For, if the fire or lead had fallen on the outside, those parts which did hang out of the window had been in danger; and, contrariwise, if the flame had raged within the church, all his other parts had lien open to the fire. And as this man did stick fast in the window, so did the rest stick as fast in the doors, that sooner they might have been burned, than they could once stir or move one foot: through the which press, at last, there was a way found, that some, going over their heads, gat out.

Here also happened another pageant in a certain monk (if I be not misadvised) of Gloucester College, whereat Calphurnius might well laugh with an open mouth.[1] So it happened, that there was a young lad in this tumult, who, seeing the doors fast stopped with the press or multitude, and that he had not way to get out, climbed up upon the door; and there, staying upon the top of the door, was forced to tarry still: for, to come down into the church again he durst not for fear of the fire, and to leap down toward the street he could not without danger of falling. When he had tarried there awhile, he advised himself what to do; neither did occasion want to serve his purpose: for, by chance, amongst them that got out over men's heads, he saw a monk, coming towards him, who had a great wide cowl hanging at his back. This the boy thought to be a good occasion for him to escape by. When the monk came near unto him, the boy, who was on the top of the door, came down, and prettily conveyed himself into the monk's cowl; thinking (as it came to pass indeed) that if the monk did escape, he should also get out with him. To be brief, at last the monk gat out over men's heads, with the boy in his cowl, and, for a great while, felt no weight or burden.

A boy getteth into a monk's cowl.

At last, when he was somewhat more come to himself, and, did shake his shoulders, feeling his cowl heavier than it was accustomed to be, and also hearing the voice of one speaking behind in his cowl, he was more afraid than he was before when he was in the throng, thinking, in very deed, that the evil spirit which had set the church on fire had flien into his cowl. By and by he began to play the exorcist: "In the name of God," said he, "and all saints, I command thee to declare what thou art, that art behind at my back!" To whom the boy answered, "I am Bertram's boy," said he; for that was his name. "But I," said the monk, "adjure thee, in the name of the unseparable Trinity, that thou, wicked spirit! do tell me who thou art, from whence thou comest, and that thou get thee hence." "I am Bertram's boy," said he, "good master! let me go:" and with that his cowl began, with the weight, to crack upon his shoulders. The monk when he perceived the matter, took the boy out, and discharged his cowl. The boy took to his legs, and ran away as fast as he could.

(1) 'Pleno ridet Calphurnius ore.'—Horace.

Among others, one wiser than the rest ran with the church-door key, beating upon the stone walls, thinking therewith to break a hole through to escape out. *Henry VIII.* A.D. 1540 to 1541.

In the mean time those that were in the street, looking diligently about them, and perceiving all things to be without fear, marvelled at this sudden outrage, and made signs and tokens to them that were in the church to keep themselves quiet, crying to them that there was no danger.

But, forasmuch as no word could be heard by reason of the noise that was within the church, those signs made them much more afraid than they were before, interpreting the matter as though all had been on fire without the church; and for the dropping of the lead and falling of other things, they should rather tarry still within the church, and not to venture out. This trouble continued in this manner by the space of certain hours.

The next day, and also all the week following, there was an incredible number of bills set upon the church doors, to inquire for things that were lost, in such variety and number, as Democritus might here again have had just cause to laugh. "If any man have found a pair of shoes yesterday in St. Mary's Church, or knoweth any man that hath found them," &c. Another bill was set up for a gown that was lost. Another entreated to have his cap restored. One lost his purse and girdle, with certain money; another his sword. One inquired for a ring, and one for one thing, another for another. To be short, there were few in this garboil, but that either through negligence lost, or through oblivion left, something behind them.

Thus have you heard a tragical story of a terrible fire, which did no hurt; the description whereof, although it be not so perfectly expressed according to the worthiness of the matter, yet because it was not to be passed with silence, we have superficially set forth some shadow thereof, whereby the wise and discreet may sufficiently consider the rest, if any thing else be lacking in setting forth the full narration thereof. As touching the heretic, because he had not done his sufficient penance there by occasion of this hurly-burly, therefore the next day following he was reclaimed into the church of St. Frideswide, where he supplied the rest that lacked of his plenary penance.

THE KING DIVORCED FROM THE LADY ANNE OF CLEVES, AND MARRIED TO THE LADY KATHERINE HOWARD, HIS FIFTH WIFE.

The same year, and in the month following next after the apprehension of the lord Cromwell, which was August, 1540,[1] the king immediately was divorced from the lady Anne of Cleves; the cause of which separation being wholly committed to the clergy of the convocation, it was by them defined, concluded, and granted, that the king, being A.D 1540.

(1) It has been found necessary to alter several of the dates connected with the story of Cromwell, and this among others. Foxe considered that Cromwell was apprehended in July 1541. Stow, in his 'Annales,' (fol. Lond. 1750), gives the 9th of July, 1540, as the date; but even this is too late, as the Bill of Attainder had finally passed the Lords on the 29th of June. The writers of the Biographia Britannica, (fol. Lond. 1750, vol. iii. p. 1535), draw attention to both these errors, and insist that the 10th of June, 1540, is the true date. It is a curious fact, that not even this statement is correct. The Journals show that Cromwell took his seat in the House of Lords as vicegerent, as late as the 18th of June, 1540. After the 18th he appeared there no more. In all probability, therefore, his arrest took place on or about that day.—The bill for the divorce of Anne of Cleves was 'concluded' on the 16th of July, 1540. See the Journals of the Lords.—Ed.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1542.

freed from that pretensed matrimony (as they called it), might marry where he would, and so might she likewise; who, also, consenting to the same divorcement herself, by her own letters, was after that taken no more for queen, but only called Anne of Cleves. Which things thus discussed by the parliament and convocation-house, the king the same month was married to his fifth wife, who was the lady Katherine Howard, niece to the duke of Norfolk, and daughter to the lord Edmund Howard, the duke's brother. But this marriage likewise continued not long.

Six popish monks, for denying the king's supremacy, executed.

In the same month of August, and the same year, I find, moreover, in some records, besides the four and twenty Charterhouse monks above recited,[1] whom Cope doth sanctify for holy martyrs, for suffering in the pope's devotion, against the king's supremacy, other six who were also brought to Tyburn, and there executed in the like case of rebellion; of whom the first was the prior of Doncaster; the second a monk of the Charterhouse of London, called Giles Horn (some call him William Horn); the third one Thomas Ipsam, a monk of Westminster, who had his monk's garment plucked from his back, being the last monk in king Henry's days that did wear that monkish weed; the fourth one Philpot; the fifth one Carew; the sixth was a friar. See what a difficulty it is to pluck up blind superstition, once rooted in man's heart by a little custom.

Now, as touching the late marriage between the king and the lady Howard, ye heard how this matrimony endured not long; for, in the A.D.1542. year next following, 1542,[2] the said lady Katherine was accused to the king of incontinent living, not only before her marriage with Francis Dereham, but also of spouse-breach, after her marriage, with Thomas Culpepper. For this both the men aforesaid, by act of parliament were attainted, and executed for high treason; and also the lady Katherine, late queen, with the lady Jane Rochford, widow, late wife to George Bullen lord Rochford, brother to queen Anne Bullen, were beheaded for their deserts, within the Tower.[3]

After the death and punishment of this lady, his fifth wife, the king, calling to remembrance the words of the lord Cromwell, and missing now more and more his old counsellor, and partly also smelling somewhat the ways of Winchester, began a little to set his foot again in the cause of religion. And although he ever bare a special favour to Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury (as you shall hear more hereafter, God willing, in the life of Cranmer), yet now, the more he missed the lord Cromwell, the more he inclined to the archbishop, and also to the right cause of religion. And therefore, in the same year and in the month of October, after the execution of this queen, the king, understanding some abuses yet to remain unreformed, namely, about pilgrimages and idolatry, and other things besides, to be corrected within his dominions, directed his letters unto the aforesaid archbishop of Canterbury, for the speedy redress

The king's mind inclined to reformation of religion.

(1) See page 439; they were not, however, all Charterhouse monks.—Ed.

(2) This is the *historical* year. The Journals of the Lords, using at that time the legal and ecclesiastical year, which commenced on the 25th of March, give these transactions under the year 1541. Lingard gives the date as Foxe has done. Foxe, however, says, 'in the next year following,' while Lingard, more consistent, allows an interval of eighteen months; queen Katherine's marriage took place Aug. 8, 1540. She was beheaded on the 12th or 13th of February, 1542.—Ed.

(3) It is reported of some, that this lady Rochford forged a false letter against her husband and queen Anne, his sister, by which they were both cast away; which, if it be so, the judgment of God then is here to be marked. Ex Hallo et aliis.

and reformation of the same; the tenor of which letters hereafter fully ensueth, in these words.

Henry VIII.

A. D. 1542.

The King's Letters to Archbishop Cranmer, for the abolishing of Idolatry.

Shrines, relics, and monuments of idolatry, abolished by the king.

Right reverend father in God, right trusty and well-beloved! we greet you well, letting you to wit, that whereas heretofore, upon the zeal and remembrance which we had to our bounden duty towards Almighty God, perceiving sundry superstitions and abuses to be used and embraced by our people, whereby they grievously offended him and his Word, we did not only cause the images and bones of such as they resorted and offered unto, with the ornaments of the same, and all such writings and monuments of feigned miracles, wherewith they were illuded, to be taken away in all places of our realm; but, also, by our injunctions commanded, that no offering or setting up of lights or candles should be suffered in any church, but only to the blessed sacraments of the altar: it is lately come unto our knowledge, that this our good intent and purpose notwithstanding, the shrines, coverings of shrines, and monument of those things, do yet remain in sundry places of this realm, much to the slander of our doings, and to the great displeasure of Almighty God, the same being means to allure our subjects to their former hypocrisy and superstition; and also that our injunctions be not kept as appertaineth. For the due and speedy reformation whereof, we have thought meet, by these our letters, expressly to will and command you, that incontinent upon the receipt hereof, you shall not only cause due search to be made in the cathedral church for those things; and if any shrine, covering of shrine, table, monument of miracles, or other pilgrimages, do there continue, to cause it to be so taken away as there remain no memory of it; but also, that you shall take order with all the curates, and others having charge within your diocese, to do the semblable, and to see that our injunctions be duly kept as appertaineth, without failing; as we trust you, and as you will answer to the contrary.

Given under our signet at our town of Hull, the fourth day of October, in the thirty-third year of our reign.

Furthermore, the next year after this ensuing, which was 1543, in the month of February, followed another proclamation, given out by the king's authority, wherein the pope's law, forbidding white meats to be eaten in Lent, was repealed, and the eating of such meats set at liberty, for the behoof of the king's subjects: the copy of which proclamation I thought here good also to be remembered.

A Proclamation concerning Eating of White Meats, made the ninth day of February, the thirty-fourth year[1] of the reign of the King's most Royal Majesty.

The eating of white meats in Lent set at liberty.

Forasmuch as by divers and sundry occasions, as well herrings, lings, saltfish, salmon, stockfish, as other kinds of fish, have been this year scant, and also enhanced in prices above the old rate and common estimation of their value, so that if the king's loving subjects should be enforced only to buy and provide herrings and other salt store of fish, for the necessary and sufficient sustentation and maintenance of their households and families all this holy time of Lent, according as they have been wont in times past to do, and should not be, by some other convenient means, relieved therein, the same might, and should undoubtedly, redound to their importable charge and detriment; and, forasmuch as his highness considereth how this kind and manner of fasting, that is to say, to abstain from milk, butter, eggs, cheese, and other white meats, is but a mere

(1) If this proclamation followed the other at an interval of about four months only, the regnal year would be the same, viz. the 33d; as the regnal years of Henry VIII. are reckoned from the 22d of April. See Nicolas's Chronology of History (post 8vo. Lond. 1833), page 314.—Ed.

Henry VIII. A. D. 1543.

positive law of the church, and used by a custom within this realm, and of none other force or necessity, but the same may be, upon good considerations and grounds, altered and dispensed with from time to time, by the public authority of kings and princes, whensoever they shall perceive the same to tend to the hurt and damage of their people: the king's highness therefore, most graciously considering and tendering the wealth and commodity of his people, hath thought good, for the considerations above rehearsed, to release and dispense with the said law and custom of abstaining from white meats this holy time of Lent; and, of his especial grace and mere motion, giveth and granteth unto all and singular his subjects within this his realm of England, Wales, Calais, Guisnes, and Hamme, and in all other his grace's dominions, free liberty, faculty, and license, to eat all manner of white meats, as milk, eggs, butter, cheese, and such like, during the time of this Lent, without any scruple or grudge of conscience; any law, constitution, use, or custom to the contrary notwithstanding.

Wherein nevertheless his highness exhorteth, and in the name of God requireth, all such his faithful subjects, as may, will, or shall enjoy this his said grant or faculty, that they be in no wise scrupulous or doubtful thereof, nor abuse or turn the same into a fleshly or carnal liberty, but rather endeavour themselves, to their possible powers, with this liberty of eating of white meats, to observe also that fast which God most specially requireth of them; that is to say, to renounce the world and the devil, with all their pomps and works, and also to subdue and repress their carnal affections and the corrupt works of the flesh, according to their vow and profession made at the font-stone; for in these points, especially consisteth the very true and perfect abstinence or fasting of a christian man; thus to endure and continue from year to year, till the king's highness's pleasure shall, by his majesty's proclamation, be published to the contrary.

The Trouble and Persecution of four Windsor-men, Robert Testwood, Henry Filmer, Anthony Peerson, and John Marbeck.[1]

PERSECUTED FOR RIGHTEOUSNESS' SAKE, AND FOR THE GOSPEL.

Coming now to the story and time of the four Windsor-men, troubled and persecuted for the true testimony of God's word, whereof three were martyred and sacrificed in fire, the fourth (who was Marbeck) had his pardon; first, I have to show the original of their troubles in several parts: secondly, the manner and order of their death as they suffered together, which was A.D. 1543: thirdly, to answer partly in purgation of myself, against certain clatterers who have hitherto taken their pleasure in railing against my former edition of Acts and Monuments, for mistaking the name of Marbeck, whom, in one place, I reported to have been burned; albeit, in the end of the story, correcting myself again, I declared him not to have been burned. Wherefore, to stop the brawling mouths of such quarrellers, I thought here to set forth the full narration, both of the said Marbeck and of his fellows, in truth, as I trust none of them shall have just cause to quarrel thereat.

A full Narration of the Persecution at Windsor.

Persons persecuted at Windsor A.D. 1543:—Robert Testwood, Henry Filmer,[2] Anthony Peerson, John Marbeck, Robert Bennet, sir Philip Hobby and his wife, sir Thomas Cardine and his wife, Master Edmund Harman, Master Thomas Weldon; Snowball and his wife, of the king's chamber; and Dr. Haynes, dean of Exeter.

(1) See Hall's Chronicle, (4to. Lond. 1809,) page 858. Also Fabyan's Chronicle, (Lond. 1811,) page 705. Foxe erroneously gives the date 1544.—Ed.

(2) Filmer is called Finmore in the first edition.—Ed.

Persecutors:—Master Ely, Simons a lawyer, Dr. London, Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester; Wriothesley, then secretary to the king, and afterwards lord chancellor; Southarne, treasurer of Exeter; Dr. Bruerwood, chancellor of Exeter; Master Knight, Winchester's gentleman; Dr. Oking; Dr. Capon, bishop of Sarum; sir William Essex, kt.; sir Thomas Bridges, kt.; sir Humfrey Foster, knight; Master Franklin, dean of Windsor; Master Fachel, of Reading; Bucklayer, the king's attorney; Filmer's brother; Hide, a Jurate dwelling beside Abingdon; Robert Ocham, a lawyer. Henry VIII. A.D. 1543.

THE ORIGINAL OF ROBERT TESTWOOD'S TROUBLE.

In the year of our Lord 1543, there was one Robert Testwood, dwelling in the city of London, who for his knowledge in music had so great a name, that the musicians in Windsor College thought him a worthy man to have a room among them. Whereupon they informed Dr. Sampson (being then their dean) of him. But, forasmuch as some of the canons had at that time heard of Testwood, how that he smelled of the new learning (as they called it), it would not be consented unto at first. Notwithstanding, with often suit of the aforesaid musicians, made to one Dr. Tate (who, being half a musician himself, bare a great stroke in such matters), a room being void, Testwood was sent for to be heard. And being there four or five days among the choir-men, he was so well liked both for his voice and cunning, that he was admitted, and after settled in Windsor with his household, and was had in good estimation with the dean and canons a great while. But when they had perceived him, by his often talk at their tables (for he could not well dissemble his religion), that he leaned to Luther's sect, they began to mislike him. And so, passing forth among them, it was his chance, one day, to be at dinner with one of the canons, named Dr. Rawson. At that dinner, among others, was one of king Edward's four chantry priests, named Master Ely, an old bachelor of divinity; which Ely, in his talk at the board, began to rail against laymen, who took upon them to meddle with the Scriptures, and to be better learned (knowing no more but the English tongue) than they that had been students in the universities of Oxford and Cambridge all the days of their lives.

Testwood received into Windsor.

Master Ely persecutor.

Then Testwood, perceiving he meant that against him, could forbear his railing no longer, but said, "Master Ely, by your patience, I think it be no hurt for laymen, as I am, to read and to know the Scriptures." "Which of you," quoth Ely, "that be unlearned, knoweth them, or understandeth them? St. Paul saith, 'If thine enemy hunger, feed him; if he thirst, give him drink: and, in so doing, thou shalt heap coals of fire upon his head.' Now, sir," quoth Ely, "what meaneth St. Paul by these coals of fire?" "Marry, sir," quoth Testwood, "he meaneth nothing else by them (as I have learned) but burning charity, that, with doing good to our enemies, we should thereby win them." "Ah, sirra," quoth he, "you are an old scholar indeed!"

After this they fell into further communication of the pope, whose supremacy was much spoken of at that time, but not known to be

Henry VIII. A.D. 1543.

so far in question in the parliament-house as it was. And in their talk, Ely demanded of Testwood, whether the pope ought to be head of the church or no? against which Testwood durst not say his full mind, but reasoned within his bounds a great while. But, when they were both well stricken in a heat, Testwood, forgetting himself, chanced to say, that every king, in his own realm and dominion, ought to be the head of the church under Christ: at which words Ely was so chafed, that he rose up from the table in a great fume, calling him heretic, and all that nought was; and so went brawling and chiding away, to the great disquieting of all the company that were there.

Every king in his own realm and church is head under Christ.

Then was Testwood very sorry to see the old man take it so grievously: whereupon, after dinner, he went and sought Master Ely, and found him walking in the body of the church, thinking to have talked with him charitably, and so to have been at one again; but ever as Testwood pressed towards him, the other shunned him, and would not come nigh him, but did spit at him; saying to others that walked by, "Beware of this fellow! for he is the greatest heretic and schismatic that ever came into Windsor."

Now began the matter to brew; for, after that Ely had made his complaint to the dean's deputy, and other of the canons, they were all against Testwood, purposing surely, at the dean's coming home (if all things had chanced even), to have put him to his trump. But see the fortune. It was not twelve days after, ere that the king's supremacy passed in the parliament-house. Whereupon the dean, Dr. Sampson, came home suddenly in the night, late, and forthwith sent his verger about to all the canons and ministers of the college, from the highest to the lowest, commanding them to be in the chapter-house by eight of the clock in the morning. Then Ely consulted with the canons overnight (as late as it was), and thought on the next day to have put Testwood to a great plunge: "But he that layeth a snare for another man," saith Solomon, "shall be taken in it himself." And so was Ely; for when the dean and every man were come and placed in the chapter-house, and that the dean had commended the ministers of the church for their diligence in tending the choir, exhorting them also to continue in the same, he began, contrary to every man's expectation, to inveigh against the bishop of Rome's supremacy and usurped authority, confounding the same, by manifest Scriptures and probable reasons, so earnestly, that it was a wonder to hear; and at length declared openly, that by the whole consent of the parliament-house, the pope's supremacy was utterly abolished out of this realm of England for ever; and so commanded every man there, upon his allegiance, to call him pope no more, but bishop of Rome, and whatsoever he were that would not so do, or did from that day forth maintain or favour his cause by any manner of means, he should not only lose the benefit of that house, but be reputed as an utter enemy to God and to the king. The canons, hearing this, were all stricken in a dump: yet notwithstanding, Ely's heart was so great, that he would fain have uttered his cankered stomach against Testwood; but the dean (breaking his tale) called him old fool, and took him up so sharply, that he was fain to hold his peace. Then the dean commanded all the pope's pardons which hanged about the

The first news of the king's supremacy brought to Windsor.

Master Ely thinking to complain of others, is called fool for his labour.

church, to be brought into the chapter-house, and cast into the chimney, and burned before all their faces; and so departed. *Henry VIII.* A. D. 1543.

ANOTHER CAUSE OF ROBERT TESTWOOD'S TROUBLE.

As it chanced Testwood one day to walk in the church at afternoon, and to behold the pilgrims, especially of Devonshire and Cornwall, how they came in by plumps, with candles and images of wax in their hands, to offer to good king Henry of Windsor, as they called him, it pitied his heart to see such great idolatry committed, and how vainly the people had spent their goods in coming so far to kiss a spur, and to have an old hat set upon their heads; insomuch that he could not refrain, but, seeing a certain company which had done their offering and were standing gazing about the church, he went unto them, and with all gentleness began to exhort them to leave such false worshipping of dumb creatures, and to learn to worship the true living God aright; putting them in remembrance what those things were which they worshipped, and how God, many times, had plagued his people, for running a whoring to such stocks and stones, and so would plague them and their posterity, if they would not leave it. After this sort he admonished them so long, till at last his words, as God would, took such place in some of them, that they said, they never would go a pilgrimage more.

Idolatry to good king Henry of Windsor.

Testwood dehorteth the people from idolatry.

Then he went further, and found another sort licking and kissing a white Lady made of alabaster, which image was mortised in a wall behind the high altar, and bordered about with a pretty border, which was made like branches with hanging apples and flowers. And when he saw them so superstitiously use the image, as to wipe their hands upon it, and then to stroke them over their eyes and faces, as though there had been great virtue in touching the picture, he up with his hand, in which he had a key, and smote down a piece of the border about the image, and with the glance of the stroke chanced to break off the image's nose. "Lo! good people," quoth he, "you see what it is; nothing but earth and dust, and cannot help itself; and how then will you have it to help you? For God's sake, brethren, be no more deceived." And so he gat him home to his house, for the rumour was so great, that many came to see the image, how it was defaced. And among all others, came one William Simons, a lawyer, who, seeing the image so bewrayed, and to lack her nose, took the matter grievously, and looking down upon the pavement, he spied the image's nose where it lay, which he took up and put in his purse, saying it should be a dear nose to Testwood one day.[1]

Idolatry to an image of alabaster in Windsor.

Testwood defaceth the image.

William Simons a persecutor.

Now were many offended with Testwood; the canons, for speaking against their profit; the wax-sellers, for hindering their market; and Simons, for the image's nose. And more than that, there were of the canons' men that threatened to kill him. Hereupon Testwood kept his house and durst not come forth, minding to send the whole matter in writing by his wife to Master Cromwell the king's secretary, who was his special friend. The canons, hearing that Testwood would send to Cromwell, sent the verger unto him, to will him to come to the church; who sent them word again, that he was in fear

Magna Diana Ephesiorum, Acts xix.

(1) O blind popery! to seek the death of a living man, for the nose of a dead stock.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1543.

of his life, and therefore would not come. Then sent they two of the eldest petty canons to entreat him, and to assure him that no man should do him harm. He made them a plain answer, that he had no such trust in their promises, but would complain to his friends. Then wist they not what shift to make, for of all men they feared Cromwell; but sent, in post haste, for old Master Ward, a justice of peace, dwelling three or four miles off, who, being come, and hearing the matter, was very loath to meddle in it. But notwithstanding, through their entreaty, he went to Testwood, and had much ado to persuade him; but, at last, he did faithfully promise him by the oath he had made to God and the king, to defend him from all danger and harms, so that Testwood was content to go with him.

The papists of Windsor afraid of Cromwell, are glad to fall in again with Testwood.

Testwood in danger of his life.

And when Master Ward, and Testwood, were come into the church, and were going toward the chapter-house, where the canons abode their coming, one of the canons' men drew his dagger at Testwood, and would have been upon him, but Master Ward with his man resisted, and got Testwood into the chapter-house, causing the serving-man to be called in, and sharply rebuked by their masters, who straitly commanded him, upon pain of losing their service, and further displeasure, not to touch him, nor to give him an evil word. Now Testwood, being alone in the chapter-house with the canons and Mr. Ward, was gently treated, and the matter so pacified, that Testwood might quietly come and go to the church, and do his duty as he had done before.

THIRD CAUSE OF ROBERT TESTWOOD'S TROUBLE.

Thomas Becket's rochet made a relic.

Upon a Relic Sunday (as they named it), when every minister, after their old custom, should have borne a relic in his hand about a procession, one was brought to Testwood; which relic (as they said) was a rochet of bishop Becket's. And as the sexton would have put the rochet in Testwood's hands, he pushed it from him, saying, If he did give it to him, he would make sport withal; and so the rochet was given to another. Then came the verger down from the high altar with St. George's dagger in his hand, demanding who lacked a relic. "Marry," quoth Testwood, "give it to Master Hake," who stood next him, "for he is a pretty man of his hands:" and so the dagger was given unto him. Now Testwood perceiving the dagger in Master Hake's hand, and being merrily disposed (as he was a merry-conceited man), stepped forth out of his place to Dr. Clifton, standing directly before him in the midst of the choir, with a glorious golden cope upon his back, having the pix in his hands, and said, "Sir! Master Hake hath St. George's dagger. Now, if he had his horse, and St. Martin's cloak, and Master John Shorn's boots, with king Harry's spurs, and his hat, he might ride when he would:" and so stepped into his place again. Whereat the other changed colour, and wist not what to say.

St. George's dagger made a relic.

FOURTH CAUSE OF ROBERT TESTWOOD'S TROUBLE.

Master Franklin dean of Windsor.

In the days of Master Franklin, who succeeded Dr. Sampson in the deanery of Windsor, there was, on a time, set up at the choir door, a certain foolish printed paper in metre, all to the praise and

commendation of our Lady, ascribing unto her our justification, our salvation, our redemption, the forgiveness of sins, &c., to the great derogation of Christ. This paper, one of the canons, called Master Magnus (as it was reported), caused to be set up in despite of Testwood and his sect. When Testwood saw this paper, he plucked it down secretly. The next day after was another set up in the same place. Then Testwood, coming into the church, and seeing another paper set up, and also the dean coming a little way off, made haste to be at the choir door, while the dean staid to take holy water, and reaching up his hand as he went, plucked away the paper with him. The dean, being come to his stall, called Testwood unto him, and said, that he marvelled greatly how he durst be so bold to take down the paper in his presence. Testwood answered again, that he marvelled much more, that his mastership would suffer such a blasphemous paper to be set up; beseeching him not to be offended with what he had done, for he would stand unto it. So Master Dean being a timorous man, made no more ado with him. After this were no more papers set up, but poor Testwood was eaten and drunken amongst them at every meal; "and a heretic he was, and would roast a faggot for this gear one day."

Blasphemy and idolatry to our Lady.

Testwood taketh down the blasphemous paper.

Now Master Magnus,[1] being sore offended with Testwood for plucking down his papers, to be revenged on him, devised with the dean and the rest of the canons, to send their letters to Dr. Chamber, one of their brethren, and the king's physician, who lay, for the most part, at the court, to see what he would do against Testwood; which letters, being made, were sent with speed. But, whatsoever the cause was, whether he durst not meddle for fear of Cromwell, or what else, I cannot tell, their suit came to none effect. Then wist they not what to do, but determined to let the matter sleep, till St. George's feast, which was not far off.

Conspiracy of the priests of Windsor against Testwood.

Now, in the mean time, there chanced a pretty story, between one Robert Philips, gentleman of the king's chapel, and Testwood; which story, though it was but a merry prank of a singing man, yet it grieved his adversary wonderfully. The matter was this: Robert Philips was so notable a singing man (wherein he gloried), that wheresoever he came, the best and longest song, with most counterverses in it, should be set up at his coming. And so, his chance being now to be at Windsor, against his coming to the anthem, along song was set up, called "Laudate vivi," in which song there was one counter-verse towards the end, that began on this wise, "O redemptrix et salvatrix:" which verse, of all others, Robert Philips would sing, because he knew that Testwood could not abide that ditty. Now Testwood, knowing his mind well enough, joined with him at the other part; and when he heard Robert Philips begin to fetch his flourish with "O redemptrix et salvatrix!" repeating the same, one in another's neck, Testwood was as quick, on the other side, to answer him again with "non redemptrix, nec salvatrix!" and so, striving there with "O" and "Non," who should have the mastery, they made an end of the verse; whereat was good laughing in sleeves of some, but Robert Philips, with others of Testwood's enemies, were sore offended.

A merry contention between Philips of the king's chapel and Testwood, about 'O redemptrix et non redemptrix.'

(1) Master Magnus; magnus idololatra.

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Within fourteen days after this, the lords of the garter (as their custom is yearly to do) came to Windsor to keep St. George's feast, at which feast the duke of Norfolk was president; unto whom the dean and canons made a grievous complaint on Testwood: who, being called before the duke, he shook him up, and all-to-reviled him, as though he would have sent him to hanging by and by. Yet, nevertheless, Testwood so behaved himself to the duke, that, in the end, he let him go without any further molesting of him, to the great discomfort of the dean and canons.

Testwood complained of to the old duke of Norfolk.

Here you have heard the causes which moved Testwood's enemies to seek his destruction, and could not attain their purpose, till that wicked Haman, Dr. London, came, as shall be showed in the process following.

THE ORIGINAL OF HENRY FILMER'S TROUBLE.

About the year of our Lord, 1541, after all the orders of superstitious and begging friars were suppressed and put down, there chanced one sir Thomas Melster, who had been a friar before, and had changed his friar's coat (but not his friar's heart), to be vicar of Windsor. This priest, on a time, made a sermon to his parishioners, in which he declared so many fond and friarish tales, as, that our Lady should hold out her breasts to St. Bernard, and spout her milk into his eyes, with such like festival tales, that many honest men were offended therewith, and especially this Henry Filmer, then one of the churchwardens; who was so zealous to God's word, that he could not abide to hear the glory of Christ so defaced with superstitious fables. Whereupon he took an honest man or two with him, and went to the priest, with whom he talked so honestly, and so charitably, that in the end the priest gave him hearty thanks, and was content, at his gentle admonition, to reform himself without any more ado, and so departed friendly the one from the other.

Friar Melster vicar of Windsor

Our Lady spouting milk into St. Bernard's eyes.

Now there was one in the town, called William Simons, a lawyer (as is aforesaid), who, hearing that Filmer had been with the priest, and had reproved him for his sermon, took pepper in the nose, and got him to the vicar, and did so animate him in his doings, that he slipped quite away from the promise he had made to Filmer, and followed the mind of Simons; who, meeting with Filmer afterwards, all-to-reviled him, saying, he would bring him before the bishop, to teach him to be so malapert. Then Filmer, hearing the matter renewed, which he had thought had been suppressed, stood against Simons, and said, that the vicar had preached false and unsound doctrine; and so would he say to the bishop, whensoever he came before him. Then Simons slipped not the matter, but went to the mayor, and procured of him and his brethren a letter, signed with their own hands, in the priest's favour as much as could be devised: and so departed himself, with other his friends, to go to the bishop (whose name was Dr. Capon), and to take the priest with them; which was a painful journey for the silly poor man, by reason he had a sore leg.

Simons the lawyer against Filmer.

Simons complaineth of Filmer to Dr. Capon.

Now Filmer, hearing how Simons went about to put him to a foil, consulted with his friends what was best to do; who concluded to draw out certain notes of the vicar's sermon, and to prepare themselves

Filmer forced to complain also.

to be at Salisbury as soon as Simons, or before him, if it might be possible. Thus, both the parties being in a readiness, it chanced them to set forth from Windsor all in one day: but, by reason the priest, being an impotent man, could not endure to ride very fast, Filmer and his company got to the town an hour and more before Simons, went to the bishop, and delivered up their bill unto him; which bill, when the bishop had seen and perused well, he gave them great thanks for their pains, saying, it did behove him to look upon it; for the priest had preached heresy, and should be punished. *Henry VIII.* A.D. 1543.

Simons and the vicar come to Salisbury.

Then Filmer declared unto the bishop the form of his talk he had with the priest, and the end thereof; and how the matter, being renewed again by Simons, forced him and his company to trouble his lordship therewith. "Well," said the bishop, "ye have done like honest men: come to me soon again, and ye shall know more." And so they departed from the bishop to their inn; and, while they were there reposing themselves, Simons, with his company, came to the town, and (not knowing the other to be come) got them up to the bishop in all post haste, taking the priest with them.

The vicar troubled of the bishop.

The bishop, hearing of more Windsor men, demanded what they were, and being informed how it was the vicar of the town, with others besides, he caused the vicar to be brought in; to whom he said, "Are you the vicar of Windsor?" "Yea forsooth, my lord," quoth he. "How chanceth it," quoth the bishop, "that you are complained on? for there have been with me certain honest men of your town, who have delivered up a bill of erroneous doctrine against you: if it be so, I must needs punish you." And opening the bill, he read it unto him. "How say you," quoth the bishop, "is this true, or no?" The vicar could not deny it, but humbly submitted himself to the bishop's correction. Then was his company called in, and when the bishop saw Simons, he knew him well, and said, "Wherefore come you, Master Simons?" "Pleaseth it your lordship," quoth he, "we are come to speak in our vicar's cause, who is a man of good conversation and honesty, and doth his duty so well in every point, that no man can find fault with him, except a lewd fellow we have in our town, called Filmer, who is so corrupt with heresy, that he is able to poison a whole country. And truly, my lord," quoth Simons, "there is no man that can preach or teach any thing that is good and godly, but he is ready to control it, and to say it is stark nought. Wherefore we shall beseech your lordship he may be punished, to the ensample of others, that our vicar may do his duty quietly, as he hath done before this busy fellow troubled him. And, that your lordship shall the better credit my sayings, I have brought with me these honest men of the town; and besides all that, a testimonial from the mayor and his brethren, to confirm the same:" and so he held out the writing in his hand.

The words of Simons to the bishop.

Then said the bishop, "So God help me, Master Simons! ye are greatly to blame, and most worthy to be punished of all men, that will so impudently go about to maintain your priest in his error, who hath preached heresy, and hath confessed it: wherefore I may not, nor will not, see it unpunished. And as for that honest man Filmer, of whom ye have complained, I tell you plainly, he hath in this point showed himself a great deal more honester man than you. But in

Bishop Capon's answer to Simons.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1543.

hope you will no more bear out your vicar in his evil doings, I will remit all things at this time, saving that he shall the next Sunday recant his sermon openly before all his parishioners in Windsor church." And so the bishop called in Filmer and his company, who waited without, and delivered the priest's recantation unto them, with a great charge to see it truly observed in all points. Then Simons took his leave of the bishop, and departed with a flea in his ear, disappointed of his purpose, and sore ashamed of the foil. For this cause Simons could never brook Filmer, but when he met him at any time after, would hold up his finger (as his manner was, where he owed displeasure), and say, "I will be even with you one day, trust me!"

Friar Melster caused to recant his sermon.

Grudge of Simons against Filmer.

THE ORIGINAL OF ANTHONY PEERSON'S TROUBLE.

A.D. 1540 to 1543.

There was a certain priest, named Anthony Peerson, who frequented much to Windsor about the year of our Lord 1540, and, using the talent that God had given him in preaching, was greatly esteemed among the people, who flocked so much to his sermons which he made both in the town and country, that the great priests of the castle, with other papists in the town, especially Simons, were sore offended, insomuch that Simons at last began to gather of his sermons, and to mark his auditors; whereof ensued the death of divers, and trouble of many honest men. For about a year and more after, a minister of Satan, called Dr. London, warden of New-college in Oxford, was admitted one of the prebendaries of Windsor, who, at his first coming to Windsor, began to utter his stomach and to show his affection. For, at his first residence-dinner which he made to the clerks (which company, for the most part, at that time favoured the gospel), all his whole talk to two gentlemen, strangers at his board (till the table was a taking up), was nothing else but of heretics, and what a desolation they would bring the realm unto, if they might be so suffered. "And by St. Mary, masters!" quoth he to the clerks at last, "I cannot tell, but there goeth a shrewd report abroad of this house." Some made answer, it was undeserved. "I pray God it be," quoth he: "I am but a stranger, and have but small experience amongst you; but I have heard it said before I came hither, that there be some in this house, that will neither have prayer nor fasting."

Dr. London's words to the clerks of Windsor.

Then spake Testwood, "By my troth, sir!" quoth he, "I think that was spoken of malice: for prayer, as your mastership knoweth better than I, is one of the first lessons that Christ taught us." "Yea, marry, sir," quoth he, "but the heretics will have no invocation to saints, which all the old fathers do allow." "What the old fathers do allow," quoth Testwood, "I cannot tell; but Christ doth appoint us to go to his Father, and to ask our petitions of him in Christ's name." "Then you will have no mean between you and God," quoth Dr. London. "Yes, sir," quoth Testwood, "our mean is Christ, as St. Paul saith, 'There is one Mediator between God and man, even Jesus Christ.'" "Give us water," quoth Dr. London: which being set on the board, he said grace, and washed; and so falling into other communication with the strangers, the clerks took their leave and departed. When Dr. London had been at Windsor awhile, among his catholic

Testwood answereth for the clerks.

Gospellers falsely slandered by the papists.

brethren, and learned what Testwood was, and also of Simons (who showed him our Lady's nose, as he called it), what a sort of heretics were in the town, and about the same, and how they increased daily by reason of a naughty priest, called Anthony Peerson, he was so maliciously bent against them, that he gave himself wholly to the devil, to do mischief. And to bring his wicked purpose about, he conspired with the aforesaid Simons, a meet clerk to serve such a curate, and others of like sort, how they might compass the matter, first to have all the archheretics, as they termed them, in Windsor and thereabouts, indicted of heresy, and so to proceed further. They had a good ground to work upon, as they thought, which was the Six Articles, whereupon they began to build and practise thus. First, they drew out certain notes of Anthony Peerson's sermons, which he had preached against the sacrament of the altar, and their popish mass That done, they put in sir William Hobby,[1] with the good lady his wife, sir Thomas Cardine, Master Edmund Harman, Master Thomas Weldon, with Snowball and his wife, as chief aiders, helpers, and maintainers of Anthony Peerson. Also they noted Dr. Haynes, dean of Exeter, and a prebendary of Windsor, to be a common receiver of all suspected persons. They wrote also the names of all such as commonly haunted Anthony Peerson's sermons, and of all such as had the Testament, and favoured the gospel, or did but smell thereof.

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Dr. London a maticious persecutor.

Then had they privy spies to walk up and down the church, to hearken and hear what men said, and to mark who did not reverence the sacrament, at the elevation-time, and to bring his name to Dr. London. And of these spies some were chantry priests; among the which there was one notable spy, whose name was called sir William Bows, such a fleering priest as would be in every corner of the church pattering to himself, with his portues in his hand, to hear and to note the gesture of men towards the sacrament. Thus, when they had gathered as much as they could, and made a perfect book thereof, Dr. London, with two of his catholic brethren, gave them up to the bishop of Winchester, Stephen Gardiner, with a great complaint against the heretics that were in Windsor, declaring unto him how the town was sore disquieted through their doctrine and evil example: wherefore they besought his lordship's help, in purging the town and castle of such wicked persons. The bishop, hearing their complaint, and seeing their book, praised their doings, and bade them make friends and go forward, and they should not lack his help. Then they applied the matter with tooth and nail, sparing for no money or pains-taking, as Marbeck saith that he himself heard one of them say, who was a great doer herein, and afterwards sorry for that he had done, that the suit thereof cost him that year, for his part only, a hundred marks, besides the death of three good geldings.[2]

Master Bows, priest, Dr. London's spy.

Dr. London's complaint to Gardiner.

Now bishop Gardiner, who had conceived a further fetch in his brain than Dr. London had, made Wriothesley and others of the council on his side, and spying a time convenient, went to the king, complaining what a sort of heretics his grace had in his realm, and how they were not only crept into every corner of his court, but even into

Complaint to the king of the gospellers.

(1) 'Sir Philip Hobby.' see Burnet's Hist. of the Ref. (Oxford, 1816,) vol. i. p. 591.—Ed.
(2) What cost the papists can be at, to trouble their even-christened.

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his privy chamber; beseeching therefore his majesty that his laws might be prosecuted. The king, giving credit to the council's words, was content his laws should be executed on such as were offenders. Then had the bishop what he desired, and forthwith procured a commission for a privy search to be had in Windsor for books and letters that Anthony Peerson should send abroad; which commission the king granted to take place in the town of Windsor, but not in the castle.

Winchester procures a privy search in Windsor.

Haynes, dean of Exeter, accused to the council.

At this time the canons of Exeter (specially Southarne, treasurer of the church, and Dr. Bruerwood, the chancellor) had accused Dr. Haynes, their dean, to the council, for preaching against holy bread and holy water, and that he should say in one of his sermons (having occasion to speak of matrimony) that marriage and hanging were destiny; upon which they gathered treason against him, because of the king's marriage. The bishop of Winchester (at the same time) had also informed the council of Master Hobby, how he was a hearer of Anthony Peerson, and a great maintainer of heretics: whereupon both he, and Dr. Haynes, were apprehended and sent to the Fleet. But it was not very long after, ere that by the mediation of friends, they were both delivered.

Master Hobby and Haynes sent to the Fleet.

The secret search beginneth.

Filmer, Testwood, and Marbeck, apprehended for books against the Six Articles.

Now, as touching the commission for searching for books, Master Ward and Master Fachel, of Reading, were appointed commissioners, who came to Windsor the Thursday before Palm-Sunday, A.D. 1543, and began their search about eleven of the clock at night: in which search were apprehended Robert Bennet, Henry Filmer, John Marbeck, and Robert Testwood, for certain books and writings found in their houses against the Six Articles, who were kept in ward till Monday after, and then fetched up to the council, all save Testwood, with whom the bailiffs of the town were charged, because he lay sore diseased of the gout. The other three, being examined before the council, were committed to prison, Filmer and Bennet to the bishop of London's jail, and Marbeck to the Marshalsea; whose examination is here set out, to declare the great goodness of the council, and the cruelty of the bishop.

THE FIRST EXAMINATION OF JOHN MARBECK BEFORE THE COUNCIL, ON THE MONDAY AFTER PALM-SUNDAY, A.D. 1543.

The Concordance of the Bible in English, by Marbeck.

This Marbeck had begun a great work in English, called "The Concordance of the Bible;" which book, being not half finished, was among his other books taken in the search, and had up to the council. And when he came before them to be examined, the whole work lay before the bishop of Winchester, Stephen Gardiner, at the upper end of the board; who, beholding the poor man awhile, said, "Marbeck, dost thou know wherefore thou art sent for?" "No, my lord," quoth he. "No!" quoth the bishop? "that is a marvellous thing." "Forsooth, my lord," quoth he, "unless it be for a certain search made of late in Windsor, I cannot tell wherefore it should be." "Then thou knowest the matter well enough," quoth the bishop: and, taking up a quire of the Concordance in his hand, he said, "Understandest thou the Latin tongue?" "No, my lord," quoth he, "but simply." "No!" quoth the bishop; and with that spake Master

Wriothesley (then secretary to the king): "He saith, but simply." "I cannot tell," quoth the bishop, "but the book is translated word for word out of the Latin Concordance:" and so began to declare to the rest of the council the nature of a Concordance, and how it was first compiled in Latin, by the great diligence of the learned men for the ease of preachers; concluding with this reason, that if such a book should go forth in English, it would destroy the Latin tongue. And so, casting down the quire again, he reached another book, which was the Book of Isaiah the Prophet, and turning to the last chapter, gave the book to Marbeck, and asked him who had written the note in the margin. The other, looking upon it, said, "Forsooth, my lord, I wrote it." "Read it," quoth the bishop. Then he read it thus: "Heaven is my seat, and the earth is my footstool." "Nay," quoth the bishop, "read it as thou hast written it." "Then shall I read it wrong," quoth he, "for I had written it false." "How hadst thou written it," quoth the bishop. "I had written it," quoth he, "thus: 'Heaven is my seat, and the earth is not my footstool.'" "Yea, marry," quoth the bishop, "that was thy meaning." "No, my lord," quoth he, "it was but an oversight in writing; for, as your lordship seeth, this word 'not' is blotted out." At this time came other matters into the council, so that Marbeck was had out to the next chamber. And when he had stood there awhile, one of the council, named sir Anthony Wingfield, captain of the guard, came forth, and calling for Marbeck, committed him to one Belson of the guard, saying unto him on this wise: "Take this man and have him to the Marshalsea, and tell the keeper that it is the council's pleasure that he shall treat him gently; and if he have any money in his purse, as I think he hath not much, take you it from him, lest the prisoners do take it; and minister it unto him as he shall have need." And so the messenger departed with Marbeck to the Marshalsea, and did his commission most faithfully and truly, both to the keeper and to the prisoner, as he was commanded.

Wriothesley secretary to the king.

Winchester's reason, the Concordance in English would destroy the Latin tongue.

Marbeck sent to the Marshalsea.

THE SECOND EXAMINATION OF MARBECK, BEFORE THE BISHOP'S GENTLEMAN IN THE MARSHALSEA.

On the next day, which was Tuesday, by eight of the clock in the morning, there came one of the bishop of Winchester's gentlemen[1] into the Marshalsea, whose man brought after him two great books under his arm, and finding Marbeck walking up and down in the chapel, demanded of the keeper why he was not in irons. "I had no such commandment," quoth he; "for the messenger which brought him yesternight from the council, said it was their pleasure, he should be gently used." "My lord," quoth the gentleman, "will not be content with you:" and so taking the books of his man, he called for a chamber, up to which he carried the prisoner, and casting the books from him upon a bed, sat him down and said, "Marbeck! my lord doth favour thee well for certain good qualities that thou hast, and hath sent me hither to admonish thee to beware and take heed lest thou cast away thyself wilfully. If thou wilt be plain, thou shalt do thyself much good; if not, thou shalt do thyself much

Talk between Winchester's gentleman and Marbeck in prison.

(1) The name of this gentleman was Master Knight.

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harm. I assure thee, my lord lamenteth thy case, forasmuch as he hath always heard good report of thee; wherefore now see to thyself, and play the wise man. Thou art acquainted with a great sort of heretics, as Hobby and Haynes, with others more, and knowest much of their secrets: if thou wilt now open them at my lord's request, he will procure thy deliverance out of hand, and prefer thee to better living."

"Alas! sir," quoth he, "what secrets do I know? I am but a poor man, and was never worthy to be so conversant either with Master Hobby, or Master Haynes, to know any part of their minds." "Well," quoth the gentleman, "make it not so strange, for my lord doth know well enough in what estimation they had both thee and Anthony Peerson, for your religion." "For Anthony Peerson," quoth he, "I can say nothing, for I never saw him with them in all my life: and as for myself, I cannot deny but that they have always, I thank them, taken me for an honest poor man, and showed me much kindness; but as for their secrets, they were too wise to commit them to any such as I am."

"Peradventure," quoth the gentleman, "thou fearest to utter any thing of them, because they were thy friends, lest they, hearing thereof, might hereafter withdraw their friendship from thee; which thou needest not to fear, I warrant thee, for they are sure enough, and never like to pleasure thee more, nor any man else."

Marbeck cannot be persuaded to detect others.

With that the water stood in Marbeck's eyes. "Why weepest thou?" quoth the gentleman. "Oh, sir," quoth he, "I pray you pardon me: these men have done me good; wherefore I beseech the living God to comfort them as I would be comforted myself."

"Well," quoth the gentleman, "I perceive thou wilt play the fool;" and then he opened one of the books and asked him if he understood any Latin. "But a little, sir," quoth he. "How is it then," quoth the gentleman, "that thou hast translated thy book out of the Latin Concordance, and yet understandest not the tongue?" "I will tell you," quoth he; "in my youth I learned the principles of my grammar, whereby I have some understanding therein, though it be very small." Then the gentleman began to try him in the Latin Concordance and English Bible which he had brought: and when he had so done, and was satisfied, he called up his man to fetch away the books, and so departed, leaving Marbeck alone in the chamber, the door fast shut unto him.

Another talk between Winchester's gentleman and Marbeck.

About two hours after, the gentleman came again, with a sheet of paper folded in his hand, and set him down upon the bed-side (as before), and said, "By my troth, Marbeck! my lord seeth so much wilfulness in thee, that he saith it is pity to do thee good. When wast thou last with Haynes?"[1] "Forsooth," quoth he, "about three weeks ago, I was at dinner with him." "And what talk," quoth the gentleman, "had he at his board?" "I cannot tell now," quoth he. "No!" quoth the gentleman; "thou art not so dull witted, to forget a thing in so short a space." "Yes, sir," quoth he, "such familiar talk as men do use at their boards, is most commonly by the next day forgotten; and so it was with me." "Didst thou never," quoth the gentleman, "talk with him, or with any of thy

(1) How Winchester hunteth for Dr. Haynes.

fellows, of the mass, or of the blessed sacrament?" "No, forsooth," quoth he. "Now forsooth," quoth the gentleman, "thou liest; for thou hast been seen to talk with Testwood, and others of thy fellows, an hour together in the church, when honest men have walked up and down beside you; and, ever as they have drawn near you, ye have stayed your talk till they have been past you, because they should not hear whereof you talked." "I deny not," quoth he, "but I have talked with Testwood and others of my fellows, I cannot tell how oft; which maketh not that we talked either of the mass or of the sacrament: for men may commune and talk of many matters, that they would not that every man should hear, and yet far from any such thing; therefore it is good to judge the best." "Well!" quoth the gentleman, "thou must be plainer with my lord than this, or else it will be wrong with thee, and that sooner than thou weenest." "How plain will his lordship have me to be, sir?" quoth he. "There is nothing that I can do and say with a safe conscience, but I am ready to do it at his lordship's pleasure." "What tellest thou me," quoth the gentleman, "of thy conscience? Thou mayest, with a safe conscience, utter those that be heretics, and, so doing, thou canst do God and the king no greater service." "If I knew, sir," quoth he, "who were a heretic indeed, it were a thing; but if I should accuse him to be a heretic that is none, what a worm would that be in my conscience so long as I lived! yea it were a great deal better for me to be out of this life, than to live in such torment." "In faith," quoth the gentleman, "thou knowest as well who be heretics of thy fellows at home, and who be none, as I do know this paper to be in my hand. But it maketh no matter, for they shall all be sent for and examined: and thinkest thou that they will not utter and tell of thee all that they can? Yes, I warrant thee. And what a foolish dolt art thou, that wilt not utter aforehand what they be, seeing it standeth upon thy deliverance to tell the truth?" "Whatsoever," quoth he, "they shall say of me, let them do it in the name of God: for I will say no more of them, nor of any man else, than I know." "Marry!" quoth the gentleman, "if thou wilt do so, my lord requireth no more. And forasmuch as now, peradventure, thy wits are troubled,[1] so that thou canst not call things even by and by to remembrance, I have brought thee ink and paper, that thou mayest excogitate with thyself, and write such things as shall come to thy mind." "O Lord!" quoth Marbeck, "what will my lord do? Will his lordship compel me to accuse men I wot not whereof?" "No," quoth the gentleman, "my lord compelleth thee not, but gently entreateth thee to say the truth: therefore make no more ado, but write; for my lord will have it so." And so he laid down the ink and paper, and went his way.

Conscience little passed of among these papists.

Marbeck urged to accuse his brethren.

Now was Marbeck so full of heaviness and woe, that he wist not what to do, nor how to set the pen to the book to satisfy the bishop's mind, unless he did accuse men to the wounding of his own soul. And thus, being compassed about with nothing but sorrow and care, he cried out to God in his heart, falling down with weeping tears, and said,

Brought to great distress.

(1) Mark here the wiles of Winchester.

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Marbeck's Prayer to God.

O most merciful Father of heaven! thou that knowest the secret doings of all men, have mercy upon thy poor prisoner who is destitute of all help and comfort. Assist me, O Lord, with thy special grace, that, to save this frail and vile body, which shall turn to corruption at its time, I may have no power to say or to write any thing that may be to the casting away of my christian brother; but rather, O Lord, let this vile flesh suffer at thy will and pleasure. Grant this, O most merciful Father, for thy dear Son Jesus Christ's sake.

Then he rose up and began to search his conscience what he might write, and at last framed out these words:

"Whereas your lordship will have me to write such things as I know of my fellows at home, pleaseth it your lordship to understand, that I cannot call to remembrance any manner of thing whereby I might justly accuse any one of them, unless it be that the reading of the New Testament, which is common to all men, be an offence: more than this I know not."

Now the gentleman, about his hour appointed, came again, and found Marbeck walking up and down the chamber. "How now," quoth he, "hast thou written nothing?" "Yes, sir," quoth he, "as much as I know." "Well said," quoth the gentleman; and took up the paper: which, when he had read, he cast it from him in a great fume, swearing by our Lord's body,[1] that he would not for twenty pounds carry it to his lord and master. "Therefore," quoth he, "go to it again, and advise thyself better, or else thou wilt set my lord against thee, and then art thou utterly undone." "By my troth, sir," quoth Marbeck, "if his lordship shall keep me here these seven years, I can say no more than I have said." "Then wilt thou repent it," quoth the gentleman: and so putting up his penner and ink-horn, he departed with the paper in his hand.

THE THIRD EXAMINATION OF MARBECK BEFORE THE BISHOP OF WINCHESTER HIMSELF, IN HIS OWN HOUSE.

The next day, which was Wednesday, by eight of the clock in the morning, the bishop sent for Marbeck to his house at St. Mary Overy's, and as he was entering into the bishop's hall, he saw the bishop himself coming out at a door in the upper end thereof, with a roll in his hand; and going toward the great window, he called the poor man unto him, and said, "Marbeck! wilt thou cast away thyself?" "No, my lord," quoth he, "I trust." "Yes," quoth the bishop, "thou goest about it, for thou wilt utter nothing. What a devil made thee to meddle with the Scriptures?[2] Thy vocation was another way, wherein thou hast a goodly gift, if thou didst esteem it." "Yes, my lord," quoth he, "I do esteem it; and have done my part therein, according to that little knowledge that God hath given me." "And why the devil," quoth the bishop, "didst thou not hold thee there?" And with that he flung away from the window out of the hall, the poor man following him from place to place, till he had brought him into a long gallery, and being there, the bishop began on this wise: "Ah, sirra," quoth he, "the nest of you is broken, I trow." And

(1) Well sworn, and like a right papist.
(2) Christ saith, 'Scrutamini scripturas; and Winchester saith, 'The devil makes men to meddle with the Scriptures.'

unfolding his roll (which was about an ell long), he said, "Behold, here be your captains, both Hobby and Haynes, with all the whole pack of thy sect about Windsor, and yet wilt thou utter none of them." "Alas, my lord," quoth he, "how should I accuse them, of whom I know nothing?" "Well," quoth the bishop, "if thou wilt needs cast away thyself, who can let thee? What helpers hadst thou in setting forth thy book?" "Forsooth, my lord," quoth he, "none." "None!" quoth the bishop; "how can that be? It is not possible that thou shouldst do it without help." "Truly, my lord," quoth he, "I cannot tell in what part your lordship doth take it, but, howsoever it be, I will not deny but I did it without the help of any man, save God alone." "Nay," quoth the bishop, "I do not discommend thy diligence, but why shouldst thou meddle with that thing which pertained not to thee?"

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Marbeck charged for setting forth the Concordance.

And in speaking of these words, one of his chaplains, called Master Meadow, came up, and stayed himself at a window, to whom the bishop said, "Here is a marvellous thing; this fellow hath taken upon him to set out the Concordance in English, which book, when it was set out in Latin, was not done without the help and diligence of a dozen learned men at least, and yet will he bear me in hand, that he hath done it alone. But say what thou wilt," quoth the bishop, "except God himself would come down from heaven and tell me so, I will not believe it." And so, going forth to a window where two great Bibles lay upon a cushion, the one in Latin, and the other in English, he called Marbeck unto him, and pointing his finger to a place in the Latin Bible, said, "Canst thou English this sentence?" "Nay, my lord," quoth he, "I trow I be not so cunning to give it a perfect English, but I can fetch out the English thereof in the English Bible." "Let's see," quoth the bishop. Then Marbeck, turning the English Bible, found out the place by and by, and read it to the bishop. So he tried him three or four times, till one of his men came up, and told him the priest was ready to go to mass.

Master Clawback cometh again to Marbeck.

And as the bishop was going, said the gentleman who had examined Marbeck in the Marshalsea the day before, "Shall this fellow write nothing while your lordship is at mass, for he passeth not for it?" "It maketh no matter," quoth the bishop, "for he will tell nothing:" and so went down to hear mass, leaving Marbeck alone in the gallery. The bishop was no sooner down, but the gentleman came up again with ink and paper. "Come, sirra!" quoth he, "my lord will have you occupied till mass be done:" persuading him with fair words, that he should be soon dispatched out of trouble, if he would use truth and plainness. "Alas, sir!" quoth he, "what will my lord have me to do? for more than I wrote to his lordship yesterday, I cannot." "Well, well; go too," quoth the gentleman, "and make speed:" and so went his way. There was no remedy but Marbeck must now write something; wherefore he, calling to God again in his mind, wrote a few words, as nigh as he could frame them, to those he had written the day before. When the bishop was come from mass, and had looked on the writing, he pushed it from him, saying, "What shall this do? It hath neither head nor foot." "There is a marvellous sect of them," quoth the bishop to his men,

Marbeck pressed again to utter his fellows.

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"for the devil cannot make one of them to bewray another." Then was there nothing among the bishop's gentlemen, as they were making him ready to go to the court, but "crucifige" upon the poor man. And when the bishop's white rochet was on him, and all, "Well, Marbeck," quoth he, "I am now going to the court, and was purposed, if I had found thee tractable, to have spoken to the king's majesty for thee, and to have given thee thy meat, drink, and lodging here in mine house; but, seeing thou art so wilful and so stubborn, thou shalt go to the devil for me."

Marbeck brought again from Winchester's house to the Marshalsea.

Then was he carried down by the bishop's men, with many railing words. And, coming through the great chamber, there stood Dr. London, with two more of his fellows, waiting the bishop's coming, and passing by them into the hall, he was there received by his keeper, and carried to prison again. It was not half an hour after, ere that the bihsop sent one of his gentlemen to the under-keeper, called Stokes, commanding him to put irons upon Marbeck, and to keep him fast shut in a chamber alone; and when he should bring him down to dinner or supper, to see that he spake to no man, and no man to him. And furthermore, that he should suffer no manner of person (not his own wife) to come and see him, or minister any thing unto him. When the porter (who was the cruellest man that might be to all such as were laid in for any matter of religion, and yet, as God would, favourable to this poor man) had received this commandment from the bishop, he clapped irons upon him, and shut him up, giving warning to all the house, that no man should speak or talk to Marbeck, whensoever he was brought down: and so he continued the space of three weeks and more, till his wife was suffered to come unto him.

A cruel porter of the Marshalsea, but yet good to Marbeck.

THE SUIT OF MARBECK'S WIFE TO THE BISHOP OF WINCHESTER, FOR HER HUSBAND.

Marbeck's wife, at the time of her husband's apprehension, had a young child of a quarter old sucking upon her breast; and when her husband was taken from her, and had away to the council, not knowing what should become of him, she left the child and all, and gat her up to London; and hearing her husband to be in the Marshalsea, goeth thither. But when she came there, she could in no wise be suffered to see him, which greatly augmented her sorrow. Then, by counsel of friends, she gat her to the bishop of Winchester (for other help was there none to be had at that time), making great suit to have his license to go and see her husband, and to help him with such things as he lacked. "Nay," quoth the bishop, "thy husband is acquainted with all the heretics that be in the realm, both on this side the sea and beyond; and yet will he utter none of them." "Alas, my lord!" quoth she, "my husband was never beyond the seas, nor any great traveller in the realm, to be so acquainted; therefore, my good lord, let me go see him." But all her earnest suit from day to day would not help, but still he put her off, harping always upon this string, "Thy husband will utter nothing." At last, she, finding him in the court at St. James, going towards his chamber, was so bold as to take him by the rochet, and say, "Oh,

Marbeck's wife denied a great while to go to her husband.

my lord, these eighteen days I have troubled your lordship. Now, for the love of God, and as ever ye came of a woman, put me off no longer, but let me go to my husband." And as she was standing with the bishop and his men, in a blind corner going to his chamber, one of the king's servants, called Henry Carrike, and her next neighbour, chanced to be by; and, hearing the talk between the bishop and her, desired his lordship to be good lord unto the poor woman, who had her own mother lying bedrid upon her hands, beside five or six children. "I promise you," quoth the bishop, "her husband is a great heretic, and hath read more Scripture than any man in the realm hath done." "I cannot tell, my lord," quoth Carrike, "what he is inwardly, but outwardly, he is as honest a quiet neighbour as ever I dwelt by." "He will tell nothing," quoth the bishop: "he knoweth a great sort of false harlots, and will not utter them." "Yes, my lord," quoth Carrike, "he will tell, I dare say, for he is an honest man." "Well," quoth the bishop (speaking to the wife), "thou seemest to be an honest woman, and if thou love thy husband well, go to him, and give him good counsel, to utter such naughty fellows as he knoweth, and I promise thee he shall have what I can do for him; for I do fancy him well for his art, wherein he hath pleased me as well as any man:" and so, stepping into his chamber, he said she should have his letter to the keeper. But his mind being changed, he sent out his ring by a gentleman, which gentleman delivered the ring to his man, charging him with the bishop's message. And so his man went with the woman to the water side, and took boat, who never rested railing on her husband all the way, till they came to the prison; which was no small cross unto the poor woman.

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Henry Carrike playeth the part of a good neighbour

Winchester's argument: He hath read much Scripture: Ergo, he is a heretic.

Marbeck's wife permitted at last to go to her husband.

And when they were come to the Marshalsea, the messenger showed the bishop's ring to the porter, saying, "Master Stokes! my lord willeth you by this token, that ye suffer this woman to have recourse to her husband; but, he straitly chargeth you, that ye search her both coming and going, lest she bring or carry any letters to or fro, and that she bring nobody unto him, nor any word from any man." "God's blood!" quoth the porter (who was a foul swearer), "what will my lord have me to do? can I let her to bring word from any man? Either let her go to her husband, or let her not go; for I see nothing by him but an honest man." The poor woman, fearing to be repulsed, spake the porter fair, saying, "Good master, be content, for I have found my lord very good lord unto me. This young man is but the gentleman's servant who brought the ring from my lord, and I think doth his message a great deal more straiter than my lord commanded the gentleman, or than the gentleman his master commanded him: but, nevertheless, good master," quoth she, "I shall be contented to strip myself before you both coming and going, so far as any honest woman may do with honesty; for I intend no such thing, but only to comfort and help my husband." Then the messenger said no more, but went his way, leaving the woman there, who, from that time forth, was suffered to come and go at her pleasure.

Like master like man.

The part of a good wife and an honest matron.

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THE FOURTH EXAMINATION OF MARBECK, BEFORE THE COMMISSIONERS IN THE BISHOP OF LONDON'S HOUSE.

Name of the commissioners for the six articles.

About three weeks before Whitsunday was Marbeck sent for to the bishop of London's house, where sat in commission Dr. Capon bishop of Salisbury, Dr. Skip bishop of Hereford, Dr. Goodrick bishop of Ely, Dr. Oking, Dr. May, and the bishop of London's scribe, having before them all Marbeck's books. Then said the bishop of Salisbury, "Marbeck! we are here in commission, sent from the king's majesty, to examine thee of certain things whereof thou must be sworn to answer us faithfully and truly." "I am content, my lord," quoth he, "to tell you the truth so far as I can:" and so took his oath. Then the bishop of Salisbury laid forth before him his three books of notes, demanding whose hand they were. He answered they were his own hand, and notes which he had gathered out of other men's works six years ago. "For what cause," quoth the bishop of Salisbury, "didst thou gather them?" "For none other cause, my lord, but to come by knowledge: for I, being unlearned, and desirous to understand some part of Scripture, thought, by reading of learned men's works, to come the sooner thereby. And where I found any place of Scripture opened and expounded by them, that I noted as ye see, with a letter of his name in the margin, that had set out the work." "So me think," quoth the bishop of Ely (who had one of the books of notes in his hand all the time of their sitting), "thou hast read of all sorts of books, both good and bad, as seemeth by the notes." "So I have, my lord," quoth he. "And to what purpose?" quoth the bishop of Salisbury. "By my truth," quoth he, "for no other purpose but to see every man's mind." Then the bishop of Salisbury drew out a quire of the Concordance, and laid it before the bishop of Hereford, who, looking upon it awhile, lifted up his eyes to Dr. Oking, standing next him, and said, "This man hath been better occupied than a great sort of our priests:" to the which Oking made no answer.

The occasion why Marbeck began the Concordance in English.

Then said the bishop of Salisbury, "Whose help hadst thou in setting forth this book?" "Truly, my lord," quoth he, "no help at all." "How couldst thou," quoth the bishop, "invent such a book, or know what a Concordance meant, without an instructor?" "I will tell your lordship," quoth he, "what instructor I had to begin it. When Thomas Matthewe's Bible came first out in print, I was much desirous to have one of them; and being a poor man, not able to buy one of them, I determined with myself to borrow one amongst my friends, and to write it forth. And when I had written out the five books of Moses in fair great paper, and was entered into the book of Joshua, my friend Master Turner[1] chanced to steal upon me unawares, and seeing me writing out the Bible, asked me what I meant thereby. And when I had told him the cause, 'Tush,' quoth he, 'thou goest about a vain and tedious labour. But this were a profitable work for thee, to set out a Concordance in English.' 'A Concordance,' said I, 'what is that?' Then he told me it was a book to find out any word in the whole Bible by the letter, and that there

(1) Master Richard Turner, of Magdalen college, in Oxford, and after of Windsor, a godly learned man and a good preacher; who in queen Mary's time fled into Germany, and there died.

was such a one in Latin already. Then I told him, I had no learning to go about such a thing. 'Enough,' quoth he, 'for that matter, for it requireth not so much learning as diligence. And seeing thou art so painful a man, and one that cannot be unoccupied, it were a goodly exercise for thee.' And this, my lord, is all the instruction that ever I had before or after, of any man." "What is that Turner?" quoth the bishop of Salisbury. "Marry," quoth Dr. May, "an honest learned man, and a bachelor of divinity, and some time a fellow in Magdalen college in Oxford." "How couldst thou," quoth the bishop of Salisbury, "with this instruction, bring it to this order and form, as it is?" "I borrowed a Latin Concordance," quoth he, "and began to practise my wit; and, at last, with great labour and diligence, brought it into this order, as your lordship doth see." "A good wit with diligence," quoth the bishop of Hereford, "may bring hard things to pass." "It is great pity," quoth the bishop of Ely, "he had not the Latin tongue." "So it is," quoth Dr. May. "Yet cannot I believe," quoth the bishop of Salisbury, "that he hath done any more in this work, than write it out after some other that is learned." *Henry VIII.* A.D. 1543.

"My lords," quoth Marbeck, "I shall beseech you all to pardon me what I shall say, and to grant my request if it shall seem good unto you." "Say what thou wilt," quoth the bishops. "I do marvel greatly wherefore I should be so much examined for this book, and whether I have committed any offence in doing of it or no? If I have, then were I loth any other to be molested or punished for my fault. Therefore, to clear all men in this matter, this is my request, that ye will try me in the rest of the book that is undone; ye see that I am yet but in the letter L; begin now at M, and take out what word ye will of that letter, and so in every letter following, and give me the words on a piece of paper, and set me in a place alone where it shall please you, with ink and paper, the English Bible, and the Latin Concordance: and if I bring you not these words written in the same order and form that the rest before is, then was it not I that did it, but some other." Marbeck's words to the bishops.

"By my troth, Marbeck," quoth the bishop of Ely, "that is honestly spoken, and then shalt thou bring many out of suspicion." "That he shall," quoth they all. Then they bade Dr. Oking draw out such words as he thought best, in a piece of paper, and so rose up; and in the mean time fell into other familiar talk with Marbeck, (for the bishops of Ely and Hereford were both acquainted with him afore, and his friends, so far as they durst), who, perceiving the bishops so pleasantly disposed, besought them to tell him in what danger he stood. "Shall I tell thee, Marbeck?" quoth the bishop of Sarum. "Thou art in better case than any of thy fellows, of whom there be some would give forty pounds to be in no worse case than thou art:" whose sayings the other affirmed. Then came Dr. Oking with the words he had written, and while the bishops were perusing them over, Dr. Oking said to Marbeck, very friendly, on this wise: "Good Master Marbeck, make haste, for the sooner ye have done, the sooner ye shall be delivered." And as the bishops were going away, the bishop of Hereford took Marbeck a little aside, and informed him of a word which Dr. Oking had written false, and also to com- The bishop of Salisbury and Hereford like well the case of Marbeck.

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fort him, said, "Fear not; there can no law condemn you for any thing that ye have done; for if ye had written a thousand heresies, so long as they be not your sayings nor your opinions, the law cannot hurt you." And so went they all with the bishop of Sarum to dinner, taking the poor man with them, who dined in the hall, at the steward's board; and besides that, had wine and meat sent down from the bishop's table.

Dr. Skips's comfortable words unto Marbeck.

When dinner was done, the bishop of Sarum came down into the hall, commanding ink and paper to be given to Marbeck, and the two books to one of his men to go with him; at whose going he demanded of the bishop, what time his lordship would appoint him to do it in? "Against to-morrow this time," quoth the bishop; which was about two of the clock, and so departed.

Marbeck, now being in his prison-chamber, fell to his business, and so applied the thing, that by the next day, when the bishop sent for him again, he had written so much, in the same order and form he had done the rest before, as contained three sheets of paper and more: which when he had delivered to the bishop of Sarum, Dr. Oking standing by, he marvelled and said, "Well, Marbeck, thou hast now put me out of all doubt. I assure thee," quoth he, putting up the paper into his bosom, "the king shall see this ere I be twenty-four hours older." But he dissembled every word, and thought nothing less than so; for afterwards, the matter being come to light, and known to his grace, what a book the poor man had begun, which the bishops would not suffer him to finish, the king said he was better occupied than they that took it from him. So Marbeck departed from the bishop of Sarum to prison again, and heard no more of his book.

A false dissembling bishop.

THE FIFTH EXAMINATION OF MARBECK, BEFORE DR. OKING, AND MASTER KNIGHT, SECRETARY TO THE BISHOP OF WINCHESTER, IN ST. MARY OVERY'S CHURCH.

Upon Whitsunday following at afternoon, was Marbeck sent for once again to St. Mary Overy's, where he found Dr. Oking, with another gentleman in a gown of damask, with a chain of gold about his neck (no more in all the church but they two), sitting together in one of the stalls, their backs towards the church door, looking upon an epistle of Master John Calvin's, which Marbeck had written out; and when they saw the prisoner come, they rose and had him up to a side altar, leaving his keeper in the body of the church alone. Now, as soon as Marbeck saw the face of the gentleman (whom before he knew not, by reason of his apparel), he saw it was the same person that first examined him in the Marshalsea, and did also cause him to write in the bishop's gallery, but never knew his name till now he heard Dr. Oking call him Master Knight. This Master Knight held forth the paper to Marbeck, and said, "Look upon this, and tell me whose hand it is."

When Marbeck had taken the paper and seen what it was, he confessed it to be all his hand, saving the first leaf and the notes in the margin. "Then I perceive," quoth Knight, "thou wilt not go from thine own hand." "No, sir," quoth he, "I will deny nothing that I

have done." "Thou dost well in that," quoth Knight, "for if thou shouldst, we have testimonies enough besides, to try out thy hand by. But I pray thee tell me, whose hand is the first leaf?" "That I cannot tell you," quoth Marbeck. "Then how camest thou by it?" quoth Knight. "Forsooth I will tell you," quoth he. "There was a priest dwelling with us about five or six years ago, called Marshal, who sent it unto me with the first leaf written; desiring me to write it out with speed, because the copy could not be spared past an hour or twain: and so I wrote it out, and sent him both the copy and it again."

"And how came this hand in the margin," quoth he, "which is a contrary hand to both the others?" "That I will tell you," quoth Marbeck: "When I wrote it out at the first, I made so much haste of it, that I understood not the matter, wherefore I was desirous to see it again, and to read it with more deliberation; and being sent to me the second time, it was thus quoted in the margin as ye see. And shortly after this, it was his chance to go beyond the seas (where he lived not long), by reason whereof the epistle remaineth with me; but whether the first leaf, or the notes in the margin were his hand, or whose hand else, that I cannot tell." "Tush," quoth Dr. Oking to Master Knight, "he knoweth well enough that the notes be Haynes's own hand." "If you know so much," quoth Marbeck, "ye know more than I do; for I tell you truly, I know it not." "By my faith, Marbeck," quoth Knight, "if thou wilt not tell by fair means, those fingers of thine shall be made to tell." "By my troth, sir," quoth Marbeck, "if ye do tear the whole body in pieces, I trust in God, ye shall never make me accuse any man wrongfully." "If thou be so stubborn," quoth Dr. Oking, "thou wilt die for it." "Die, Master Oking!" quoth he, "wherefore should I die? You told me the last day, before the bishops, that as soon as I had made an end of the piece of Concordance they took from me, I should be delivered; and shall I now die? This is a sudden mutation. You seemed then to be my friend; but I know the cause: ye have read the ballet I made of Moses' chair, and that hath set you against me; but whensoever ye shall put me to death, I doubt not to die God's true man and the king's." "How so?" quoth Knight. "How canst thou die a true man unto the king, when thou hast offended his laws? Is not this epistle, and are not most of the notes thou hast written, directly against the six articles?" "No, sir," quoth Marbeck; "I have not offended the king's laws therein; for since the first time I began with the Concordance (which is almost six years ago), I have been occupied in nothing else: so that both this epistle, and all the notes I have gathered, were written a great while before the six articles came forth, and are clearly remitted by the king's general pardon." "Trust not to that," quoth Knight, "for it will not help thee." "No, I warrant him," quoth Dr. Oking. And so going down to the body of the church, they committed him to his keeper, who had him away to prison again.

Surmise against Dr. Haynes.

Inconstancy, and little truth in papists.

The king's general pardon claimed.

THE SUIT OF FILMER'S WIFE, TO THE BISHOPS WHO SAT IN COMMISSION, FOR HER HUSBAND.

In like manner the wife of Filmer, knowing her husband's trouble to be only procured of malice by Simons, his old enemy, made great

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suit and labour unto the bishops who were commissioners, desiring no more of them, but that it would please their goodness to examine her husband before them, and to hear him make his purgation. This was her only request to every of the bishops from day to day, wheresoever she could find them; insomuch that two of the bishops (Ely and Hereford) were very sorry (considering the importunate and reasonable suit of the woman) that it lay not in them to help her. Thus, travelling long up and down from one to another, to have her husband examined, it was her chance at last to find the bishops all three together in the bishop of Ely's palace; unto whom she said,

The words of Filmer's wife to the bishops.

"O good my lords! for the love of God, let now my poor husband be brought forth before you, while ye be here all together. For truly, my lords, there can nothing be justly laid against him, but that of malicious envy and spite Simons hath wrought him this trouble. And you, my lord of Salisbury," quoth the poor woman, "can testify (if it will please your lordship to say the truth), what malice Simons bare to my husband, when they were both before you at Salisbury, little more than a year ago, for the vicar of Windsor's matter. For, as your lordship knoweth, when my husband had certified you of the priest's sermon, which you said was plain heresy, then came Simons (after the priest himself had confessed it), and would have defended the priest's error before your lordship, and have had my husband punished. At that time it pleased your lordship to commend and praise my husband for his honesty, and to rebuke Simons for maintaining the priest in his error; and thereupon you commanded the priest to recant his heresy, at his coming home to Windsor. This, my lord, you know to be true. And now, my lords," quoth the woman, "it is most certain, that for this cause only did Simons evermore afterwards threaten my husband to be even with him. Therefore, my good lords, call my husband before you, and hear him speak; and if ye find any other matter against him than this that I have told you, let me suffer death." "Is this so, my lord?" quoth the bishops of Ely and Hereford. And the other could not deny it. Then they spake Latin to the bishop of Salisbury,

Filmer could not come to his answer.

and he to them, and so departed. For the matter was so wrought between Dr. London and Simons, that Filmer could never be suffered to come before the commissioners to be examined.

The Martyrdom of Peerson, Testwood, and Filmer;

WITH THE MANNER OF THEIR CONDEMNATIONS, AND HOW THEY DIED.—ALSO THE SPARING OF MARBECK, AFTER HE WAS SENTENCED TO DEATH.

Stephen Gardiner great about the king.

When the time drew nigh that the king's majesty (who was newly married to that good and virtuous lady Katherine Parr) should make his progress abroad, the aforesaid Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, had so compassed his matters, that no man bare so great a swinge about the king as he did: wherewith the gospellers were so quailed, that the best of them all looked every hour to be clapped in the neck; for the saying went abroad, that the bishop had bent his bow to shoot at some of the head deer. But, in the mean time, three or four of the poor rascals were caught, that is to say, Anthony

His bow bent to shoot at the head deer.

Peerson, Henry Filmer, and John Marbeck, and sent to Windsor by the sheriff's men the Saturday before St. James's day, and laid fast in the town jail; and Testwood, who had kept his bed, was brought out of his house upon crutches, and laid with them. But as for Bennet, who should have been the fifth man, his chance was to be sick of the pestilence, and having a great sore upon him, he was left behind in the bishop of London's jail, whereby he escaped the fire. *Henry VIII.* A.D. 1543. Testwood brought out on crutches to prison.

Now, these men being brought to Windsor, there was a sessions specially procured to be holden the Thursday after, which was St. Ann's day: against which sessions (by the counsel of Dr. London, and of Simons) were all the farmers, belonging to the college of Windsor, warned to appear; because they could not pick out papists enough in the town, to go upon the jury. The judges that day were these: Dr. Capon, bishop of Salisbury; sir William Essex, knight; sir Thomas Bridges, knight; sir Humfrey Foster, knight; Master Franklen, dean of Windsor; and Master Fachel of Reading. A special sessions procured. The judges.

When these had taken their places, and the prisoners were brought forth before them, then Robert Ockam, occupying for that day the room of the clerk of the peace, called Anthony Peerson, according to the manner of the court, and read his indictment, which was this: Robert Ockam, clerk of the peace.

The Indictment against Anthony Peerson.

First, that he should preach two years before in a place called Wingfield, and there should say, that like as Christ was hanged between two thieves, even so, when the priest is at mass, and hath consecrated and lifted him up over his head, there he hangeth between two thieves, except he preach the word of God truly, as he hath taken upon him to do.

Also, that he said to the people in the pulpit, 'Ye shall not eat the body of Christ as it did hang upon the cross, gnawing it with your teeth, that the blood run about your lips; but you shall eat him this day as ye eat him to-morrow, the next day, and every day: for it refresheth not the body, but the soul.'

Also, after he had preached and commended the Scripture, calling it the word of God, he said as followeth: 'This is the word; this is the bread; this is the body of Christ.'

Also he said that Christ, sitting with his disciples, took bread, and blessed, and brake it, and gave it to his disciples, saying, Take and eat; this is my body. 'What is this to us, but to take the Scripture of God, and to break it to the people?'

To this Anthony answered and said, "I will be tried by God and his holy word, and by the true church of Christ, whether this be heresy or no, whereof ye have indicted me this day. So long as I preached the bishop of Rome, and his filthy traditions, I was never troubled; but since I have taken upon me to preach Christ and his gospel, ye have always sought my life. But it maketh no matter, for when you have taken your pleasure of my body, I trust it shall not lie in your powers to hurt my soul." "Thou callest us thieves," quoth the bishop. "I say," quoth Anthony, "ye are not only thieves, but murderers, except ye preach and teach the word of God purely and sincerely to the people; which ye do not, nor ever did; but have allured them to all idolatry, superstition, and hypocrisy, for your own lucre and glory's sake, through which ye are Peerson answereth to his indictment.

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become rather bite-sheeps than true bishops, biting and devouring the poor sheep of Christ, like ravening wolves, never satisfied with blood; which God will require at your hands one day, doubt it not." Then spake Simons his accuser, standing within the bar, saying, "It is pity this fellow had not been burned long ago, as he deserved." "In faith," quoth Anthony, "if you had as you have deserved, you were more worthy to stand in this place than I. But I trust, in the last day, when we shall both appear before the tribunal seat of Christ, that then it will be known which of us two hath best deserved this place." "Shall I have so long a day?" quoth Simons, holding up his finger: "Nay then, I care not;" and so the matter was jested out.

Simons replieth against Peerson.

ROBERT TESTWOOD.

Testwood's indictment.

Then was Testwood called, and his indictment read, which was, that he should say, in the time that the priest was lifting up the sacrament, "What, wilt thou lift him so high? what yet higher? Take heed; let him not fall."

His answer.

To this Testwood answered, saying, it was but a thing maliciously forged of his enemies to bring him to his death. "Yes," quoth the bishop, "thou hast been seen that when the priest should lift up the sacrament over his head, then wouldst thou look down upon thy book or some other way, because thou wouldst not abide to look upon the blessed sacrament." "I beseech you, my lord," quoth Testwood, "whereon did *he* look, that marked me so well?" "Marry," quoth Bucklayer, the king's attorney, "he could not be better occupied, than to mark such heretics, that so despised the blessed sacrament."

HENRY FILMER.

Filmer's indictment.

Then was Filmer called, and his indictment read; that he should say that the sacrament of the altar is nothing else but a similitude and a ceremony; and also, if God be in the sacrament of the altar, I have eaten twenty Gods in my days.

Here you must understand, that these words were gathered of certain communication which should be between Filmer and his brother. The tale went thus:

This Henry Filmer, coming upon a Sunday from Clewer, his parish church, in the company of one or two of his neighbours, chanced, in the way, to meet his brother (who was a very poor labouring man), and asked him whither he went. "To the church," said he. "And what *to do?*" quoth Filmer. "To do," quoth he, "as other men do." "Nay," quoth Filmer, "you go to hear mass, and to see your God." "What if I do so?" quoth he. "If that be God," should Filmer say, "I have eaten twenty Gods in my days. Turn again, fool, and go home with me, and I will read thee a chapter out of the Bible, that shall be better than all that thou shalt see or hear there."

Dr. London setteth brother against brother.

This tale was no sooner brought to Dr. London (by William Simons, Filmer's utter enemy), but he sent for the poor man home to his house, where he cherished him with meat and money, telling him he should never lack, so long as he lived; that the silly poor

man, thinking to have had a daily friend of Dr. London, was content to do and say whatsoever he and Simons would have him say or do against his own brother. And when Dr. London had thus won the poor man, he retained him as one of his household men until the court day was come, and then sent him up to witness this aforesaid tale against his brother. This tale Filmer denied utterly, saying, that Dr. London, for a little meat and drink's sake, had set him on, and made him say what his pleasure was: "Wherefore, my lord," quoth Filmer to the bishop, "I beseech your lordship weigh the matter indifferently, forasmuch as there is no man in all this town, that can or will testify with him, that ever he heard any such talk between him and me; and if he can bring forth any that will witness the same with him, I refuse not to die." But say what he could, it would not prevail.

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Filmer's own brother witnesseth against him.

One witness to stand, is against the law.

Then Filmer, seeing no remedy but that his brother's accusement should take place, he said, "Ah, brother! what cause hast thou to show me this unkindness? I have always been a natural brother unto thee and thine, and helped you all, to my power, from time to time, as thou thyself knowest; and is this a brotherly part, thus to reward me now for my kindness? God forgive it thee, my brother, and give thee grace to repent." Then Filmer, looking over his shoulder, desired some good body to let him see the book of Statutes. His wife, being at the end of the hall, and hearing her husband call for the book of Statutes, ran down to the keeper, and brought up the book, and gat it conveyed to her husband.

Filmer cast away by his own brother.

The bishop, seeing the book in his hand, start him up from the bench in a great fume, demanding who had given the prisoner that book, commanded it to be taken from him, and to make search who had brought it, swearing by the faith of his body, he should go to prison. Some said it was his wife, some said the keeper. "Like enough, my lord," quoth Simons, "for he is one of the same sort; and as worthy to be here as the best, if he were rightly served." But howsoever it was, the truth would not be known, and so the bishop sat him down again.[1]

Then said Filmer, "O my lord! I am this day judged by a law, and why should I not see the law that I am judged by?[2] The law is, I should have two lawful witnesses, and here is but one, who would not do as he doth, but that he is forced thereunto by the suggestion of mine enemies." "Nay," quoth Bucklayer, the king's attorney, "thine heresy is so heinous, and abhorreth thine own brother so much, that it forceth him to witness against thee, which is more than two other witnesses."

Thus, as you see, was Filmer brought unjustly to his death by the malice of Simons and Dr. London, who had enticed that wretched caitiff his brother, to be their minister to work his confusion. But God, who is a just revenger of all falsehood and wrongs, would not suffer that wretch long to live upon earth, but the next year following, he, being taken up for a labourer to go to Boulogne, had not been there three days, ere that (in exonerating of nature) a gun took him

Example of God's just punishment upon a popish accuser accusing his own brother.

(1) The bishops condemn men not only without all law, but also stop the law that it should not be known.

(2) Thus Filmer was condemned by one witness, against the law; and how do the bishops then say, that they do nothing but by a law?

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and tore him all to pieces. And so were these words of Solomon fulfilled, "A false witness shall not remain unpunished."

JOHN MARBECK.

The indictment of Marbeck.

Then was Marbeck called, and his indictment read, which was, that he should say, that the holy mass, when the priest doth consecrate the body of our Lord, is polluted, deformed, sinful, and open robbery of the glory of God, from which a christian heart ought both to abhor and flee. And that the elevation of the sacrament is the similitude of setting up of images of the calves, in the temple builded by Jeroboam; and that it is more abomination, than the sacrifices done by the Jews in Jeroboam's temple to those calves. And that certain and sure it is, that Christ himself is made, in the mass, man's laughing-stock.

Marbeck's answer.

To this he answered and said, that these words whereof they had indicted him were not his, but the words of a learned man called John Calvin, drawn out of a certain epistle which the said Calvin had made, which epistle he had but only written out, and that, long before the six articles came forth; so that now he was discharged of that offence by the king's general pardon, desiring that he might enjoy the benefit thereof.

Partial dealing in calling the jury.

Then were the jury called, which were all farmers belonging to the college of Windsor, whereof few or none had ever seen those men before, upon whose life and death they went. Wherefore the prisoners (counting the farmers as partial) desired to have the townsmen, or such as did know them, and had seen their daily conversations, in the place of the farmers, or else to be equally joined with them; but that would not be, for the matter was otherwise foreseen and determined.

Bucklayer, the king's attorney, a persecutor.

Now, when the jury had taken their oath and all, Bucklayer, the king's attorney, began to speak; and first he alleged many reasons against Anthony Peerson, to prove him a heretic: which when Anthony would have disproved, the bishop said, "Let him alone, sir; he speaketh for the king." And so went Bucklayer forth with his matter, making every man's cause as heinous to the hearers as he could devise. And when he had done, and said what he would, then sir Humfrey Foster spake to the quest, in favour of Marbeck, on this wise: "Masters!" quoth he, "ye see there is no man here that accuseth or layeth any thing to the charge of this poor man Marbeck, saving he hath written certain things of other men's sayings, with his own hand, whereof he is discharged by the king's general pardon; therefore ye ought to have a conscience therein." Then started up Fachel at the lower end of the bench, and said, "What can we tell, whether they were written before the pardon or after? They may as well be written since as afore, for any thing that we know." These words of Fachel (as every man said) were the cause of Marbeck's casting that day.

Sir Humfrey Foster speaketh for Marbeck.

Fachel a persecutor.

Marbeck cast by the jury.

The knights refuse to be at their condemnation.

Then went the jury up to the chamber over the place where the judges sat, and in the mean time went all the knights and gentlemen abroad, saving the bishop, sir William Essex, and Fachel, which three sat still upon the bench till all was done. And when the jury

had been together above, in the chamber, about the space of a quarter of an hour, up goeth Simons (of his own brain) unto them, and tarried there a pretty while, and came down again. After that came one of the jury down to the bishop, and talked with him and the other twain a good while, whereby many conjectured that the jury could not agree of Marbeck. But whether it was so or no, it was not long after his going up again, ere that they came down to give their verdict; and being required, according to the form of the law, to say their minds, one called Hide, dwelling beside Abingdon, in a lordship belonging to the college of Windsor, speaking as the mouth of the rest, said, they were all guilty.

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Hide, a farmer of Windsor college, a persecutor.

Then the judges, beholding the prisoners a good while (some with watery eyes), made courtesy who should give judgment. Fachel, requiring the bishop to do it, he said, he might not. The others also, being required, said they would not. Then said Fachel, "It must be done; one must do it; and if no man will, then will I." And so Fachel, being lowest of all the bench, gave judgment. Then Marbeck, being the last upon whom sentence was given, cried unto the bishop, saying, "Ah! my lord, you told me otherwise when I was before you and the other two bishops. You said then, that I was in better case than any of my fellows, and is your saying come to this? Ah! my lord, you have deceived me." Then the bishop, casting up his hand, said, "he could not do withal."

Fachel giveth judgment against them.

Now the prisoners, being condemned and had away, prepared themselves to die on the morrow; comforting one another in the death and passion of their master Christ, who had led the way before them, trusting that the same Lord, who had made them worthy to suffer so far for his sake, would not now withdraw his strength from them, but give them steadfast faith and power to overcome those fiery torments, and of his free mercy and goodness (without their deserts), for his promise' sake, receive their souls. Thus lay they all the night long (till very dead sleep took them), calling to God for his aid and strength, and praying for their persecutors, who, of blind zeal and ignorance, had done they wist not what, that God, of his merciful goodness, would forgive them, and turn their hearts to the love and knowledge of his blessed and holy word: yea, such heavenly talk was amongst them that night, that the hearers, watching the prison without, whereof the sheriff himself was one, with divers gentlemen more, were constrained to shed out plenty of tears, as they themselves confessed.

Peerson, Testwood, Filmer, and Marbeck condemned for heretics.

Godly prayers of the martyrs almost all night.

On the next morrow, which was Friday, as the prisoners were all preparing themselves to go to suffer, word was brought them that they should not die that day. The cause was this: the bishop of Sarum, and they among them, had sent a letter by one of the sheriffs' gentlemen, called Master Frost, to the bishop of Winchester (the court being then at Okingham) in favour of Marbeck; at the sight of which letter, the bishop straightway went to the king, and obtained his pardon; which being granted, he caused a warrant to be made out of hand for the sheriff's discharge, delivering the same to the messenger, who, with speed, returned with great joy (for the love he bare to the party), bringing good news to the town, of Marbeck's pardon; whereat many rejoiced.

A letter sent by certain of the commissioners to Gardiner for Marbeck's pardon.

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Of this pardon were divers conjectures made. Some said, it was by the suit of the good sheriff sir William Barrington, and sir Humfrey Foster, with other gentlemen more that favoured Marbeck, to the bishop of Sarum and the other commissioners, that the letter was sent.

Divers judgments why Marbeck was pardoned.

Some said again, that it came of the bishop of Sarum and Fachel's first motion, being pricked in conscience for that they had so slenderly cast him away. Others again thought that it was a policy purposed afore, by the bishop of Winchester, of Sarum, and of Dr. London, because they should seem to be merciful. This conjecture rose upon this occasion: There was one Sadock, dwelling in the town, who was great with Dr. London and Simons; and he should say, four days before the sessions began, that the prisoners should be all cast and condemned, but Marbeck should have his pardon.

Others there were, that thought the aforesaid bishops, with Dr. London, had done it for this purpose; that he now, having his life, would rather utter such men as they would have him to do, than to come in like danger again; which conjecture rose upon this: Simons, meeting with Marbeck's wife, said thus unto her: "Your husband may thank God and good friends: my lord of Winchester is good lord to him, who hath got his pardon. But shall I tell you?" quoth he: "his pardon will be to none effect, except he tell the truth of things to my lord, and other of the council, when he shall be demanded; for unto that purpose only is he reserved." "Alas sir," quoth she, "what can he tell?" "Well, woman," quoth Simons, "I tell thee plain; if he do not so, never look to have thy husband out of prison;" and so departed from her.

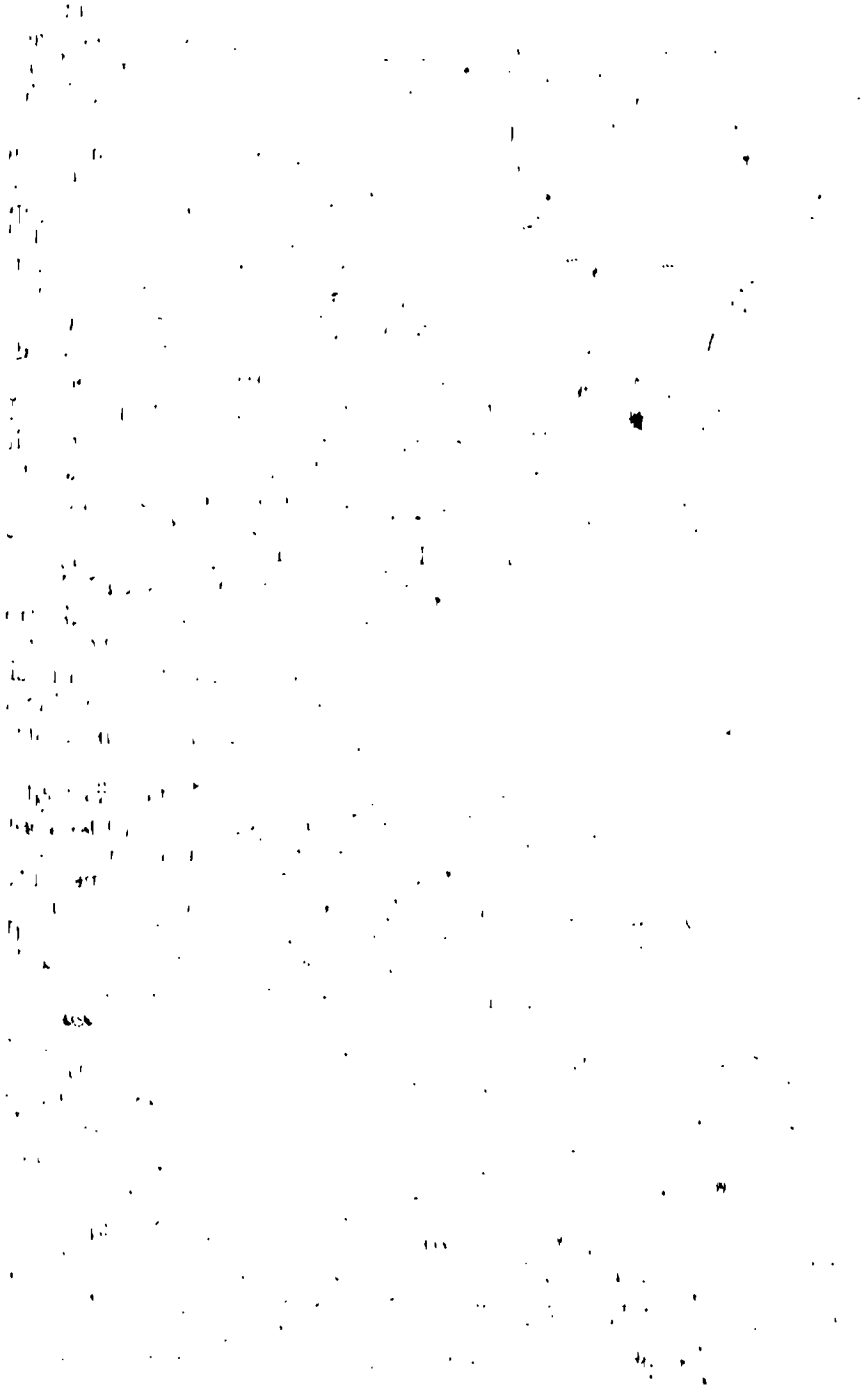
Marbeck reserved to utter others.

The like meaning did Master Arch make to Marbeck himself, on the Saturday in the morning that the men should be burned, when he came to confess them. "I have nothing," quoth he, "to say unto you, Marbeck, at this time; but hereafter you must be content to do as shall be enjoined you:" meaning, he should be forced to do some unlawful thing, or else to lie in perpetual prison. And this was most likely to have been attempted, if they had proceeded in their purpose; whose intent was to have gone through the whole realm, in like sort as they had begun at Windsor, as the bishop of Sarum confessed openly, and said, that "he trusted, ere Christmas-day following, to visit and cleanse a good part thereof." But most commonly God sendeth a shrewd cow short horns, or else many a thousand in England had smarted.

The pestilent intent of the bishops.

On Saturday in the morning that the prisoners should go to execution, came in to the prison two of the canons of the college, the one called Dr. Blithe, and the other Master Arch, which two were sent to be their confessors: Master Arch asked them, if they would be confessed; and they said, "Yea." Then he demanded if they would receive the sacrament: "Yea," said they, "with all our hearts." "I am glad," quoth Arch, "to hear you say so; but the law is," quoth he, "that it may not be ministered to any that are condemned of heresy. But it is enough for you that ye do desire it." And so he had them up to the hall to hear their confessions, because the prison was full of people. Dr. Blithe took Anthony Peerson to him to confess, and Master Arch the other two. But howsoever

The pope's law is, that they that be condemned of heresy, must not receive the sacrament.



THE MARTYRDOM OF PEERSON, TESTWOOD, AND FILMER.

the matter went between the doctor and Anthony, he tarried not long with him, but came down again, saying, "he would no more of his doctrine." "Do you call him Dr. Blithe?" quoth Anthony. "He may be called Dr. Blind for his learning, as far as I see." And soon after the other two came down also. Then Anthony, seeing much people in the prison, began to say the Lord's Prayer, whereof he made a marvellous godly declaration, wherein he continued till the officers came to fetch them away, and so made an end. And taking their leave of Marbeck (their prison-fellow), they praised God for his deliverance, wishing to him the increase of godliness and virtue; and, last of all, besought him heartily to help them with his prayer unto God, to make them strong in their afflictions: and so, kissing him one after another, they departed.

Dr. Blithe, or rather Dr. Blind.

Now, as the prisoners passed through the people in the streets, they desired all the faithful people to pray for them, and to stand fast in the truth of the gospel, and not to be moved at their afflictions, for it was the happiest thing that ever came to them. And ever as Dr. Blithe and Arch (who rode on each side the prisoners) would persuade them to turn to their mother, holy church, "Away," would Anthony cry, "away with your Romish doctrine, and all your trumpery, for we will no more of it!" When Filmer was come to his brother's door, he stayed and called for his brother; but he could not be seen, for Dr. London had kept him out of sight that same day, for the nonce.

The prisoners led toward their death.

And when he had called for him three or four times, and saw he came not, he said, "And will he not come? Then God forgive him and make him a good man." And so going forth they came to the place of execution, where Anthony Peerson, with a cheerful countenance, embraced the post in his arms, and kissing it, said, "Now welcome mine own sweet wife! for this day shall thou and I be married together in the love and peace of God."

The words of Peerson at the stake.

And being all three bound to the post, a certain young man of Filmer's acquaintance brought him a pot of drink, asking if he would drink. "Yea," quoth Filmer, "I thank you. And now my brother," quoth he, "I shall desire you, in the name of the living Lord, to stand fast in the truth of the gospel of Jesus Christ, which you have received." And so, taking the pot at his hand, he asked his brother Anthony, if he would drink. "Yea, brother Filmer," quoth he, "I pledge you in the Lord."

The words of Filmer.

And when he had drunk, he gave the pot to Anthony, and Anthony likewise gave it to Testwood. Of this drinking, their adversaries made a jesting-stock, reporting abroad that they were all drunk, and wist not what they said; when they were none otherwise drunk than as the apostles were, when the people said they were full of new wine, as their deeds declared: for, when Anthony and Testwood had both drunk, and given the pot from them, Filmer rejoicing in the Lord, said, "Be merry, my brethren, and lift up your hearts unto God; for after this sharp breakfast, I trust we shall have a good dinner in the kingdom of Christ our Lord and Redeemer." At the which words Testwood, lifting up his hands and eyes to heaven, desired the Lord above to receive his spirit; and Anthony Peerson, pulling the straw unto him, laid a good deal

The slanderous mouth of the papists.

Filmer's comfortable words to his fellows.

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thereof upon the top of his head, saying, "This is God's hat; now am I dressed like a true soldier of Christ, by whose merits only I trust this day to enter into his joy." And so yielded they up their souls to the Father of heaven, in the faith of his dear Son, Jesus Christ, with such humility and steadfastness, that many who saw their patient suffering, confessed that they could have found in their hearts (at that present) to have died with them.

The constant death of these martyrs.

HOW ALL THE ADVERSARIES' CONSPIRACIES WERE KNOWN.

Bennet, a lawyer, sick of the pestilence.

Ye have heard before of one Robert Bennet, how he was at the first apprehended with the other four persons aforesaid, and committed to the bishop of London's prison; and about the time he should have gone to Windsor, he fell sick of the pestilence, by means whereof he remained still in prison.

Bennet and Simons joint companions, but contrary in religion.

This Bennet and Simons (ye shall understand) were the greatest familiars and company keepers that were in all Windsor, and never lightly swerved the one from the other, saving in matters of religion, wherein they could never agree. For Bennet, the one lawyer, was an earnest gospeller, and Simons, the other lawyer, a cankered papist; but in all other worldly matters they cleaved together like burrs.

Robert Ockam sent up by the bishop of Salisbury and by others, to Gardiner with letters.

This Bennet had spoken certain words against their little round god, for which he was as far in as the best, and had suffered death with the others if he had gone to Windsor when they went. And now that the matter was all done and finished, it was determined by the bishop of Salisbury, that Robert Ockam, on the Monday after the men were burned, should go to the bishop of Winchester, with the whole process done at the sessions the Thursday before.

Then Simons, at Bennet's wife's request, procured the bishop of Salisbury's favourable letter to the bishop of Winchester, for Bennet's deliverance, which letter Bennet's wife (forasmuch as her own man was not at home who should have gone with the letter) desired Robert Ockam to deliver to the bishop, and to bring her word again; who said he would. So forth went Ockam toward the bishop of Winchester, with his budget full of writings, to declare and open all things unto him, that were done at Windsor sessions. But all their wicked intents, as God would have it, were soon cut off, and their doings disclosed. For one of the queen's men, named Fulk, who had lain at Windsor all the time of the business, and had got knowledge what a number were privily indicted, and of Ockam's going to the bishop of Winchester, gat to the court before Ockam, and told sir Thomas Cardine and others of the privy chamber, how all the matter stood. Whereupon Ockam was laid for, and had by the back as soon as he came to the court, and so kept from the bishop.

Many good men and certain of the privy chamber indicted by the bishops.

On the next morrow, very early, Bennet's wife sent her man to the court after Ockam, to see how he sped with her husband's letter. And when he came there, he found sir Thomas Cardine, walking with Ockam up and down the green, before the court gate; whereat he marvelled, to see Ockam with him so early, mistrusting the matter;

whereupon he kept himself out of sight till they had broken off their communication.

And as soon as he saw Master Cardine gone (leaving Ockam behind), he went to Ockam and asked him if he had delivered his master's letter to the bishop. "No," said Ockam, "the king removeth this day to Guildford, and I must go thither, and will deliver it there." "Marry," quoth he, "and I will go with you, to see what answer you shall have, and to carry word to my mistress;" and so they rode to Guildford together; where Bennet's man (being better acquainted in the town than Ockam was) got a lodging for them both in a kinsman's house of his.

Bennet's man goeth with his mistress's letter to the bishop of Winchester.

That done, he asked Ockam, if he would go and deliver his mistress's letter to the bishop. "Nay," said Ockam, "you shall go and deliver it yourself:" and took him the letter. And as they were going in the street together, and coming by the earl of Bedford's lodging (then lord privy seal) Ockam was pulled in by the sleeve, and no more seen of Bennet's man, till he saw him in the Marshalsea. Then went Bennet's man to the bishop's lodging and delivered his letter: and, when the bishop had read the contents thereof, he called for the man that brought it. "Come, sirrah!" quoth he, "you can tell me more by mouth than the letter specifieth;" and had him into a little garden. "Now," quoth the bishop, "what say you to me?" "Forsooth, my lord," quoth he, "I have nothing to say unto your lordship; for I did not bring the letter to the town." "No!" quoth the bishop, "where is he that brought it?" "Forsooth my lord," quoth he, "I left him busy at his lodging." "Then he will come," quoth the bishop, "bid him be with me betimes in the morning." "I will," quoth he, "do your lordship's commandment:" and so he departed home to his lodging. And when his kinsfolks saw him come in, "Alas, cousin," quoth they, "we are all undone!" "Why so?" quoth he, "what is the matter?"

Bennet's man searched for at Oking.

"Oh!" said they, "here hath been, since you went, Master Paget the king's secretary, with sir Thomas Cardine of the privy chamber, and searched all our house for the one that should come to the town with Ockam; therefore make shift for yourself as soon as you can." "Is that all the matter?" quoth he, "then content yourselves, for I will never flee one foot, hap what hap will." As they were thus reasoning together, in came the aforesaid searchers again; and when Master Cardine saw Bennet's man, he knew him very well, and said, "Was it thou that came to the town with Ockam?" "Yea, sir;" quoth he. "Now who the devil," quoth Master Cardine, "brought thee in company with that false knave?" Then he told them his business, and the cause of his coming; which being known, they were satisfied, and so departed. The next day had Bennet's man a discharge for his master (procured by certain of the privy chamber), and so went home.

Bennet discharged out of prison by good men of the privy chamber.

Certain of the privy chamber indicted for the six articles.

Now was Ockam all this while at my Lord Privy Seal's, where he was kept secret, till certain of the privy council had perused all his writings; among which they found certain of the privy chamber indicted, with other the king's officers, with their wives; that is to say, sir Thomas Cardine, sir Philip Hobby, with both their ladies, Master Edmund Harman, Master Thomas Weldon, with Snowball

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and his wife. All these they had indicted by the force of the six articles, as aiders, helpers, and maintainers of Anthony Peerson. And besides them, they had indicted of heresy (some for one thing, and some for another) a great number more of the king's true and faithful subjects: whereof the king's majesty being certified, his grace, of his special goodness (without the suit of any man), gave to the aforesaid gentlemen of his privy chamber, and other his servants, with their wives, his gracious pardon. And as God would have the matter further known unto his majesty, as he rode one day a hunting in Guildford-park, and saw the sheriff with sir Humfrey Foster sitting on their horsebacks together, he called them unto him, and asked of them, how his laws were executed at Windsor. Then they, beseeching his grace of pardon, told him plainly, that in all their lives they never sat on matter under his grace's authority, that went so much against their consciences as the death of these men did; and up and told his grace so pitiful a tale of the casting away of these poor men, that the king, turning his horse's head to depart from them, said, "Alas, poor innocents!"

The king pardoneth them.

Is certified of the pitiful death of these godly martyrs at Windsor.

The king's testimony of them.

After this the king withdrew his favour from the bishop of Winchester, and being more and more informed of the conspiracy of Dr. London and Simons, he commanded certain of his council to search out the ground thereof. Whereupon Dr. London and Simons were apprehended and brought before the council, and examined upon their oath of allegiance; and for denying their mischievous and traitorous purpose, which was manifestly proved to their faces, they were both perjured, and in fine adjudged, as perjured persons, to wear papers in Windsor; and Ockam to stand upon the pillory, in the town of Newbury where he was born.

The bishop of Winchester out of the king's favour.

Dr. London, Simons, and Ockam apprehended and condemned of perjury.

The judgment of all these three was to ride about Windsor, Reading, and Newbury, with papers on their heads, and their faces turned to the horse-tails, and so to stand upon the pillory in every of these towns, for false accusation of the aforenamed martyrs, and for perjury.

Their punishment.

And thus much touching the persecution of these good saints of Windsor, according to the copy of their own acts, received and written by John Marbeck, who is yet alive both a present witness, and also was then a party of the said doings, and can testify the truth thereof.

AN ANSWER TO THE CAVILLING ADVERSARIES, TOUCHING JOHN MARBECK.

Hark you wranglers, and be satisfied.

Wherefore against these crooked cavillers, which make so much ado against my former book, because in a certain place I chanced to say[1] that Bennet and Filmer had their pardon (when indeed it was Bennet and Marbeck), be it therefore known, protested, denounced, and notified, to all and singular such cavillers, wranglers, exclaimers, depravers, with the whole brood of all such whisperers, railers, quarrel-pickers, corner-creepers, fault-finders, and spider-catchers, or by what name else soever they are to be tituled, that here I openly say

(1) The story doth purge itself, if it had pleased these men to take one place with another. [See the Edition of 1563. Compare page 626, line 46, with page 1742, middle column.—Ed.]

and affirm, profess, hold, maintain, and write the same as I said and wrote before, in the latter castigations of my book: that is, that John Marbeck was, with the others, condemned, but not burned; cast by the law, but by pardon saved; appointed with the rest to die, and yet not dead; but liveth, God be praised, and yet to this present day singeth merrily, and playeth on the organs, not as a dead man amongst "Foxe's Martyrs" (as it hath pleased some in the court to encounter against me), but as one witnessed and testified truly in the book of Foxe's Martyrs to be alive. And, therefore, such manner of persons, if the disposition of their nature be such that they must needs find faults, then let them find them where they are, and where those faults, by their finding, may be corrected. But whereas they be corrected already, and found to their hands, and also amended before, let then these legend-liars look on their own legends, and there cry out of lies, where they may find enough; and cease their biting there, where they have no just cause to bark. *Henry VIII.* A.D. 1543.

And admit that I had not foreseen and corrected this escape before, touching the matter of John Marbeck, but that the place still had remained in the book as it was that is (that the said John Marbeck, who is yet alive, had then died and suffered with the other three, the same time at Windsor),[1] yet, what gentle or courteous reader could have therein any just matter to triumph and insult against me, seeing the judicial acts, the records and registers, yea and the bishop's certificate, and also the writ of execution remaining yet on record, sent to the king, did lead me so to say and think? For what man, writing histories, who cannot be in all places to see all things, but following his records and registers, wherein he seeth the said Marbeck to be judged and condemned with the rest, would otherwise write or think, but that he also was executed and burned in the same company.

The death of Marbeck in the former book amended.

But now I correct and reform the same again, and first of all others, I find the fault, and yet I am found fault withal. I correct myself, and yet I am corrected of others. I warn the reader of the truth, and yet am a liar. The book itself showeth the escape,[2] and biddeth instead of four, to read three burned; and yet is the book made a legend of lies!

Briefly, whereas I prevent all occasion of cavilling to the uttermost of my diligence, yet cannot I have that law, which all other books have, that is, to recognise and reform mine own "errata."

Wherefore, to conclude: these men, whosoever they are, if they will be satisfied, I have said enough; if they will not, whatsoever I can say, it will not serve; and so I leave them. I would I could better satisfy them. God himself amend them!

The Persecution in Calais, with the Martyrdom of George Bucker, otherwise called Adam Damlip, and others.

At what time John Marbeck was in the Marshalsea, which was about the year of our Lord 1543, there was in the said prison with

(1) In the First Edition of the Acts and Monuments, page 626, the story is thus briefly related: 'These five men were condemned to death by the statute of the Six Articles (whereof is spoken before), and adjudged to be burned, saving that Bennet and Finmore escaped by the king's pardon; the other three, Peerson, Testwood, and Marbeck, constantly and stoutly suffered martyrdom in the fire, the 28th day of July, 1543.' See also the Latin edition, 1559, pp. 182, 183, of which the above is a repetition. Read more upon this subject in the following note.—Ed.

(2) 'The book itself showeth the escape:' this error of our author respecting Marbeck's death is

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him one George Bucker, named otherwise Adam Damlip, who, having continued in the said prison three or four years, at last, by the commandment of Winchester, was had to Calais by John Massy, the keeper of the Marshalsea, and there hanged, drawn, and quartered for treason pretensed, which was a little before the condemnation of the Windsor men aforesaid, as is, by the letters of the said John Marbeck, to me signified.

Touching which story of Adam Damlip, forasmuch as it includeth matter of much trouble and persecution that happened in Calais, to digest, therefore, and comprise the whole narration thereof in order, first I will enter (the Lord willing) the story of Damlip, and so proceed in order to such as, by the said occasion, were afflicted and persecuted in the town of Calais.

PERSONS PERSECUTED IN THE TOWN OF CALAIS:—George Bucker, or else called Adam Damlip, a poor labouring man; W. Stevens; Thomas Lancaster; John Butler, commissary; William Smith, priest; Thomas Brook; Ralph Hare; Jacob, a surgeon; a Fleming; Clement Philpot, servant; Jeffery Loveday; Dodde; sir Edmund, priest; William Touched, postmaster; Peter Becket; Anthony Pickering, gentleman; Henry Tourney, gentleman; George Darby, priest; John Shepard; William Pellam; William Keverdal; John Whitwood; John Boote; Ro. Cloddet; Coppen de Hane, alias James Cocke; Matthew Hound; William Button, crossbow-maker.

PERSECUTORS:—John Dove, prior of the Grey Friars in Calais; sir Gregory Buttoll, priest; Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester; Dr. Sampson, bishop of Chichester; Dr. Clerke, bishop of Bath; Dr. Repse, bishop of Norwich; Harvey, commissary in Calais; lady Honor, wife to lord Lisle, deputy of Calais; sir Thomas Palmer, knight; John Rookwood, esquire; Richard Long, soldier of Calais; Francis Hastings, a soldier; Edmund Payton, Robert Poole, and Thomas Boyse; Hugh Counsel, a servant; sir Ralph Ellerker, knight; sir John Gage.

In the year of our Lord 1539, the lord Cromwell being yet alive, there came to Calais one George Bucker, alias Adam Damlip, who had been, in time past, a great papist and chaplain to Fisher bishop of Rochester; and, after the death of the bishop his master, had travelled through France, Dutchland, and Italy; and, as he went, conferred with learned men concerning matters of controversy in religion, and so proceeding in his journey to Rome, where he thought to have found all godliness and sincere religion, in the end he found there (as he confessed) such blasphemy of God, contempt of Christ's true religion, looseness of life, and abundance of all abominations and filthiness, that it abhorred his heart and conscience any longer

a favourite subject of his 'cavilling adversaries,' the papists. It is true that the extract given on the last page, contains the words upon which their accusations are founded; with what fairness, however, the reader may best judge, when he reads the following words from page 1742 of the First Edition of the Acts and Monuments. 'Faultes and oversightes escaped, and to be restored in the reading of this history,' &c. 'Page 626, lin. 46. *a.* Finmore rede Marbeck; lin. 48. Marbecke rede Finmore; lin. 43, these five, rede four men; lin. 46. saving that Benet, rede, for Benet was not condemned.'—So that, in fact, the passage really reads thus: 'Upon these articles these four men were condemned to death by the statute of the six articles (whereof is spoken before), and adjudged to be burned; for Bennet was not condemned, and Marbecke escaped by the king's pardon; the other three, Peerson, Testwood, and Finmore, constantly and stoutly suffered martyrdom in the fire,' &c. The politic oversight of the papists is here remarkable, who could so acutely observe the error on page 626, but allow the contents of page 1742, entirely to escape their notice.—ED.

there to remain; although he was greatly requested by cardinal Pole, there to continue, and to read three lectures in the week in his house, for which he offered him great entertainment, which he refused; and so, returning homeward, having a piece of money given him of the cardinal at his departure, to the value of a French crown, towards his charges, he came to Calais, as is aforesaid.[1] Who, as he was there waiting, without the gate, for passage into England, and being there perceived by certain Calais men, namely William Stevens and Thomas Lancaster, through conference of talk, to be a learned man, and also well affected; and moreover how that he, being of late a zealous papist, was now returned to a more perfect knowledge of true religion, was by them heartily entreated to stay at Calais a certain space, and to read and preach there a day or two, *therewith[2] to do the people to understand what he had found by his painful travelling to Rome; whereby they, who, through gross ignorance and vain superstition, had not altogether put out of their hearts that Antichrist of Rome, that ancient enemy of God and all godly religion, the pope, might the rather detest and abhor his filthy false doctrine, whereof this godly and learned man was a seeing witness.* To this request Adam gladly consented, so as he might be licensed by such as were in authority so to do.

Damlip requested by cardinal Pole to tarry at Rome.

Whereupon the said Stevens, at the opening of the gates, brought him unto the lord Lisle, the king's deputy of the town and marches of Calais, unto whom he declared thoroughly what conference and talk had been between Adam Damlip and him. Which known, the said lord deputy instantly desired the said Damlip to stay there, and to preach three or four days or more at his pleasure, saying, that he should have both his license and the commissary's also, who then was sir John Butler, so to do. Where, after he had preached three or four times, he was so well liked, both for his learning, his utterance, and the truth of his doctrine, that not only the soldiers and commoners, but also the lord deputy, and a great part of the council, gave him marvellous great praise and thanks for it; and the said lord deputy offered unto him a chamber in his own house, to dine and sup every meal at his own mess, to have a man or two of his to wait upon him, and to have whatsoever it were that he lacked, if it were to be had for money, yea, and what he would in his purse to buy books or otherwise, so as he would tarry there among them, and preach only so long as it should seem good to himself. Who, refusing his lordship's great offer, most heartily thanked him for the same, and besought him to be only so good unto him as to appoint him some quiet and honest place in the town, where he might not be disturbed or molested, but have opportunity to give himself to his book, and he would daily, once in the forenoon, and again by one o'clock in the afternoon, by the grace of God, preach among them, according unto the talent that God had lent him. At which answer the lord deputy greatly rejoiced, and thereupon sent for the aforesaid William Stevens, whom he earnestly required to receive and lodge the said Damlip in his house, promising, whatsoever he should demand, to see it paid with the most: and, moreover, would send every meal, from his own

Damlip brought to the lord deputy of Calais.

Well liked of the deputy and council of Calais.

Damlip received of Stevens by the lord deputy's request.

(1) This French crown was dearly bought, for by the same he was impeached of treason.
(2) See Edition 1563, page 656.—Ed.

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mess, a dish of the best unto them; and indeed so did, albeit the said Damlip refused that offer, showing his lordship that thin diet was most convenient for students. Yet could not that restrain him, but that every meal he sent it.

Damlip preacheth against transubstantiation and the Romish church.

This godly man, by the space of twenty days or more, once every day, at seven of the clock, preached very godly, learnedly, and plainly, the truth of the blessed sacrament of Christ's body and blood, mightily inveighing against all papistry, and confuting the same; but especially those two most pernicious errors or heresies, touching transubstantiation, and the pestilent propitiatory sacrifice of the Romish mass, by true conference of the Scriptures, and applying of the ancient doctors; earnestly therewith oftentimes exhorting the people to return from their popery; declaring how popish he himself had been, and how, by the detestable wickedness that he did see universally in Rome, he was returned so far homeward, and now became an enemy, through God's grace, to all papistry: showing therewith, that if gain or ambition could have moved him to the contrary, he might have been entertained of cardinal Pole (as you have heard before); but, for very conscience' sake, joined with true knowledge, grounded on God's most holy word, he now utterly abhorred all papistry, and willed them most earnestly to do the same.

The idolatrous pageant of the resurrection most sumptuously pictured out in Calais.

And thus he continued awhile reading in the chapter-house of the White Friars; but, the place being not big enough, he was desired to read in the pulpit: and so, proceeding in his lectures (wherein he declared how the world was deceived by the Roman bishops, who had set forth the damnable doctrine of transubstantiation, and the real presence in the sacrament, as is aforesaid), he came, at length, to speak against the pageant or picture set forth of the resurrection, which was in St. Nicholas's church, declaring the same to be but mere idolatry, and an illusion of the Frenchmen before Calais was English.

Commission sent from the king to search out the false juggling of this idolatry at Calais.

Upon which sermon or lecture, there came a commission from the king to the lord deputy, Master Greenfield, sir John Butler commissary, the king's mason, and Smith, with others, that they should search whether there were (as was put in writing, and under bull and pardon) three hosts lying upon a marble stone besprinkled with blood; and if they found it not so, that immediately it should be plucked down; and so it was. For in searching thereof, as they brake up a stone in a corner of the tomb, they, instead of the three hosts, found soldered in the cross of marble lying under the sepulchre, three plain white counters, which they had painted like unto hosts, and a bone that is in the tip of a sheep's tail. All which trumpery Damlip showed unto the people the next day following, which was Sunday, out of the pulpit, and, after that, they were sent by the lord deputy to the king.

Three painted counters instead of three hosts.

Notwithstanding, the devil stirred up a Dove (he might well be called a cormorant), the prior of the White-Friars; who, with sir Gregory Buttoll, chaplain to the lord Lisle, began to bark against him. Yet, after the said Adam had, in three or four sermons, confuted the said friar's erroneous doctrine of transubstantiation, and of the propitiatory sacrifice of the mass; the said friar outwardly seemed to give place, ceasing openly to inveigh, and secretly practised to impeach him by letters sent unto the clergy here in England; so

that, within eight or ten days after, the said Damlip was sent for to appear before the archbishop of Canterbury, with whom was assistant Stephen Gardiner bishop of Winchester, Dr. Sampson bishop of Chichester, and divers others, before whom he most constantly affirmed and defended the doctrine which he had taught, in such sort answering, confuting, and solving the objections, that his adversaries, yea even among others, the learned, godly and blessed martyr Cranmer, then yet but a Lutheran, marvelled at it, and said plainly, that the Scripture knew no such term of "transubstantiation." Then began the other bishops to threaten him, shortly to confute him with their accustomed argument (I mean fire and faggot), if he would still stand to the defence of that he had spoken: whereunto he constantly answered, that he would the next day deliver unto them fully so much in writing as he had said, whereunto also he would stand; and so was dismissed.

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Damlip sent for to appear before the council in England.

Threatened by the bishops.

The next day, at the hour appointed to appear, when they looked surely to have apprehended him, in the mean season he had secret intimation from the archbishop of Canterbury, that if he did any more personally appear, he should be committed unto ward, not likely to escape cruel death. Whereupon he (playing indeed then somewhat old Adam's part, for such is man, left in his own hands) had him commended unto them, and sent them four sheets of paper learnedly written in the Latin tongue, containing his faith, with his arguments, conferences of the Scriptures, and allegations of the doctors, by a messenger or friend of his. This done, he, having a little money given him in his purse by his friends, stepped aside, and went into the West country, and there kept all the time, while great trouble kindled against God's people in Calais upon the same; as ye shall hear, the Lord permitting.

Secretly warned to void.

After his departure, the king's majesty was advertised, that there was great dissension and diversity of pernicious opinions in his said town of Calais, greatly tending to the danger of the same. Whereupon, during yet the days of the lord Cromwell, were sent over Dr. Champion, doctor of divinity, and Master Garret, who after was burned, two godly and learned men, to preach and instruct the people, and to confute all pernicious errors, who in effect preached and maintained the same true doctrine which Adam Damlip had before set forth; and by reason thereof they left the town at their departure very quiet, and greatly purged of the slander that had run on it.

Dr. Champion and Master Garret sent to preach at Calais.

After the departure of the said Champion and Garret, one sir William Smith, curate of our Lady's parish in Calais (a man very zealous, though but meanly learned), did begin to preach, and earnestly to inveigh against papistry and wilful ignorance; exhorting men obediently to receive the word, and no longer to contemn the same, lest God's heavy plagues and wrath should fall upon them, which always followeth the contempt of his holy word. This sir William Smith, for that sometimes he would be very fervent and zealous, sharply inveighing against the despisers of the word, was moved by some of the council there, who would seem to favour God's word, that he should not be so earnest against them that yet could not away with the same; willing him to bear with such, for, by bearing with them, they might hap to be won.

William Smith, curate, and a zealous preacher at Calais.

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"Well, well," said the same Smith (openly in the pulpit one day as he preached), "some say I am too earnest, and will me to bear with such as continue open enemies against Christ's holy gospel, and refuse, nay forbid that any should read the Bible or holy Scripture within their house: but let all such take heed, for, before God, I fear that God, for their contemning of his word, will not long bear with them, but make them in such case as some of them shall not have a head left them upon their shoulders to bear up their cap withal." And indeed, shortly after, so it came to pass; * for[1] sir Nicholas Carew, knight of the most noble order of the Garter, and Master of the King's Horse, being lieutenant of Ruysbanke, before attainted of treason, was, on the third of March, in the 31st year[2] of the reign of Henry VIII., beheaded at Tower-hill; who made a godly and humble confession of his superstitious faith and long contempt of God's holy word; giving God right hearty thanks, that ever he came into the prison of the Tower, where he first felt the sweetness of God's great mercy towards him, and the certainty of his salvation, through faith in Christ, promised in his holy word; the knowledge whereof he had attained unto by the reading of God's holy word, the English Bible, which, all his life before, he disdained to look upon; for whose godly end many men much rejoiced, and gave God hearty thanks for the same.*

This Smith continued in the diligent bestowing of his talent there, till, shortly after, the devil got such hold in the hearts of a number of God's enemies, that he, with divers other godly men, was called over into England, and charged with erroneous opinions worthy of great punishment, as hereafter more at large shall appear.

* And[3] forasmuch as we have entered into the story of Calais, and matters which were done in that town, it cometh to remembrance of one Thomas Brook, an alderman of that town, and burgess of the parliament before mentioned, wherein was concluded, the next year after this, A.D. 1540, the Act of Six Articles, as is before said.[4]

After this bill of the Six Articles had passed the Higher House, and was brought to the burgesses of the Lower House, the lord Cromwell gave intelligence, not only that it was the king's majesty's determinate pleasure to have the bill to pass in sort as it had come down from the Lords, but, also, that if any man should stand against it earnestly, the same should put himself in great danger of his life.

Notwithstanding, this Thomas Brook, with great danger and peril of his life, did repugn and refute the said bill, with divers reasons and good ground of Scripture: insomuch that a message came down, by sir N. Pollard, from the lord Cromwell to the said Brook, willing him, as he loved his life, not to speak against the said bill. Notwithstanding, Brook proceeding in his enterprise, the lord Cromwell, meeting him the next time after that, called him unto him, and said, that he never knew man play so desperate a part as to speak against that bill, unless he made a reckoning to be either hanged or burned: "but God," said he, "hath mightily preserved thee; whereof I am glad."

(1) See Edition 1563, p. 658.—Ed. (2) Edward Hall says the 30th year.—Ed.
(3) For the matter from hence to page 505, see Edition 1563, pp. 658—660.—Ed.
(4) See p. 262. Foxe is wrong, however, in the date, as the session in which this act of the Six Articles was passed, terminated on the 28th of June 1539. See 31st Henry VIII., cap. 14; also Herbert in Kennet, p. 219. The Act is printed entire in the Statutes at Large (4to. Lond. 1769,) vol. ix. Appendix, pp. 127—132.—Ed.

This fear caused men, much against their consciences (such is man's frailty), to establish that act; but yet not in such sort as the bill came down from the Lords. For whereas before, by that first bill sent down, it was only felony for a priest to have, or to take unto him, a wife of his own (though St. Paul say that marriage is honourable among all men, and willeth that every man, for the avoiding of fornication, should have his own wife; and, rendering as it were a cause thereof, affirmeth, that it is better to marry than to burn), but no punishment at all was appointed for such shameless whoremongers, incontinent priests, as, contemning holy matrimony, abused themselves both with women married and unmarried: now, upon the said Brook's urging that unless men had better opinion of whoredom than of holy matrimony (called of St. Paul a bed undefiled), it was of necessity to be granted, that at least the incontinent life of priests unmarried, should, by that act, have like pain and punishment as those priests, who, not having the gift of continency, therefore entered into the holy yoke of matrimony. Whereupon the greater part of the House so fully agreed to the equal punishment, that unless it had been made felony, as well for the one as the other, that act had never passed the House; and, therefore, equal punishment was assigned for either of those deeds in that session, though in the next session or parliament after, there was mitigation or qualification of the punishment for the horrible whoredom of priests; the marriage of priests standing still under the danger and punishment limited in the statute afore.

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†

The said Brook further spoke to this effect:

Part of a Speech delivered by Thomas Brook, in the Lower House, on the Bill of the Six Articles.

He required to be certified of them that were learned, how it might be proved by the Scriptures, that God at all commanded laymen to receive the sacrament of his blessed body and blood in one kind (to wit, in material bread), to do it in remembrance of him who shed his blood for the remission of their sins, and to show the Lord's death until his coming: if it be so, that in giving this commandment, 'Bibite ex hoc omnes,' 'Drink ye all of this,' no layman at all be included, but, contrariwise, this other kind of sacrament, to wit, the cup, or the material wine, be by God forbidden them: 'For,' said he, 'if in that universal proposition, Drink ye all of this, be included every one of that number unto whom Christ, when he took bread in his hand, and gave thanks unto his heavenly Father, did give this commandment, saying, Take ye, eat ye; this is my body; do ye this in remembrance of me: then needs must our clergy grant unto us who be laymen, that either it is lawful for us also, with the priests, to receive the sacrament in both the kinds (that is to wit, both in bread and the cup or wine), or else, that we silly laymen are not commanded to receive the sacrament at all; and, consequently, neither thereby to remember him to be our merciful Saviour, who hath died for remission of our sins, nor to show his death until he come, whereby he declared his most tender love towards us.' Wherefore, if it might not be granted that it was lawful to receive the blessed sacrament in both kinds, he required some authority of Scripture to be brought for the same; alleging further, that albeit, through gross ignorance, contempt of God's holy word, and the insatiable ambition and covetousness of such men as made merchandise of men's souls (affirming in effect that Christ died in vain), that gross and foolish error of transubstantiation hath within this four or five hundred year creeped in, and, as a festered canker, now spread itself abroad in all those places where the bishop of Rome hath established his usurped authority: 'yet,' said Brook,

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'even unto this day, in all the Greek church that blind error and foolish opinion of transubstantiation hath never been received, and St. Paul himself calleth it bread, after those words which they call the consecration, five times in one chapter: neither hath man,' said he, 'I think, ever heretofore presumed to affirm, that the bread, after the consecration, should be both the body and blood, and the wine both the blood and body, in such sort as either of those kinds divided unto many parts, should, in every of those parts, contain the whole natural body and blood of our Saviour Jesu Christ, as this present act affirmeth. Therefore, before this act do pass, such doubts are to be resolved, whereby many afterwards might incur danger of life, for lack of the plain explication of our meaning of them; as for example: Where this act affirmeth that the wine, after the consecration, is Christ's natural blood and body both, how would our clergy, that the silly unlearned layman should answer, if it were asked him (as it is like enough to be), what he believes to be in the chalice, when the priest holds it over his head. For they make an infusion, you know, of water, and that before the consecration; so that there is a mixture of the water and wine. Whether now shall we affirm the thing which before was water, is now, by the commixion of the wine, turned with the wine into both the natural blood and body of Christ? or else, will it content them that it be answered thus: That the water remaineth water still?

'Divers such doubts might be put, but, to come to an end: If this bill must needs pass as an act, I most heartily wish that first such places of the Scripture, and allegations of holy fathers as the bishops and others, the learned of this realm, do recite in confirmation of this doctrine, those they would vouchsafe to communicate unto this House, to the intent that men who be yet of contrary minds, being overcome by their true conference of the Scriptures, and by strength of arguments, might, without grudge of conscience, agree unto that, which, while they be otherwise minded, they cannot without sin grant unto. And finally, whereas by this act we greatly differ from many christian realms and provinces, all which profess Christ's true religion, and, nevertheless, set not forth these laws at all (much less with such pains of death), I heartily beseech God, it may please the king's majesty, that this whole act, with the conferences of Scriptures, allegation of doctors, and forms of arguments, which our clergy and others, the furtherers of this act, have brought in and affirmed for the establishing of it now for a law, may be truly translated into the Latin tongue; to this intent, that other nations likewise, professing Christ's religion, seeing by those authorities what hath moved this realm to pass this act, either being overcome with our truth, thus lately found out, may be procured to receive the like doctrine, for that they see it sufficiently proved to be sincere and true; or else, seeing us by ignorance to be in error, by refelling or refuting the same as erroneous, may not only reduce us to the truth again, but, also, have cause to judge of this realm, that this act passed not through trust in men's own wits only, without respect had to the holy Scriptures of God, but, as men that had ignorantly fallen, and not obstinately contemned the Scriptures. So will it come to pass, that, if this act be good, the goodness thereof shall be the more common, and, if it be otherwise, it shall do the less hurt, yea and continue the less while, when other men, not in thraldom, or fear of this law, shall freely, and out of good conscience, write and show, what opinion they have of it.'

Unto these words of the said Brook, no man took upon him to make any direct answer, but yet, first, one Master Hall, a gentleman of Gray's-inn,[1] in acknowledging that he was not able to refel the objections made against the bill, for that he lacked learning thereunto, said as followeth:

Master Hall, of Gray's Inn, in reply to Brook.

That he would only speak his conscience touching the passing of that bill, which he grounded (he said) upon this: that he had read in chronicles, that some one prince of this realm had, by laws, commanded auricular confession to

(1) This Master Hall is named afterwards in the story of Anne Askew.

be used through all his provinces and dominions; another prince, the keeping of this holy day or that. 'And, to be short, in chronicles may be found,' said he, 'that the most part of ceremonies now used in the church of England, were by princes either first invented, or at leastwise established; and, as we see, the same do, till this day, continue. Whereas, if the subjects receiving the same ceremonies and rites of the church at their princes' order and commandment, had been against God's law, or the princes' commandment to the subjects had not been a sufficient discharge in their consciences before God, for the observing of them, I cannot think but the learned clergy in those days (for in all ages some of the clergy were well learned) would have stood therein, and proved to their princes, that it was not lawful to command such things.

'Wherefore, and forasmuch as far the greater part of us laymen are unlearned in the Scriptures and ancient doctors, me thinketh it is the bounden duty of us that be subjects, to be obedient and ready to observe all such things touching our religion, according as our prince or sovereign for the time being, specially, with the consent of the bishops and the rest of the clergy, shall, at any time, please to set forth to be observed or believed; which his said commandment, with the clergy's consent, I verily believe shall be a sufficient discharge for us, his loving subjects, before the face of God,' said he; 'for it is written, Obey your king. Nevertheless, I like right well (so as it stood with the king's majesty's pleasure) the request that the gentleman made that spake last before, for the quieting of many men's consciences; that is, that the learned of this House might see the conferences of Scriptures, and the allegations of the ancient fathers, which the bishops, and the other learned of the clergy, bring in, for the passing of this act, or at leastwise, if that cannot be obtained, that yet this act, with all their allegations, might be printed in the Latin tongue, whereby other nations might see upon what ground we proceed. But, touching mine own conscience, I am sufficiently persuaded, whereupon I have showed such simple reasons as you have heard.'

His words ended, sir William Kingston, knight, comptroller of the King's House, much offended with the said Brook's words, stood up and said: "Gentlemen! you there, that spake last save one, I know not your name, nor indeed am able to dispute with you; but, instead of an argument, I will say thus much unto you: Tell this tale the 12th day of July next, and I will bring a faggot to help to burn you withal:" (on which 12th day of July, that bloody act should take place.) This his eloquent oration ended, he sat him down again, not without that he offended in a manner the whole House, and caused them to say, "It was very unseemly, that a gentleman of the House should so ungodly be used, where it was equally lawful for every man reverently to speak plainly his mind: besides that nothing was spoken by him but the same was reverently uttered, rather to try learning and truth of doctrine, than any wise in contempt or displeasure against the bill." Whereupon the speaker, verifying as much, desired the said sir William Kingston not to be offended, for that he, sir William, had done contrary to the order of the House, rather than the other.*

The lord Lisle, base son to king Edward IV.

But leaving the parliament at Westminster, I will leap to Calais, where the lord Lisle, the king's deputy there, whom we showed to be the maintainer of Damlip (albeit he were himself of a most gentle nature, and of a right noble blood, the base son of that noble prince king Edward IV.) being fiercely set on, and incessantly enticed, by the wicked lady Honor his wife, who was an utter enemy to God's honour, and, in idolatry, hypocrisy, and pride, incomparably evil, she, being daily and hourly thereunto incited and provoked by sir Thomas

Henry VIII. A. D. 1539 to 1544.

Palmer knight, and John Rookwood esquire, two enemies to God's word, beginning now to flourish at Calais. These, I say, with certain other of the council of the said town of Calais, to the number of seven more besides themselves, seeking occasion, or rather a quarrel where no just cause was given, began to write very heinous letters and grievous complaints unto the lords of the privy council, against divers of the town of Calais, affirming that they were horribly infected with heresies and pernicious opinions; as first, the aforesaid Adam Damlip, who, though he were for a time escaped their hands, yet stuck still in their remembrance from time to time, until, at last, the innocent man was cruelly put to death as a traitor, as hereafter shall appear.

The council of Calais send letters against the protestants.

Also, besides this Damlip, they complained of Thomas Brook, and Ralph Hare; likewise of sir John Butler, then commissary; of sir W. Smith, James Cocke, alias Coppen de Hane, James Barber, and others; and the names of all them they sent over. Of these persons, first the said Thomas Brook, and Ralph Hare, Coppen de Hane, and James Barber, were apprehended and sent over, and committed to prison in Westminster gate, and then commanded to appear before the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of Winchester, the bishop of Chichester, and ten others appointed by the king's majesty's commission for the examination of them. And their accusers were sent over with letters from the council there, unto his privy council here, in the furtherance of their malicious suits against those honest men, with certain special letters directed unto the lord Fitzwilliam, then earl of Southampton, great admiral of England, and to the lord Sands, lord chamberlain of the household; likewise also to sir William Kingston knight, comptroller of the household, and to Dr. Sampson, then bishop of Chichester, and others, tending all to one effect, that is to say, the utter destruction of these godly men, if God, after his wonted manner, had not mightily preserved them, and as it were overshadowed them with the wings of his mercy.

The trouble of Ralph Hare, soldier of Calais.

That the same may the better appear, you shall understand, that first Ralph Hare, a man rude, and so unlearned that he could scarce read, yet, through God's grace, was very zealous; and therewith led so godly and temperate a life, as not one of his enemies could accuse or blame the same his sober life and conversation. This Ralph Hare was charged to be one that had spoken against auricular confession, against holy bread and holy water: yea, and beside that, he was one who would not lightly swear an oath, nor use almost any manner of pastime, nor good fellowship, as they term it, but was always in a corner by himself, looking on his book. This poor simple man, being charged by the commissioners that he was a naughty man and erroneous, and that he could not be otherwise (coming out of a town so infected with pernicious errors and sects, as that was), was willed by them to take good heed to himself lest, through obstinacy, he turned his erroneous opinions into plain heresy: for an error defended, is heresy.

The charge against him.

His answer.

"My good lords," said the poor man, "I take God to record, I would not willingly maintain any error or heresy. Wherefore, I beseech you, let my accusers come face to face before me: for, if

they charge me with that which I have spoken, I will never deny it. Moreover, if it be truth, I will stand unto it; and otherwise, if it be an error, I will, with all my heart, utterly forsake it: I mean if it be against God's holy word. For the Lord is my witness, I seek and daily pray to God, that I may know the truth, and flee from all errors; and I trust the Lord will save me and preserve me from them." *Henry VIII.* A.D. 1539 to 1544.

"Aha!" quoth the bishop of Winchester, "do you not hear what he saith, my lord? I perceive now thou art a naughty fellow." "Alas, my lord!" said Ralph Hare, "what evil said I?" "Marry, sir, you said, 'the Lord!' 'the Lord,' and that is 'symbolum hæreticorum,'" said Winchester. "What is that, my lord? for God's sake tell me," said Hare. "Thou art naught, thou art naught," said he. At which words the simple man began to tremble, and seemed much dismayed. *Wherewith[1] the above-named Brook, standing by next to the said Hare, said, "My lord! I beseech your honour not to conceive evil opinion of the poor man for using this word, 'the Lord.' For, by your lordship's favour, no man who at any time hath translated the Bible, hath used to English these two Hebrew words, 'Jehovah' and 'Adonai,' and this Greek word 'Κύριος,' but only thus: 'The Lord.' So that, under your lordship's correction, it might rather be called 'symbolum christianorum,' or 'piorum,' than 'symbolum hæreticorum.'" "I pray you, sir, then," said the bishop of Winchester, "why doth Christ teach us to say, 'Our Father which art in heaven,' and not 'the Father?'" "My lord, by your favour," said Brook, "he useth there the vocative case, teaching us to invocate God; and joineth thereto this pronoun 'noster;' so that this article 'the,' were not there to be used, neither should it express the full meaning of Christ in those words. But if your lordship would descend down a little from the Lord's Prayer unto the Ave Maria or Salutation, there it manifestly appeareth, that the angel (in no part falsifying God's message committed to him) saith 'ὁ Κύριος μετά σου:' which is truly turned into English, no otherwise but thus: 'The Lord (and not our Lord, nor thy Lord, nor my Lord) is with thee.' Wherefore the poor man is there taught plainly of God, and that by an angel, to say (as he said) 'the Lord;' and, therefore, he is worthy of no blame." At these words the bishop began to be much moved and offended: whereupon Dr. Gwent, dean of the Arches, one of those commissioners, said: "Well, Master Brook! well; you abuse my lord here very much: it were a matter rather to be disputed of in the schools, than thus to be reasoned of openly here." Whereat the said Brook answered that he was sorry that he had offended my lord, or any others; but what he had spoken, he spake it of charity, and pity taken on the simple poor man: and therewith he held his peace. But the truth is, that, through the cavillation of Winchester, rose more contention than profit needful about the Lord and our Lord, the papists holding with Winchester, and the other part with the Lord. But now, to return to the said Ralph Hare's examination again, within half an hour after Dr. Gwent had blamed the said Brook, for that he spake in the behalf of Ralph Hare, whilst the

Winchester's cavillation about 'the Lord' and 'our Lord.'

(1) See Edition 1563, pp. 661, 662.—Ed.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1539, to 1544.

said Brook was there present, and standing by, he heard among the names of those that were, by the letters of the council of Calais, charged with pernicious errors and heresies, himself named and called. Some of the commissioners answered "Yea, yea; but it makes no matter, let him alone till hereafter." At the muttering forth of these words, the said Brook stood forth and said, "I know, and it like your honours, no Thomas Brook of Calais but myself. Is it your lordships' pleasures to have any thing with me?" "Nay, Master Brook," answered the commissioners; "we may not meddle with you, and that you know right well; or else, we suppose, you would not have been here now. You consider you are a burgess of the parliament." "Truth it is," said Brook, "that unworthily so I am; but, if your lordships and the rest of the commissioners, have any thing wherewith to charge me, I here openly renounce the privilege of that high court, and submit myself to the laws of the realm, to answer to that which may be objected against me."

"Write, scribe!" said Winchester. And straightway the said Brook was commanded not to depart without license. Furthermore, they commanded him to be had aside, lest he should give any instructions unto Ralph Hare. Then they called again for the said Ralph Hare, and there charged him with many heinous and detestable errors, especially that he was a great reader of the New Testament in English; that he was such a one that in deed neither used to take holy bread, holy water, holy ashes, nor holy palm, but spake against them, and against auricular confession also: wherefore, they threatened him, that if he would stand in the defence of these things, and of such others as would evidently be laid and proved against him, it would cost him his life.*

These words drew the man yet into a greater agony and fear; which thing Winchester well perceiving, said unto him, "Ralph Hare! Ralph Hare! by my troth I pity thee much. For, in good faith, I think thee to be a good simple man, and of thyself wouldest mean well enough, but that thou hast had shrewd and subtle schoolmasters, that have seduced thee, good poor simple soul; and therefore I pity thee. And it were indeed pity that thou shouldest be burned, for thou art a good fellow, a tall man, and hast served the king right well in his wars. I have heard thee well commended, and thou art yet able to do the king as good service as ever thou wast; and we all will be a mean to his grace to be good gracious lord unto thee, if thou wilt take pity of thyself, and leave thy errors. For I dare say for us all that be commissioners, that we would be loth that thou shouldest be cast away: for, alas! poor simple man, we perceive thou hast been seduced, I say, by others. How sayest thou therefore? thou knowest my lord of Canterbury's grace here is a good gentle lord, and would be loth thou shouldest be cast away. Tell me, canst thou be content to submit thyself unto him, and to stand unto such order as he and we shall take in this matter? how sayest thou, man? Speak!" The poor man then with falling upon his knees, and shedding tears, answered, speaking to my lord's grace, the archbishop of Canterbury, in this wise: "My good lord! for Christ's sake be good unto me; and I refer myself unto your grace's order, to do with me what you please."

The archbishop of Canterbury, considering what danger he was ready to fall in, and pitying the same (though the simplicity of the man was so great that he perceived it not), said, "Nay, Ralph Hare, stand up and advise thyself well, and commit not thyself to me, for I am but one man, and in commission but as the others are, so that it lieth in me to do nothing. But, if thou do commit thyself unto us all, then thou committest thyself unto the law, and the law is ordained to do every man right." "Go to, Ralph Hare," said Winchester, "submit thyself to my lord and us: it is best for thee to do so." Whereupon he fell upon his knees again, and said, "My lords and masters all! I submit myself wholly unto you." And therewith a book was holden him, and an oath given him to be obedient unto them, and to all ecclesiastical laws. And straightway he was enjoined to abjure, and to bear a faggot three several days; and, moreover, the poor man lost his whole living that he had at Calais.

The words of the archbishop of Canterbury to Hare.

Penance enjoined to Hare.

This simple man, hearing his penance, piteously lamented, and earnestly at the first denied to stand thereunto, with piteous exclamation, saying, "O my lord of Winchester! my lord of Winchester! have you made me a log, ready to be laid upon the fire whensoever any wicked man falsely, of malice, by provocation of the devil, shall lay any small trifle to my charge? or shall I be thus handled, nothing proved to my face against me? Alas I have always hated errors and heresies." "Content thyself, Hare, there is now no remedy: thou must either do thy penance, or be burned," said the commissioners. Thus have you heard how Ralph Hare did speed.

Then was Thomas Brook called for, against whom it was objected by some of the council's letters of Calais, that he was a seditious fellow. Among these accusers, besides the rest, was one Richard Long, another Francis Hastings, men at arms, who charged the aforenamed Thomas Brook, and one Jeffery Loveday esquire, for staying and maintaining the aforesaid Adam Damlip at Calais, as who had promised unto him a stipend to preach such heresies and pernicious opinions as afterwards he taught there: and that these two daily gathered many several sums of money for the entertainment of the said Adam. Howbeit the aforesaid Hastings failed in the proof thereof: for Loveday proved that he was, eight days before Damlip's coming to Calais, and during fourteen days continually after he began to preach, abiding at Paris, there occupied about necessary affairs of Charles duke of Suffolk. And Brook, during the said time was at London, daily attendant in the parliament house, whereof he had enough to bear witness against that untrue surmise.

The examination and trouble of Thomas Brook and Jeffery Loveday. Long and Hastings their accusers.

After that, came three at once against the said Brook, well armed, as they thought, who had not only consulted together before of the matter; and put it in writing at Calais, besides their conference and talk by the way keeping company from thence hither, but also had obtained from the lord deputy, and others of the council, special letters, as is aforesaid, and, among others, one letter unto the bishop of Chichester, for the earnest and speedy furtherance of the advancement of their accusations against Brook.

Three other accusers.

The first of these three was a young gentleman lately brought up under the said Brook in the office of customs, whose name was

Payton the first accuser.

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Edmund Payton, *whose[1] love of that office, rather than the truth of the matter, moved him, through frailty of youth, as it is to be thought, to do what he did. For afterwards, as the said Brook hath, to divers of his friends, reported the matter, he not only acknowledged to him his fault, but also behaved himself toward him as his loving friend.* The other was one Robert Poole, a man (as it was commonly reported) both base born, and also such a one as, in his youth, for murdering a man with a club, in Bow-lane in London, was fain, by obtaining the king's pardon, to save his neck, *which[2] Poole had (chiefly by the said Brook's means) attained to twenty pounds a year living during his life; which he recompensed as hereafter shall appear.* The third was one Thomas Boyse, who, showing more honesty than the rest, affirmed not that he himself heard the said Brook speak any thing of that which was objected against him, but justified that which each of the other two had steadfastly affirmed to him, that Brook had spoken unto them those things which, here beneath, he said were objected against him.

Poole the second accuser.

Boyse the third accuser.

The first young man objected against the said Brook, that he should say, that the thing which the priest useth to hold up over his head at mass, is not the natural body of Jesus Christ: for, if that were so, whoso would, might have their stomach full of gods their entrails † full of gods; and he that had lately received the sacrament before he went to the sea, might haply cast god up again on shipboard.

And thus much he brought over in writing with him from Calais, and added thereto, as it should seem, to exasperate the commissioners and the rest of the clergy against him, certain other heinous words spoken against bishops and priests: *as[3] that the knaves, the bishops and priests, for their own gain and belly's sake, bare this layman so in hand, and would shamefully blear our eyes;" which words he never spake; "for it did abhor both his heart and his ears, to hear either so shameful and unreverent words concerning the blessed sacrament, or so arrogant and disdainful words, spoken against the bishops, and other inferior ministers, unto whom God had given authority (though they, for the most part, were very unworthy thereof),"* confessing, nevertheless, that he had secret and private talk with the young man touching the truth of the sacrament, wherein he showed as reverently as he could speak to the young man, the right use of the same: concluding that, albeit with our mouths we received (*even[4] after the words of consecration as they called it*) very material bread and wine, yet, by faith, all christian men do receive, eat, and drink, to their great comfort and benefit, the very natural body and blood of Christ, which was both born of the Virgin Mary, and suffered death on the cross for the remission of their sins: which most holy sacrament who so cometh unworthily unto, the same was so far from eating of Christ's body and blood, that all such, without hearty repentance, do eat their own damnation. And, to conclude with him, in that private talk he told him, that if the gross and unlearned error of transubstantiation were indeed matter of truth and sincere doctrine, then not only this should follow of it, that every man who would, might have everlasting life (for they might, when they would, receive the outward sacrament, seen with our eyes, which the priests call Christ's natural body,

Private talk of Brook and Payton touching the sacrament.

(1) See Edition 1563, pp. 633, 664.—Ed. (2) Ibid. p. 664.—Ed. (3) Ibid.—Ed. (4) Ibid.—Ed.

and whoso eateth Christ's natural body, and drinketh his blood, hath everlasting life, saith Christ), but also there should great absurdities follow thereby, as when a man happeneth to go to sea, having lately received the sacrament, he should put it overboard, or upon the hatches; and, therefore, exhorted the said Payton to leave that gross error.

Poole's accusation against Brook.

The second accuser was Poole, who objected against him, that, about two years past, he himself, dining with the said Brook with fifteen or sixteen other honest men, heard him say thus at the table: that the thing which the priests use to hold up over their heads, was not the very body and blood of Christ, but a sacrament to put us in remembrance thereof. Unto whose objections the said Brook answered, that a man in mirth might well enough in charity beshrew such a guest as, when he had dined with a man, could, so long after, remember to say him such a grace: and required of Poole, from whence the rest of the guests were. He answered, they were of the town, all. Then inferred he, that he was sure Poole could as well remember some of their names who then were present, as freshly to keep in mind (for so by oath upon a book he had affirmed) every word of the whole matter which he objected; but that the matter was utterly untrue. Whereupon the said Brook desired their honours to consider the slenderness of his tale.

To be short, he, with the rest of his fellows, to wit, Ralph Hare, Coppen, and James the barber, were for that time dismissed.

THE STORY OF WILLIAM SMITH, CURATE; ALSO THE TROUBLE OF JOHN BUTLER, COMMISSARY; AND THE RECANTATION OF DIVERS CALAIS MEN.

During the time while these four were thus in examination at London, the other two, to wit, sir William Smith, preacher, and John Butler, by commandment were apprehended in Calais, and bound by surety not to pass the gates of the town of Calais. In that town, the said John Butler, commissary, was accused by Richard Thorpe and John Ford, soldiers of Calais, saying, that he should say, that if the sacrament of the altar be flesh, blood, and bone, then there is good "aqua vitæ"[1] at John Spicer's. Upon which accusation the said Thorpe and Ford brought for records before the council of Calais, Marraunt, Haynes, John Luckes, Harry Husson, and Harry Trost, all of the district of Oye, beside Calais. Whereupon, shortly after, the said John Butler and sir William Smith were sent for, and, by one Swallow a pursuivant, who fetched up the others aforesaid, brought into England, unto the house of the said Swallow dwelling by St. James's, where the king's majesty lay at that time. And the next day, being Thursday after dinner, Butler and Smith were brought to the star-chamber before the privy council, where both sedition and heresy were objected against them. And after much talk it was said unto them by the lord Cromwell, that they should make their purgation by the law. And from thence, by the aforesaid Swallow, they were sent to the fleet.

The next day, being Friday, after dinner, Butler and Smith were

(1) 'Aqua vitæ,' to digest the blood and bones of the sacrament.

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sent for to come to Bath-place, where they were brought into the chapel, there sitting Dr. Clerke, bishop of Bath, and Dr. Sampson, then bishop of Chichester: Dr. Repse, the bishop of Norwich, who was a monk, being fast asleep. Then was objected unto Butler, with great reverence, the opprobrious words spoken against the blessed sacrament (rehearsing as is aforesaid) the articles. Butler required to have them in writing, and so he would make answer in writing; the which they would not grant him: and upon that answer he stood. Then choler gathered in the bishop of Chichester. The story were too long to write, yet part ye shall understand.

The examination of John Butler.

Chichester found great fault that Butler made not low courtesy, being stubborn and arrogant, as he said, and, in fine, found fault with his shirt. Then, turning him about, he called to his brother Banester, being present (that time dwelling in Paternoster-row), to make answer for the shirt. He said, "I can make answer for the shirt." "No good answer," said Chichester. "Forsooth," said he, "the shirt is mine; I lent it him, because he brought none with him, for he was not permitted to have any servant." "A good answer," said the bishop of Bath. Then Butler made low courtesy, and said, "The shirt is answered." Then Chichester said, "Thou mockest us;" but he said "No." And thus much concerning that time.

Then, after Butler, was sir William Smith, curate of our Lady's parish in Calais, called before them, and charged in a manner with the same heinous errors and pernicious opinions that were objected against the said Ralph Hare; and thereto was added, that he had spoken and preached against our blessed Lady, against praying to saints, against doing of good works, and many other like things: and therewithal one Richard Long, a man at arms at Calais, proved against the said sir William Smith, and the aforesaid Brook, by an oath taken upon a book, that the said Smith and Brook did eat flesh together in Lent, in the said Brook's house. "For a miller's boy," said he, "came into Brook's kitchen, and saw half a lamb lie a roasting at the fire." Whereas the truth is, that the said sir William Smith, during all the Lent, came never once within the said Brook's house. And it is as true also, that the said Richard Long, upon a displeasure taken with his wife, went shortly after out of his own house, to the jutty end of the haven at Calais, where desperately he drowned himself; not one boy, but many men, women, girls and boys seeing him miserably taken up again stark dead, all which lamented his pitiful ruin. A terrible example unto all such as are ready to forswear themselves on a book upon malice, or whatsoever other cause it be; a thing in these days over rife everywhere, and almost nowhere regarded as it ought to be. *But[1] to return to sir William Smith; for the heinousness of his errors, equal every wit to Ralph Hare's, and worse (though there was no matter sufficient in the law to burden him, that could be proved), yet he must needs (no remedy was there) recant at Calais, openly in the pulpit, and so depart the town and marches. Which recantation he did in such sort, as he in effect denied nothing at all that he had before

False accusation and perjury punished of God.

(1) See Edition 1563, p. 663.—Ed

preached or taught, but yet it satisfied somewhat his adversaries' malicious hearts, in that it bore the name of a recantation, and, therewith, was done according to the commissioners' order, whilst the other heretic, Ralph Hare, stood before him with a faggot on his shoulder: and, also, it seemed unto such of the council of Calais, as had by their letters complained so grievously of the pernicious sects and heresies of that town, that, now, what with the aforesaid Brooks inveighing against the six articles in the parliament-house, and the punishment of these two heretics, they had won their spurs by making such complaints: in so much as the matters fell out as you hear.*

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The trouble of John Butler, commissary.

There was also called before them sir John Butler, then commissary of Calais, whom they would have burdened with the maintenance, or, at the least wise, sufferance of the aforesaid Adam Damlip, who preached so long time there, and was not by him punished. Butler, for his defence, answered, that the lord deputy, and the whole council there, so highly entertained, and so friendly used the said Damlip, and with their own presence and high commendations outwardly so allowed and commended his doctrine, that it lay not in him to do otherwise than he did; and therefore, humbly besought their lordships and other the commissioners to be good unto him: at whose hands, after long attendance given, he was discharged, and so returned home again; being also dismissed of his commissaryship.

The recantation and penance of Smith, Hare, Cock, and Barber.

Now, to declare what order was taken with these aforesaid Calais men, it was appointed that sir William Smith, priest, Ralph Hare, James Cocke, and James Barber, should be sent to Calais, there to abjure and to do penance; where sir William Smith was enjoined to make the sermon, Ralph Hare, James Cocke, and James Barber standing with faggots upon their shoulders. The sermon was made in the market of Calais. Which being done, they went with their faggots about the market-place, the drum and fife going before them; and then, returning to the commissioners with the testimonial of the same, they departed. Albeit, in this recantation, the said William Smith, curate of our Lady's church, handled his sermon after that sort, that, in effect, he denied nothing at all that he had before preached or taught, but yet it satisfied somewhat his adversaries' malicious hearts, in that it bore the name of a recantation, according to the commissioners' order; appointing him thus openly to preach, and so to depart the town and marches.

James Barber.

As touching James Barber aforesaid, forasmuch as his dwelling was not at Calais, but four miles off from the town, it was therefore enjoined him to bear his faggot, not at Calais, but on the Saturday next following to stand in the market there where he dwelt, with his faggot upon his shoulder; and the said sir William Smith likewise there preached as before.

And thus much concerning the first commission sent over to Calais,[1] to inquire upon the heretics there.

(1) 'The first commission sent over to Calais.' It does not appear (from the previous narrative at least) that this first commission was so sent: on the contrary, all its sittings seem to have been held in London.—Ed.

Henry VIII.

A New Commission appointed and sent over to Calais.

A. D. 1539 to 1544.

After all these things done and past, the grudging minds of the adversaries were not yet satisfied, but still suggested new complaints to the king's ears against the town of Calais, making the king believe that, through new opinions, the town was so divided, that it was in great danger to be overcome of the adversary.

New accusations against the town of Calais.

Whereupon, shortly after the week before Easter next following, other new commissioners were sent over by the king to Calais: to wit, the earl of Sussex, lord great chamberlain; the lord St. John; sir John Gage, knight; sir John Baker, knight; Master Layton, clerk of the closet; and Dr. Currin; with special instructions besides, signed by the king's majesty's own hand. For his highness had been incensed once again from the council of Calais, that the town was in peril, through dissension and diversity of opinions. Upon their arrival, Dr. Currin preached a notable sermon, exhorting all men to charity, having nothing in his mouth but "charity," "charity." But, as it seemed afterwards, such a burning charity was in him and the rest of the commissioners, that had not God pitied the innocency of men's causes, there had a hundred been burned or hanged shortly after.

But it happened far otherwise, for, of the number of those accusers, four were, by those commissioners, sent over into England, to wit, Clement Philpot, servant to the lord Lisle; sir Edmund, curate of our Lady's church; W. Touched, a post-master; Peter Bequet. Of the which four, Touched and Bequet were sent to their places again; the other two were drawn, hanged, and quartered at London. But contrary, of all them that were accused, there was not one that lost one hair of his head.

Example of God's punishment upon false accusers.

After the sermon was done, on the morrow, to wit, on Share-Thursday, all the commissioners solemnly received the sacrament. And, at afternoon, the council were with the commissioners; and after their consultation, tip-staves warned above the number of fourscore, such perverse persons as the like were not in the town or marches, to appear on the morrow at eight of the clock before the council at the Staple inn; who, at their appearance, were commanded upon their allegiance to present all such heretics, schismatics, and seditious persons, as they did know; and in no wise to doubt or dread so to do, for they should have great advantage thereby; yea, they should either have their livings or their goods: and, besides that, they should have great thanks at the king's majesty's hand, and his honourable council, and what friendship they of the king's council there could show them.

Great perturbation at Calais.

All that Good-Friday, even till ten of the clock at night, those wicked and malicious persons occupied their time in answering to sundry and divers questions. These things were not so secretly done, but they were bewrayed and came to honest men's knowledge. Whereupon such fear and distrust assaulted all men, that neighbour distrusted neighbour, the master the servant, the servant the master, the husband the wife, the wife the husband, and almost every one the other, that lamentable it was to see how mourningly men and women went in the streets, hanging down their heads, showing evident tokens of the anguish of their hearts.

THE SECOND TROUBLE OF THOMAS BROOK AND WILLIAM STEVENS: ALSO THE IMPRISONMENT OF DIVERS OTHER CALAIS MEN, FOR THEIR FAITH.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1539 to 1544.

Upon Easter Monday, one Hugh Councell an honest man, servant to the said Brook, was convented before them, and by the space of fourteen days not suffered to return to his master's house, but was kept in custody; and was many times examined upon articles and interrogatories, in hope to have found worthy matter, either of heresy or treason, against the said Brook; and the same day that Brook was committed to ward, the said Hugh Councell was discharged.

The second trouble of Thomas Brook.

The Wednesday in the Easter week, sundry quests were charged, by their oaths, to make inquisition for all manner of heresies, erroneous opinions, and seditions: as a quest of aldermen, another of men at arms, and another of constables and vintners, another of common soldiers, and another of commoners.

Thirteen Calais men imprisoned for their faith.

And shortly after their presentments, on Good-Friday, there were convented before the commissioners, and straight were sent to close prison, Anthony Pickering, gentleman; Harry Tourney, gentleman; sir George Darby, priest; John Shepherd, William Pellam, William Keverdale, John Whitwood, John Boote, Robert Clodder, Copen de Hane, and Matthew de Hound:[1] upon whom ran sundry bruits. Some said they should be hanged; some said burned; some said hanged, drawn, and quartered; some said nailed to the pillory: so that pitiful it was to see the lamentation that their wives, their children, servants, and friends, made secretly where they durst; for that they found everywhere words of discomfort, and nowhere of comfort, but still inquisition was made.

The second trouble of William Stevens.

False crimes forged against him.

The aforesaid William Stevens, after his return from London abovementioned, besides many other articles laid to him for religion, to the number of forty or well nigh, was, by the lord deputy, charged that he had stayed the aforesaid Adam Damlip, hired him to preach, and given him meat, drink, and lodging, coming from the arrant traitor cardinal Pole, and suborned by him; and that he had received money of him, to the intent he should preach in Calais false and erroneous doctrine, whereby the town, being divided and at contention within itself, might easily be overcome and won by the Frenchmen. Whereunto the said Stevens answered, that whatsoever he had done unto the said Adam Damlip, he had done it at the earnest request and commandment of the said lord deputy. Whereupon, if it had been treason indeed, he must have been more faulty.

Stevens committed to the Tower.

Lord Lisle deputy of Calais, committed to the Tower.

Then the said William Stevens was again, the second time, by the said commissioners sent over into England, and clapped in the Tower, and afterwards, to wit, immediately after the said commissioners' repair unto the king's highness, the said lord deputy was sent for over, and likewise put into the Tower, where he continued a long time. And when the king's majesty minded to have been gracious unto him, and to have let him come forth, God took him out of this

(1) The names of eleven prisoners only are here given, while the marginal note mentions thirteen. The text afterwards, in two places, speaks of the party as consisting of thirteen. In that number Brook is included, but Stevens is separately referred to. The name, therefore, of the thirteenth prisoner is not intimated, unless that of John Butler, whose discharge is recorded at page 523, is the one in question.—Ed.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1539 to 1544.

world, whose body resteth in the Tower, and his soul with God, I trust, in heaven: for he died very repentant. But the wicked lady, his wife, immediately upon his apprehension, fell distraught of mind, and so continued many years after. God, for his mercy, if she yet live, give her his grace to repent.

The second Monday after Easter, the aforesaid Brook was convented before the commissioners, and committed to close prison in the mayor's jail *whither[1] no man of his calling was ever committed, unless sentence of death had first been pronounced against him; for otherwise the ordinance of the town was, that his prison should be only another alderman's house, with license at night to lie at his own house.* Then the council of Calais, doubting lest there should not be any sedition or heresy proved against him, did call one George Bradway before them, who occupied the comptroller's office in the Custom-house. This man was kept in close prison, so that neither his wife, then great with child, nor any other of his friends might repair unto him. Where, after that he had oftentimes been borne in hand, that there were divers concealments come to light that were made by Brook in the office of the Customs, and that the said Bradway should be grievously punished, if he would acknowledge none of them, nor burden the said Brook with some kind of concealment; the poor simple man, hoping thereby to get release of his imprisonment, accused the said Brook, that he had, for a long time, concealed four groats every day for his clerk's wages; and to that accusation they caused the simple man to set his own hand before witnesses.

False accusation punished by God's hand.

Hereupon, after a day or two, the said Bradway, grieved in his conscience for the same his most untrue accusation, did, with a knife, enterprise to cut his own throat: but God, of his mercy, so directed his wicked purpose, that the back of his knife was towards his weasand; whereby, though the wound were broad, yet he escaped with life. And as he gave a groan with the sudden pain that he felt, the jailor came up, and bereft him of the knife. But, through the guiltiness of the false accusation, and shame of the world, the man lost his wits, who then, staring and dismayed, was dismissed out of prison, and a long time after went, in piteous case, so dismayed about the street, to the great impoverishing of him, his poor wife, and family.

God's mercy in punishing.

This kind of handling of the said Brook made all his friends, but especially his wife, to be greatly afraid of the malice of his enemies: the rather, also, for that all his goods and lands were seized, and his wife thrust into the meanest place of all his house, with her children and family; the keys of all the doors and chests also taken from her. Who, for that she was rigorously treated at sir Edward Kingley's hand, comptroller of the town (an office of no small charge, though he knew not a "B" from a battledore, nor ever a letter of the book), saying unto her, that if she liked not the room, he would thrust her quite out of the doors: "Well, sir," said she, "well; the king's slaughterhouse had wrong, when you were made a gentleman." And with all speed she wrote a letter to the lord Cromwell, therein discoursing how hardly and sore those poor men were handled, that were committed to ward and close prison; and that all

Letters sent to the lord Cromwell from Calais.

(1) See Edition, 1563, p. 666.—Ed.

men feared (what through the malice of their papistical enemies, and the great rigour and ignorant zeal of those that were in authority), they should shortly, for their faith and consciences, being true men, and such as reverently feared God, be put to death; but, chiefly, her husband, who was yet more extremely handled than any others: so that unless his honour vouchsafed to be a means to the king's majesty, that they, with their causes, might be sent over into England, they were but dead men. *Sundry[1] other letters she wrote to divers friends, to solicit the cause. But when, at noon time, a servant of hers was seen to receive again the same packet of letters, of one to whom before he had taken them to carry them into England, and now, because the passage served not till the afternoon, to carry them back to his mistress, he that so saw them declared so much to the commissioners, at dinner time. Whereupon they gave very straight commandment that the thing should be kept close, and straight wait laid for him, to whom any servant of his should deliver any letters: and that, attaching the same, they should be brought to them. Whereupon one Francis Hall esquire, a man of great wisdom, godliness, and temperance, hearing what was said, and nothing distrusted of the commissioners, pretended a sudden qualm to come over his stomach, and rising from the table speedily told Mistress Brook what had happened; whereupon, with all speed, she writ as many other letters with like directions, but with far unlike contents. For unto the lord Cromwell she highly advanced the honours, wisdom, and justice which *she knew* to abound in the honourable commissioners, doubting only, nevertheless, she said, the maliciousness of her husband's enemies and their untrue accusations, and, therewith, the weakness of her husband's body, greatly subject to sickness when it was best cherished: wherefore, though she assuredly knew her husband should have, at their honours, true justice and equity, so as she would not wish any other in all England to be commissioners in their places, yet she most humbly besought his lordship to write his favourable letters unto them, to this end, that in respect of his weakness and infirmity, he might have justice with as much expedition as conveniently might be; and, in the mean time, to let him have somewhat more liberty, and open air: and in the other letters to her friends she wrote like honour of the said commissioners, and also desired them to crave his lordship's letters to like effect. These letters, closed and delivered as the first were, were straightway seized upon and brought to the commissioners, who immediately sent for her, and, the while opening the letters, and understanding the effect, they were, in their minds, well pleased with her; and, therefore, when she fell on her knees before them, and besought their honours to be good unto her husband, and to forgive her, in that she had presumed to write in his behalf, which, she said, was but her bounden duty: they, thinking thereby to have comforted her well, bade her never take thought for him (he was a naughty fellow), saying, they would themselves bestow her much better, and, the rather, for her father's sake, whom they knew right well to be a man of good service, whom the king favoured well. So she departed from them, and the next day also, at three of the clock at afternoon, she sent

Henry VIII. A.D. 1539 to 1544.

(1) See Edition 1563, pp. 666, 667.—Ed

Henry VIII. A.D. 1539 to 1544.

one William Manton unto a house without the gates, where he kept himself close, till a mariner, appointed for that purpose, called him up at midnight, and, taking him alone into the ship, through God's goodness, set him on land in the morning before day; who, with speed repairing to the lord Cromwell, made discourse of the whole state of his master and the other honest men.*

The lord Cromwell's letter to the commissioners at Calais.

Whereupon the said lord Cromwell wrote speedily his letters unto the commissioners, declaring, that the king's majesty's pleasure and commandment was, that the errant traitor and heretic Brook, with a dozen or twenty complices, should, with their accusers, be immediately sent over, that here in England they might receive their judgment, and there, at Calais, to the great terror of like offenders hereafter, suffer according to their demerits.

Now, by the time that the said commissioners had received these letters, they had made out precepts for eight or nine score honest men more to be cast in prison: but these letters so appalled them, that they stayed, and afterwards sent no more to ward. But, making then as diligent inquisition as was possible, to have found some worthy matter against those before named, whereby there might have been some colour both of the council's grievous complaints, and of the commissioners' rigorous dealing; when no such thing could fall out, because they would be assured that they should not go unpunished, they first banished them the town and marches of Calais with a trumpet blown, under pain of death, for a hundred years and a day (if that one day had been left out, all had been marred); and then sent them back to prison: staying them there upon hope that the lord Cromwell should come into captivity sooner than he did.

The thirteen prisoners of Calais sent to London.

But, at last, to wit, on May-day, they sent the thirteen prisoners through the market, the said Brook going before with irons on his legs, as the chief captain, the rest following him, two and two, without irons, unto shipboard, and then were they all coupled in irons, two and two together. Where, because they were loth to go under the hatches, sir John Gage, with a staff, smote some of them cruelly.

The cruelty of a popish persecutor.

Whereupon Anthony Pickering said unto him, "Sir, I beseech you yet be as good to us, as ye would be to your horses or dogs; let us have a little air that we be not smothered." Yet that request could not be obtained, but the hatches were put down close, and they, guarded and kept with a great company of men; and so, sailing forward, by God's merciful providence, were, within four-and-twenty hours at anchor before the Tower of London. *But[1] by the way thitherward, upon what occasion it was not known, whilst the hatch stood open for the convenience of one of the prisoners, his fellow-prisoner the while, for weariness, lying upon his back and casting his arm over his face, the kettle, with the hot scalding beef-broth, fell down upon the prisoners, namely, upon the gown-sleeve of Brook and the boots of Tourney, whereby both the fur of the sleeve, and the leather of the boot, were scorched and crackled, yet neither the face nor the leg, through God's goodness, were hurt; which sight caused their keepers to be amazed, and to say, that surely they were men that God loved, and were wrongfully punished.* And when the lord Cromwell understood they were come, he commanded their irons to be

(1) See Edition 1563, p. 668.—Ed.

smit off at the Tower wharf, and the prisoners to be brought unto him. *Henry VIII.*

When he saw them, he smiled upon them, steadfastly beholding each of them, and then said, "Sirs! you must take pain for a time; go your way to the Fleet, and submit yourselves prisoners there, and shortly you shall know more." So indeed they did; and that evening he sent them word they should be of good cheer, for, if God sent him life, they should shortly go home with as much honesty, as they came with shame. A.D. 1539 to 1544.

The prisoners put in the Fleet.

Whilst these thirteen persecuted men lay in the Fleet, and William Stevens in the Tower, to wit, the 28th day of July, A.D. 1541,[1] the aforesaid lord Cromwell, for treason laid against him, was at Tower-hill beheaded, as is before specified in his story, who made there a very christian end. Then had the poor Calais men great cause to fear, if they had not altogether depended on the merciful providence of their heavenly Father, whose blessed will they knew directed all things. But He, in the midst of their deep troubles and miseries, so comforted them, that even as their dangers and troubles increased, so likewise did their consolation and joy in him; so far forth that Matthew de Hound, one of these thirteen, who was in trouble only for that he heard Copen de Hane read a chapter of the New Testament, and was as deep in punishment, and in banishment from his wife, children, and country, as the rest, got, in short time, such instruction, that having therewith a soul and conscience fraught full of godly zeal unto God's glory, and the true doctrine of Christ, within a few months after his deliverance out of the Fleet, for inveighing constantly against the wicked honouring of images, and praying to saints departed, he was cruelly, in a most constant faith and patience, burned in Flanders.

Matthew de Hound afterwards became a blessed martyr of God, and was burned in Flanders.

Now, therefore, when all hope in man was past, the right honourable lord Audeley, lord chancellor of England, without further examination, discharged first the said thirteen that were in the Fleet, and at length, two years after, he delivered William Stevens also, by the king's own motion, out of the Tower; saying, at the discharging of those thirteen, "Sirs! pray for the king's majesty; his pleasure is, that you shall all be presently discharged. And though your livings be taken from you, yet despair not, God will not see you lack. But, for God's sake, sirs, beware how you deal with popish priests; for, so God save my soul! some of them be knaves all. Sirs," said he, "I am commanded by the council to tell you, that you are discharged by virtue of the king's general pardon; but that pardon excepteth and forbiddeth all sacramentaries, and the most part, or all of you, are called sacramentaries: therefore I cannot see how that pardon doth you any pleasure. But pray for the king's highness, for his grace's pleasure is, that I should dismiss you; and so I do, and pity you all. Farewell, sirs!"

Lord Audeley good to the persecuted members of Christ.

The common saying of the lord Audeley concerning popish priests.

The Calais men dismissed.

So, giving God most hearty thanks for his mighty and merciful delivering of them, they departed dismissed as you have heard, being indeed in very poor estate; but not in so miserable estate as all those eight councillors of Calais were, within one year and a half after. For, whereas the other three councillors who seemed more

(1) Rather A.D. 1540, as already noticed; the same error is made in 'The Life of Cromwell,' p. 402.—ED.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1539 to 1544.

favourable unto them (to wit, the lord Gray, sir George Carew, and sir Richard Grenville), who purged the town of those slanders that untruly were raised upon it, were there-for, for a time, in their prince's high displeasure; within that year they were all three in greater favour with his majesty than ever they were before, and that not without the reward of twenty pounds by year to him and to his heirs, who had least. The other eight councillors, unjustly charging them and the town with sedition and heresy (that is to say, the lord Lisle, the lord Sands, sir John Wallop, sir Edward Kingsly, Robert Fowler, esquire, vice-treasurer; sir Thomas Palmer, knight, called Long Palmer; William Simpson, esquire, under-marshal; and John Rockwood), were either greatly out of their prince's favour, and in the Tower, or else were prisoners, or else by very desperate deaths, in outward appearance, taken out of this world.

How God prospereth the friends to his gospel, and turneth the malice of their enemies upon their own head.

For tediousness, I will rehearse but only the horrible end of the said Rockwood, the chief stirrer-up of all the afflictions afore spoken of; who, even to his last breath, staring and raging, cried, he was utterly damned. And being willed to ask God mercy, who was ready to forgive all that asked mercy of him, he brayed and cried out, "All too late, for I have sought maliciously the deaths of o number of the most honest men in the town; and though I sa thought them in my heart, yet I did what lay in me to bring them to an evil death: all too late therefore, all too late!" Which same words he answered to one, who, at the departure of the thirteen in irons towards England, said, "Sir! I never saw men of such honesty so sharply corrected, and taking it so patiently and joyfully." Rockwood then, fetching a frisk or two, scoffingly answered, "All too late!" The under-marshal suddenly fell down in the council-chamber, and never spake a word after, nor showed any token of remembrance. The plagues of the others also, as I am credibly informed' were little better.

The example of God's judgment upon a cruel persecutor.

THE SECOND APPREHENSION OF ADAM DAMLIP; WITH HIS MARTYRDOM.

Concerning Adam Damlip, otherwise called George Bucker, ye heard before declared, how he, being convented before the bishops at Lambeth, and afterwards secretly admonished, and having money given him by his friends to avoid, and not to appear again before the bishops; after he had sent his allegations in writing unto them, departed into the west country, and there continued teaching a school a certain space, about a year or two. After that, the good man was again apprehended by the miserable inquisition of the Six Articles, and brought up to London, where he was, by Stephen Gardiner, commanded into the Marshalsea, and there lay the space of other two years or thereabouts.

During the imprisonment of this Damlip in the Marshalsea, John Marbeck (as partly ye heard before) was also committed unto the same prison, which was the morrow after Palm Sunday. The manner of that time so required, that at Easter every person must needs come to confession. Whereupon Marbeck, with the rest of the prisoners there, was enforced to come upon Easter-day to sir George

Bucker aforesaid, to be confessed, who was then confessor to the whole house. By this occasion John Marbeck, who had never seen him before, entering into conference with him, perceived what he was, what he had been, what troubles he sustained, how long he had lain there in prison, by whom and wherefore; who declared, moreover, his mind to Marbeck, to the effect as followeth: "And now, because," said he, "I think they have forgotten me, I am fully minded to make my humble suit to the bishop of Winchester, in an epistle, declaring therein mine obedience, humble submission, and earnest desire to come to examination. I know the worst: I can but lose my life present, which I had rather do, than here to remain, and not to be suffered to use my talent to God's glory. Wherefore, God willing, I will surely put it in proof."

Henry VIII. A.D. 1544.

George Bucker, confessor to the prisoners in the Marshalsea.

This Damlip, for honest and godly behaviour, was beloved of all the whole house, but especially of the keeper himself, whose name was Massy, whom he always called master; and being suffered to go at liberty within the house whither he would, he did much good among the common and rascal sort of prisoners, in rebuking vice and sin, and kept them in such good order and awe, that the keeper thought himself to have a great treasure in him. And no less also Marbeck himself confesseth, to have found great comfort by him; for, notwithstanding the straight precept given by the bishop of Winchester, that no man should come to him, nor he to speak with any man, yet the said Adam many times would find the means to come and comfort him.

Damlip well beloved among the prisoners, especially of Massy, the keeper of the Marshalsea.

Now, when he had made and drawn out his epistle, he delivered the same to his master the keeper, upon Saturday in the morning, which was about the second week before Whitsunday following, desiring him to deliver it at the court, to the bishop of Winchester. The keeper said, he would; and so did. The bishop, what quick speed he made for his dispatch I know not, but thus it fell out, as ye shall hear.

Damlip writeth to the bishop of Winchester.

The keeper came home at night very late, and when the prisoners (who had tarried supper for his coming) saw him so sad and heavy, they deemed something to be amiss. At last the keeper, casting up his eyes upon sir George! said, "O George, I can tell thee tidings." "What is that, master?" quoth he. "Upon Monday next thou and I must go to Calais." "To Calais, master? What to do?" "I know not," quoth the keeper: and pulled out of his purse a piece of wax with a little label of parchment hanging out thereat, which seemed to be a precept. And when sir George saw it, he said, "Well, well, master, now I know what the matter is." "What?" quoth the keeper. "Truly, master, I shall die in Calais." "Nay," quoth the keeper, "I trust it to be not so." "Yes, yes, master; it is most true, and I praise God for his goodness therein." And so the keeper and they went together to supper, with heavy cheer for sir George, as they there called him; who, notwithstanding, was merry himself, and did eat his meat as well as ever he did in all his life: insomuch that some at the board said unto him, that they marvelled how he could eat his meat so well, knowing he was so near his death. "Ah, masters!" quoth he, "do you think that I have been God's prisoner so long in the Marshalsea, and have not yet

Gardiner sendeth out a precept for the execution of Damlip.

Cheerful constancy of Damlip.

Henry VIII. learned to die? Yes, yes, and I doubt not but God will strengthen me therein."[1]

A.D. 1544. *At[2] length it came to pass, that by the bishop of Winchester's diligent pursuing of the aforesaid Adam Damlip (for he was always excellent good at the sucking of innocent blood), this godly man was gotten again into their hands, that first laid heresy to his charge;* for, on Monday, early in the morning before day, the keeper with three other of the knight-marshal's servants, setting out of London, conveyed the said Adam Damlip to Calais upon the Ascension even, and there committed him to the mayor's prison. Upon the same day John Butler, the commissary aforesaid, and sir Daniel, his curate of St. Peter's, were also committed to the same prison, and commandment given for no man to speak with Butler.

Damlip brought to Calais to suffer.

Upon Saturday next was the day of execution for Damlip. The cause which first they laid to his charge, was for heresy. But, because by an act of parliament all such offences, done before a certain day, were pardoned (through which act he could not be burdened with any thing that he had preached or taught before), yet, for the receiving of the aforesaid French crown of cardinal Pole (as you heard before), he was condemned of treason, and in Calais cruelly put to death; being drawn, hanged, and quartered.

The day before his execution, came unto him one Master Mote, then parson of our Lady's church in Calais, saying, "Your four quarters shall be hanged at four parts of the town." "And where shall my head be?" said Damlip. "Upon the Lantern gate," said Mote. Then Damlip answered, "Then shall I not need to provide for my burial." At his death, sir Ralph Ellerker knight, then knight-marshal there, would not suffer the innocent and godly man to declare either his faith, or the cause he died for, but said to the executioner, "Dispatch the knave; have done!" For sir William Mote, appointed there to preach, declared to the people, how he had been a sower of seditious doctrine; and albeit he was for that pardoned by the general pardon, yet he was condemned for being a traitor against the king. To the which when Adam Damlip would have replied and purged himself, the aforesaid sir Ralph Ellerker would not suffer him to speak a word, but commanded him to be had away. And so, most meekly, patiently, and joyfully, the blessed and innocent martyr took his death, sir Ralph Ellerker saying, that he would not away before he saw the traitor's heart out. But, shortly after, the said sir Ralph Ellerker, in a skirmish or rout between the Frenchmen and us at Boulogne, was, among others, slain; whose only death sufficed not his enemies, but after they had stripped him stark naked, they shamefully mutilated him, and cut the heart out of his body; and so left him a terrible example to all bloody and merciless men. For no cause was known why they showed such indignation against the said sir Ralph Ellerker, more than against the rest, but that it is written, "Faciens justitias Dominus et judicia, omnibus injuria pressis;"* and[3] because his innocent blood, as Abel's did, cried unto God.

The constant courage of Damlip, not caring for his death.

Damlip falsely accused of treason, and innocently put to death.

An example of God's just revengement.

†

Our Lord grant unto the like offenders grace, speedily, by that

(1) Ex Literis Johan. Marbecki. (2) See Edition 1563, p. 665.—Ed.
(3) See Edition 1563, p. 666.—Ed.

lively and terrible example, either heartily to repent, or else to give like profitable example to such as would not be warned by other men's evils.* *Henry VIII.* A.D. 1544.

As touching John Butler, and sir Daniel his curate, imprisoned (as ye heard) the same day with Damlip, upon Sunday next following they were committed to John Massy aforesaid, keeper of the Marshalsea, and his company, and brought to the Marshalsea, where he and his curate continued nine months and more. At last, being sore laid unto by sir George Gage, sir John Baker, and sir Thomas Arundel, knights, but especially by Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, for the retaining of Adam Damlip, yet, by friends soliciting the king's highness for him (namely sir Leonard Musgrave, and his brother Baunster, who were bound for his appearance in a thousand pounds), he, at length, by great labour and long time, was discharged, and, at last, by license permitted to return to Calais again.[1] Another trouble of John Butler, and sir Daniel his curate.

Furthermore, as touching William Stevens above mentioned, who remained all this while prisoner in the Tower, the same was also condemned with Adam Damlip of treason; which was, for note and crime of popery, in lodging Adam Damlip the traitor, who came from cardinal Pole, in his house, at the lord deputy's commandment. Notwithstanding, the king afterward, understanding more of the said William Stevens, how innocent he was from that crime, being known to all men to be an earnest and zealous protestant, gave him his pardon, and sent him home again to Calais; and so, likewise, all the other thirteen above mentioned. Stevens, an earnest protestant falsely condemned for popery, but with the rest, pardoned by the king.

THE STORY OF A POOR LABOURING MAN, AND ALSO OF ONE DODD, A SCOTCHMAN, BURNED IN CALAIS.

By the credible information and writing of the said Calais men, who were then in trouble, it is reported of a certain poor labouring man of Calais, that after the preaching of Adam Damlip, being in a certain company, he said that he would never believe that a priest could make the Lord's body at his pleasure. Whereupon he was then accused, and also condemned by one Harvey, commissary there; which Harvey, in time of his judgment inveighing against him with opprobrious words, said, that he was a heretic, and should die a vile death. The poor man (whose name yet I have not certainly learned), answering for himself again, said that he was no heretic, but was in the faith of Christ: "And whereas thou sayest," said he, "that I shall die a vile death, thou thyself shalt die a viler death, and that shortly." And so it came to pass; for, within half a year after, the said Harvey was hanged, drawn, and quartered, for treason, in the said town of Calais. A notable example of God's judgment upon a bloody persecutor.

After the burning of this poor man, there was also another certain scholar, counted to be a Scotchman, named Dodd, who, coming out of Germany, was there taken with certain German books about him; and, being examined thereupon, and standing constantly to the truth that he had learned, was therefore condemned to death, and there One Dodd burned in Calais.

(1) Ex scripto testimonio Caletiensium.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1544. burned in the said town of Calais, within the space of a year, or thereabouts, after the other godly martyr above mentioned.

THE STORY OF WILLIAM CROSSBOWMAKER, BEARING A BILLET IN CALAIS.

And, forasmuch as I am presently in hand with matters of Calais, I cannot pass from thence without the memory of another certain honest man of the same township, named William Button, alias Crossbowmaker; although the time of this story is a little more ancient in years: which story is this.

William Crossbowmaker's question.

William Crossbowmaker, a soldier of Calais, and the king's servant, being a man (as some natures be) somewhat pleasantly disposed, used, when he met with priests, to demand of them certain merry questions of pastime; as these: Whether, if a man were suddenly taken, and wanted another thing, he might not without offence occupy one of the pope's pardons instead of a broken paper?

Another question was, Whether in the world might better be wanting, dogs or priests? And if it were answered that dogs might rather be spared; to that he would reply again and infer, that if there were no dogs, we could make no more; but if there lacked ignorant priests, we might soon, and too soon, make too many of them.

It happened in the time of Dr. Darly, parson of our Lady's church in Calais, being commissary there for archbishop Warham, there came a black friar to Calais with the pope's pardons, who, for four pence, would deliver a soul out of purgatory. The friar was full of Romish virtues, for what money came for pardons by day, he bought no land with it at night. This aforesaid William Button, alias Crossbowmaker, coming to the pardoner, and pretending that he would deliver his father and friends' souls, asked, if the holy father the pope could deliver souls out of purgatory? The friar said, "There is no doubt of that." "Why then," quoth Button, "doth not he, of charity, deliver all the souls thereout?" Of which words he was accused to the commissary; who, at his appearing before the said commissary, confessed to have asked such questions. The commissary, being angry thereat, said, "Doubtest thou thereof, thou heretic?" There was standing by a black friar named Capel, an Englishman, who said to the commissary, "There be ten thousand of these heretics between Gravelines and Triers." Button answered, "Master friar! of all men you may keep silence; for your coat hath been twice cut off from the faith. The first time your order was enjoined to have your black coat shorter than your white; and, for the second time, your order must go to the furthest part of their church, and there sing an anthem of our Lady."[1] The commissary chafed at these words, calling Button "heretic," with many other opprobrious words. Then said Button to the commissary, "If your holy father the pope may deliver souls out of purgatory, and will not of charity deliver them, then, I would to God the king would make me pope, and I would surely deliver all out without money." At these words the commissary raged, and reviled Button exceedingly,

Heresy, to doubt of the pope's charity.

(1) This anthem the black friars were enjoined to sing every night to our Lady, in praise of her conception.

causing him to bear a billet, and procured his wages (which were six pence a day) to be taken from him. Then went Button to the king's majesty, declaring all the whole matter to his grace, who sent him to Calais again, and gave him after that eight pence a day. *Henry VIII.* A. D. 1544.

A NOTABLE EXAMPLE, WHEREIN MAY APPEAR AS WELL THE DESPITE OF DR. LONDON AND OTHER PAPISTS AGAINST THE GOSPELLERS, AS ALSO THE FIDELITY OF A MATRON TOWARDS HER HUSBAND.

Cruel malice of Dr. London.

Forasmuch as mention was made a little before of Dr. London, we will somewhat more add of him, because the matter seemeth neither impertinent nor unfruitful, to the intent it may more evidently appear, what truth and trust is to be looked for of this cruel kind of papists. This Dr. London was warden of New college in Oxford, where it happened that certain plate was stolen, and conveyed and brought up to London, and sold to a goldsmith, named William Callaway. This Callaway was a man of good and honest name and reputation among his neighbours, but especially earnest and zealous towards the gospel, and a great maintainer thereof. He had, oftentimes before, bought much plate of the same man without any peril or danger: wherefore, he doubted the less of his fidelity.[1]

William Callaway, goldsmith of London.

At last the principal of the theft being taken,[2] and the goldsmith also, that was the buyer, being known, Dr. London, when he understood him to be a favourer of the gospel (whereof he himself was an extreme adversary), began straightways to be in a rage, and to swear great and deep oaths, that he would spare neither labour nor cost, but would bring the goldsmith to the gallows, although it should cost him five hundred pounds. To be short, this good goldsmith was arraigned as accessary, and an action of felony brought against him. He, contrariwise alleged, that they ought not to proceed against him, the principal being alive. Dr. London, on the contrary part, affirmed that the principal was hanged; which was most false, for he was one of the same college, and was alive, and but lately set at liberty. To be brief, he being found guilty, the judge asked him what he could allege why he should not die? He required to have the privilege of his book according to the ancient custom and manner. But here it was objected against him that he was "bigamus,"[3] and therefore he might not have his book by the law: notwithstanding that, he never had two wives; but, because his wife had two husbands, it was imputed to him for bigamy.

Callaway claimeth the privilege of his book.

Thus this good goldsmith, being secluded from all hope of life by the crafty spite of his malignant adversaries, his wife, being a woman of proved honesty and good fame, came in before the judges; and, perceiving her former marriage to be hurtful unto her husband, to save her husband's life, she took an oath before the judges that she was not "bigama," and that she was never married to more men than to the said goldsmith: and, although she had children by her other husband, and continued divers years with him, yet she sware that she was never married unto him. Thus this woman, by defaming of her-

A singular example of a faithful wife towards her husband.

(1) Hall's Chronicle, Lond 1809, pp. 85—89.—Ed.
(2) This principal was a chaplain of the said college.
(3) Bigamus, that is, a man that hath had two wives.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1544.

self, to her great praise and singular example of love, delivered her innocent husband; thinking it better for her to live with ignominy and reproach, than for her husband to die; less esteeming the loss of her good name, than of his life.[1]

True love between man and wife.

As touching the quality of this fact or perjury, I intermeddle not here to discuss, but leave it at large to the judgment of lawyers to define upon. Truth it is, that perjury neither in man nor woman is to be commended, neither ought it to be defended. But yet, the true heart and faithful love between this man and his wife, counterpoising again as much or more on the other side, the more rare and strange I see it in many couples now-a-days, the more I think it worthy, not only to be praised, but also, for example's sake, to be notified. But, in the mean time, what shall we say to these priests and adversaries, who, in such sort violently do press and force the poor sheep of Christ, with peril of their conscience, unto such perjury; and that, in such causes, where no such truth is sought, but innocency oppressed, true religion persecuted, and only their spite and wrath against God's word wreaked.

QUALIFICATIONS OF THE ACT OF THE SIX ARTICLES.

During the time of these six articles aforesaid, which brought many good men unto death, yet so it happened by another contrary act, set forth before for the king's supremacy (as ye have heard), that the contrary sect also of the papists was not all in quiet. For, besides the death of More, and the bishop of Rochester, and the other Charterhouse monks, friars, and priests above specified, about this year, also, were condemned and executed by the same law two others, of whom one was a priest of Chelsea, named Lark, who was put to death at London for defending the bishop of Rome's supremacy above the king's authority: the other was Germain Gardiner (near kinsman to Stephen Gardiner, and yet more near to his secret counsel, as it is supposed), who, likewise, in practising for the pope against the king's jurisdiction, was taken with the manner, and so brought unto the gibbet.

Lark, of Chelsea, and Germain Gardiner, traitors.

Suspicion against Stephen Gardiner.

Upon the detection of this Germain Gardiner, being secretary to Gardiner bishop of Winchester, his kinsman, it seemed to some, and so was also insinuated unto the king not to be unlike, but that the said Germain neither would, nor durst, ever attempt any such matter of popery, without some setting on or consent of the bishop, he being so near unto him, and to all his secrets, as he was. Whereby the king began somewhat more to smell and misdoubt the doings of the bishop; but yet the bishop so covertly and clearly conveyed his matters, playing under the board, after his wonted fetches, in such sort that (I cannot tell how) he still kept in with the king, to the great inquietation of the public state of the realm, and especially of Christ's church.

In declaring the dreadful law, before set forth, of the Six Articles, which was A.D. 1540,[2] ye heard what penalty was appointed for the breach of the same, in like case as in treason and felony; so that no remedy of any recantation would serve. This severity was a little

(1) Ex Ed. Hallo. (2) A.D. 1539. See page 502, note 4.—Ed.

mitigated by another parliament, holden afterwards, A.D. 1544, by which parliament it was decreed,[1] that such offenders as were convicted in the said articles for the first time, should be admitted to recant and renounce their opinions. And if the party refused to recant in such form as should be laid unto him by his ordinary, or, after his recantation, if he eftsoons offended again, then, for the second time, he should be admitted to abjure and bear a faggot; which if he deny to do, or else, being abjured, if he the third time offended, then he to sustain punishment according to the law, &c. Although the straightness and rigour of the former act was thus somewhat tempered, as ye see, and reformed by this present parliament, yet, notwithstanding, the venom and poison of the errors and mischief of those articles remained still behind; not removed, but rather confirmed by this parliament aforesaid. By the same parliament, moreover, many things were provided for the advancement of popery, under the colour of religion; so that all manner of books of the Old and New Testament, bearing the name of William Tyndale, or any others, having prologues, or containing any matters, annotations, preambles, words, or sentences, contrary to the six articles, were debarred. In like manner all songs, plays, and interludes, with all other books in English, containing matter of religion tending any way against the said articles, were abolished.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1544.

The rigour of the six articles a little tempered.

In the same parliament, furthermore, it was provided, that the text of the New Testament, or of the Bible, being prohibited to all women, artificers, prentices, journeymen, servingmen, yeomen, husbandmen, and labourers; yet was permitted, notwithstanding, to noblemen, and gentlemen, and gentlewomen, to read and peruse, to their edifying, so that they did it quietly, without arguing, discussing, or expounding upon the Scripture.

Over and besides, whereas before, the offender or defendant might not be suffered to bring in any witnesses to purge and try himself, in this parliament it was permitted to the party detected or complained of, to try his cause by witnesses, as many, or more in number, as the others who deposed against him, &c.

After this parliament, moreover, followed another parliament, A.D. 1545, wherein other qualifications, more special, of the six articles were provided: that whereas before, the cruel statute of the six articles was so straight, that if any of the king's subjects had been complained of by any manner of person, as well being his enemy as otherwise, he should be indicted presently upon the same, without any further examination or knowledge given to the party so accused; and so thereupon to be attached, committed, and in fine to be condemned: it was, therefore, by this parliament provided, that all such presentments and indictments should not be brought before the commissioners, otherwise than by the oaths of twelve men, or more, of honesty and credit, without corruption or malice accordingly.

Other qualifications of the act of the Six Articles.

Item, That no such indictments or presentments should be taken, but within one year of the offences committed; or else the said indictments to stand void in the law.

(1) Stat. an. 3 reg. Hen. VIII. [This act (34, 35 Henry VIII. cap. 1.) is printed at length in Gibson's Codex Juris Ecclesiastici (Oxf. 1761), pp. 346—349. The session terminated on the 12th of May, 1543.—Ed.]

Henry VIII. A.D. 1545.

Item, That no person accused upon any such offence against the six articles, should be attached, or committed to ward, before he were thereof indicted, unless by special warrant from the king.

Item, By the authority of the said parliament, it was considered and enacted, that if any preacher or reader, for any word spoken, supposed to be against the six articles, should be accused, but not within the space of forty days of the said his reading or preaching, then the party accused to be acquitted.

Item, That the justices or inquirers of such presentments should have full power to alter and reform all panels of inquiry returned before them, in like manner as the justices of peace may do in their sessions, upon any other inquiries.

Item, That the party so accused or indicted, upon his trial, may have all manner of challenges (peremptory only excepted), as other persons arraigned for felony may have, by the laws of this realm.[1]

By these qualifications and moderations of the six articles, it may appear that the king began somewhat to grow out of favour with Stephen Gardiner, and to discredit his doings, whereby he was the more forward to incline somewhat in furthering the desolate cause of religion, as may appear both by these premises, and also by other provisions and determinations of the aforesaid parliament, A.D. 1545, wherein it was decreed by act of parliament, that the king should have full power and authority to appoint thirty-two persons; to wit, sixteen of the clergy, and sixteen of the temporalty, to peruse, oversee, and examine the canons, constitutions and ordinances of the canon law, as well provincial as synodal; and so, according to their discretions, to set and establish an order of ecclesiastical laws, such as should be thought by the king and them convenient to be received and used within this realm: which statute, as it is most needful for the government of the church of England, so, would God it had been brought to perfection!

A statute for examination of the canon law.

In this year, touching matters of history, we read no great thing worthy of memory, but only of two persons, John Athy[2] and John Heywood. Of which two, we find first John Athy to be indicted by the king's writ for certain words against the sacrament, which words in the indictment are specified to be these: "That he would not believe in the thing which the knave priest made, neither in that which Long's wife selleth; but only in God that is in heaven. And, when it was told him that God, through his word, could make it flesh and blood, he answered, 'So he might, if he would, turn it into a chicken's leg:' meaning the sacrament of the altar."

The same year also followed the recantation of John Heywood; who although he was attached for treason, for denying the king's supremacy, yet, using the clemency of the king, upon his better reformation and amendment, he made an open and solemn recantation in the face of all the people, abandoning and renouncing the pope's usurped supremacy, and confessing the king to be chief supreme head and governor of this church of England, all foreign authority and jurisdiction being excluded. The tenor and effect of whose recantation here followeth.

The Recantation of John Heywood.

I am come hither at this time, good people! willing, and of mine own suit, desirous to show and declare unto you briefly, first of all, the great and inestimable

(1) Stat. an. 1545. Hen. VIII. [The statute here referred to is the 35th of Henry VIII. cap. v. See Gibson's Codex, pp. 349, 350. The session closed on the 29th of March, 1544.—Ed.]

(2) John Athy recanted.

clemency and mercifulness of our most sovereign and redoubted prince the king's majesty, which his highness hath most graciously used towards me a wretch, most justly and worthily condemned to die for my manifold and outrageous offences, heinously and traitorously committed against his majesty and his laws. For, whereas his majesty's supremacy hath so often been opened unto me, both by writing and speaking (if I had grace either to open mine eyes to see it, or mine ears to hear it), to be surely and certainly grounded and established upon the very true word of God, yet, for lack of grace, I have most wilfully and obstinately suffered myself to fall to such blindness, that I have not only thought that the bishop of Rome hath been, and ought to be, taken the chief and supreme head of the universal church of Christ here in earth; but also, like no true subject, concealed and favoured such as I have known or thought to be of that opinion. For the which most detestable treasons and untruths, I here most humbly, and with all my heart, first of all ask of the king's majesty forgiveness, and secondarily of the world; beseeching all these that either now do, or hereafter shall, hear of these my great transgressions, to take this mine example for an instruction for them to call for grace, that they thereby be stayed from falling at any time into such miserable blindness and folly. *Henry VIII.* A. D. 1545.

Moreover, here, afore God and you (good christian people), I do utterly, and with all my heart, recant and revoke all mine aforesaid erroneous and traitorous opinions. And (as my conscience now doth force) I protest that even with my heart I firmly think, and undoubtedly believe, that the bishop of Rome neither now hath, nor at any time hath had, or can have, by any law of God or man, any more authority, without the precinct of his own country about him, than any other bishop hath within his own diocese. Whereby I assuredly take the abolishing of the pretensed and usurped power or authority of the bishop of Rome out of this realm, to be done justly and truly by the law of God. And also I take our sovereign lord the king's highness to be supreme head, immediately next under Christ, of the church of England and Ireland, and all other his grace's dominions, both of the spiritualty and temporalty. And I confess not only that his majesty is so by the law of God; but also his progenitors, kings of this realm so have been; and his highness's heirs and successors, kings of this realm, so shall be.

Thus have I showed you my mind as well as I can, but neither so well as I would, nor so fully as I should, namely concerning the multitude of mercy which my most gracious prince hath showed toward me, not only for saving my body after worthy condemnation to death, as is aforesaid, but, also, for saving my soul from perishing, if my body had perished before the receiving of such wholesome counsel as I had at his highness's most charitable assignment. And of this confession declared unto you (I say as far forth as I can), I heartily pray you all to bear me record, and most entirely to pray Almighty God for the long and most prosperous estate of our sovereign lord, the king's majesty, in all his affairs and proceedings.

By me, John Heywood.

Memorandum, quod supra scripta Assertio sive Recantatio fuit facta, et publice emissa per prænominatum Johannem Heywood, die Dominica, Sexto viz. die Julii, anno millesimo quingentesimo quadragesimo quarto, apud Crucem Paulinam, tempore concionis ibidem.

In the year aforesaid, 1545, as there was no other thing done in England worthy to be noted, so now the order of story here requireth, by the course of years, next to infer the discourse of the troubles and persecutions which happened in Scotland against Master George Wisehart and divers other good men of the same country, about the same year of our Lord 1545, and somewhat before.[1] But, because now we are come to the latter end almost of king Henry's reign, we will make an end (the Lord willing) with a few

(1) Wisehart was burnt in the year 1546. See Knox's Hist. of the Reformation, (fol. Edinburgh, 1732), p. 50.—Ed.

Henry VIII. A. D. 1546.

other English stories pertaining to that time; and, that finished, then set upon those matters of Scotland, joining them all together. The tractation thereof thou shalt see, good reader, in the latter end and closing up of this king's reign.

Kerby, and Roger Clarke, of Suffolk, Martyrs.

Saxy, a priest, hanged in Gardiner's porter's lodge.

Coming now to the year of our Lord 1546, first passing over the priest, whose name was Saxy, who was hanged in the porter's lodge of Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, and that, as it is supposed, not without the consent of the said bishop and the secret conspiracy of that bloody generation; to pass over also one Henry, with his servant, burned at Colchester; I will now proceed to the story of Kerby, and of Roger Clarke of Mendelsham, who were apprehended at Ipswich, A. D. 1546, the Saturday before Gang-Monday, and brought before the lord Wentworth, with other commissioners appointed there to sit upon their examinations, judgments, and causes.

A bill brought to lord Wentworth, at the arraignment.

The night before they were arraigned, a bill was set upon the town-house door (by whom, it was unknown), and brought the next day unto the lord Wentworth; who answered, that it was good counsel: which bill, in the latter end, shall appear.

In the mean time Kerby and Roger, being in the jailor's house, named John Bird, an honest and a good man (who had checks divers times at the bar, that he was more meet to be kept, than to be a keeper), came in Master Robert Wingfield, son and heir of Humfrey Wingfield, knight, with Master Bruess of Wenham; who then, having conference with Kerby (being then in a several chamber separate from the other), Master Wingfield said to Kerby,

The words of Wingfield to Kerby and Roger.

"Remember the fire is hot, take heed of thine enterprise, that thou take no more upon thee, than thou shalt be able to perform. The terror is great, the pain will be extreme, and life is sweet. Better it were betimes to stick to mercy, while there is hope of life, than rashly to begin, and then to shrink;" with such like words of persuasion.

The answer of Kerby to Master Wingfield.

To whom he answered again, "Ah, Master Wingfield! be at my burning, and you shall say, there standeth a christian soldier in the fire. For I know that fire and water, sword, and all other things, are in the hands of God, and he will suffer no more to be laid upon us, than he will give us strength to bear." "Ah, Kerby!" said Master Wingfield, "if thou be at that point, I will bid thee farewell; for, I promise thee, I am not so strong that I am able to burn." And so both the gentlemen, saying that they would pray for them, shook hands with them, and so departed.

The behaviour of Kerby and Roger when brought before the Judges.

Now first, touching the behaviour of Kerby and Roger when they came to the judgment-seat, the lord Wentworth with all the rest of the justices there ready, the commissary also, by virtue of the statute "ex officio," sitting next to the lord Wentworth, but one between; Kerby and Roger lifted up their eyes and hands to heaven with great devotion in all men's eyes, making their prayers secretly to God for a space of time, while they might say the Lord's Prayer five or six times.

Questions propounded to them.

That done, their articles were declared unto them with all circumstances of the law: and then it was demanded and inquired of them, Whether they believed, that after the words spoken by a priest (as

Christ spake them to his apostles), there were not the very body and blood of Christ, flesh, blood, and bone, as he was born of the Virgin Mary, and no bread after? *Henry VIII.* A.D. 1546.

Unto the which words they answered and said, No, they did not so believe; but that they did believe the sacrament which Christ Jesus did institute at his last supper, on Maunday Thursday at night, to his disciples, was only to put all men in remembrance of his precious death and blood-shedding for the remission of sins; and that there was neither flesh nor blood to be eaten with the teeth, but bread and wine; and yet more than bread and wine, for that it is consecrated to a holy use. Then, with much persuasions, both with fair means and threats besides (if it would have served), were these two poor men hardly laid to; but most at the hands of Foster, an inferior justice, not being learned in such knowledge. But these two continued both faithful and constant, choosing rather to die than to live; and so continued unto the end.

Their answer.

The sacrament more than bare bread and wine.

Foster a sore enemy to God's people.

Then sentence was given upon them both, Kerby to be burned in the said town on the next Saturday, and Roger to be burned at Bury the Gang-Monday after. Kerby, when his judgment was given by the lord Wentworth, with most humble reverence holding up his hands and bowing himself devoutly, he said, "Praised be Almighty God;" and so stood still without any more words.

Sentence given against Kerby and Roger.

Then did the lord Wentworth talk secretly, putting his head behind another justice that sat between them. The said Roger, perceiving that, said with a loud voice, "Speak out, my lord! and if you have any thing contrary to your conscience, ask God mercy; and we, for our parts, do forgive you: and speak not in secret, for ye shall come before a Judge, and then make answer openly, even before him that shall judge all men;" with other like words.

Roger's word to the lord Wentworth.

The lord Wentworth, somewhat blushing, and changing his countenance (through remorse, as it was thought), said, "I did speak nothing of you, nor have I done any thing unto you, but as the law is." Then were Kerby and Roger sent forth; Kerby to prison there, and Roger to St. Edmund's Bury. One of the two, bursting out with a loud voice (Roger it is supposed), thus spake with a vehemency, "Fight," said he, "for your God; for he hath not long to continue."

A prophecy.

The next day, which was Saturday, about ten of the clock, Kerby was brought to the market-place, where a stake was ready, wood, broom, and straw, and did off his clothes unto his shirt, having a nightcap upon his head; and so was fastened to the stake with irons, there being in the gallery the lord Wentworth, with the most part of all the justices of those quarters, where they might see his execution, how every thing should be done, and also might hear what Kerby did say; and a great number of people, about two thousand by estimation. There was also standing in the gallery by the lord Wentworth, Dr. Rugham, who was before a monk of Bury, and sexton of the house, having on a surplice, and a stole about his neck. Then silence was proclaimed, and the said doctor began to disable himself, as not meet to declare the holy Scriptures, being unprovided because the time was so short; but that he hoped, in God's assistance, it should come well to pass.

Dr. Rugham, monk of Bury, preacheth at the burning of Kerby.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1546.

All this while Kerby was trimming with irons and faggots, broom and straw, as one that should be married with new garments, nothing changing cheer nor countenance, but with a most meek spirit glorified God; which was wonderful to behold. Then master doctor, at last, entered into the sixth chapter of St. John, who, in handling that matter, so oft as he alleged the Scriptures, and applied them rightly, Kerby told the people that he said true, and bade the people believe him. But, when he did otherwise, he told him again, "You say not true; believe him not, good people." Whereupon, as the voice of the people was, they judged Dr. Rugham a false prophet. So when master doctor had ended his collation, he said unto Kerby, "Thou, good man! dost not thou believe that the blessed sacrament of the altar is the very flesh and blood of Christ, and no bread, even as he was born of the Virgin Mary?" Kerby, answering boldly, said, "I do not so believe." "How doest thou believe?" said the doctor. Kerby said, "I do believe that in the sacrament that Jesus Christ instituted at his last supper, on Maunday Thursday, to his disciples (which ought of us likewise to be done), is the death and passion, and his blood-shedding for the redemption of the world, to be remembered: and (as I said before) yet bread, and more than bread; for that it is consecrated to a holy use." Then was master doctor in his dumps, and spake not one word more to Kerby after.

The cheerful countenance and courage of Kerby.

His confession of the sacrament.

Then said the undersheriff to Kerby, "Hast thou any thing more to say?" "Yea, sir," said he, "if you will give me leave." "Say on," said the sheriff.

Then Kerby, taking his nightcap from his head, put it under his arm, as though it should have done him service again; but, remembering himself, he cast it from him, and lifting up his hands, he said the hymn, Te Deum, and the Belief, with other prayers in the English tongue. The lord Wentworth, while Kerby was thus doing, did shroud himself behind one of the posts of the gallery, and wept, and so did many others. Then said Kerby, "I have done: you may execute your office, good Master Sheriff." Then fire was set to the wood, and with a loud voice he called unto God, knocking on his breast, and holding up his hands, so long as his remembrance would serve, and so ended his life; the people giving shouts, and praising God with great admiration of his constancy, being so simple and unlettered.

Lord Wentworth at Kerby's burning.

Constant death and martyrdom of Kerby, at Ipswich.

Roger Clarke brought to the stake at Bury.

On the Gang-Monday, A.D. 1546, about ten of the clock, Roger Clarke of Mendelsham was brought out of prison, and went on foot to the gate, called Southgate, in Bury, and, by the way, the procession met with them; but he went on, and would not bow cap, nor knee, but with most vehement words rebuked that idolatry and superstition, the officers being much offended. And without the gate, where was the place of execution, the stake being ready, and the wood lying by, he came, and kneeled down, and said, Magnificat, in the English tongue, making as it were a paraphrase upon the same, wherein he declared how that the blessed Virgin Mary, who might as well rejoice in pureness, as any others, yet humbled herself to her Saviour. "And what sayest thou, John Baptist," said he, "the greatest of all men's children? 'Behold the Lamb of God, which

He giveth no reverence to the procession.

taketh away the sins of the world.'"[1] And thus, with a loud voice, he cried unto the people, while he was in fastening unto the stake, and then the fire was set to him, where he suffered pains unmercifully; for the wood was green, and would not burn; so that he was choked with smoke. And, moreover, being set in a pitch-barrel, with some pitch sticking still by the sides, he was therewith sore pained, till he had got his feet out of the barrel. And, at length, one standing by took a faggot-stick, and striking at the ring of iron about his neck, so pashed him, and struck him belike upon the head, that he shrank down on the one side into the fire; and so was dissolved.[2]

Henry VIII. A. D. 1545 to 1546.

His painful burning and martyrdom.

In the beginning of this story of Kerby and Roger, mention was made of a certain bill put upon the Town-house door, and brought the next day to the lord Wentworth, the words of which bill were these.

The Bill set upon the Town-house Door in Ipswich, the Night before Kerby and Roger were condemned.

'Justè judicate filii hominum:' yet, when ye shall judge, minister your justice with mercy.

'A fearful thing it is, to fall into the hands of the living God:' be ye learned, therefore, in true knowledge, ye that judge the earth; lest the Lord be angry with you.

'The blood of the righteous shall be required at your hands.' What though the veil hanged before Moses' face; yet at Christ's death it fell down.

'The stones will speak, if these should hold their peace:' therefore harden not your hearts against the verity.

For fearfully shall the Lord appear in the day of vengeance to the troubled in conscience. No excuse shall there be of ignorance, but every wight shall stand on his own bottom. Therefore have remorse in your conscience; fear him that may kill both body and soul.

Beware of innocent blood-shedding; take heed of justice ignorantly ministered; work discreetly as the Scripture doth command: look to it, that ye make not the truth to be forsaken.

We beseech God to save our king, king Henry the Eighth, that he be not led into temptation. So be it.

This year also it was ordained and decreed, and solemnly given out in proclamation, by the king's name and authority, and his council, that the English procession should be used throughout all England, according as it was set forth by his said council, and none other to be used throughout the whole realm.

About the latter end of this year, 1545, in the month of November, when the king had subdued the Scots, and afterwards, joining together with the emperor, had invaded France, and had got from them the town of Boulogne, he summoned his high court of parliament. In that was granted unto him, besides other subsidies of money, all colleges, chantries, free chapels, hospitals, fraternities, brotherhoods, guilds, and perpetuities of stipendiary priests, to be disposed of at his will and pleasure.[3] Whereupon, in the month of December following, the king after the wonted custom, came into the parliament-house to give his royal assent to such acts as were there passed; where, after an eloquent oration made to him by the

The Scots subdued.

Boulogne won.

A parliament.

Colleges and chantries given to the king.

(1) John i.

(2) 'And so was dissolved.' 'Where he lived long in great and cruel torments most woeful to behold, and so ended his life.' See Edition 1563, p. 655.—Ed.

(3) Stat. anno 37, reg. Hen. VIII. [cap. iv.,—Ed.]

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speaker, he, answering again unto the same, not by the lord chancellor (as the manner was), but by himself, uttered forth this oration, word for word, as it is reported and left in story.

In the contents of which oration, first, eloquently and lovingly, he declared his grateful heart to his loving subjects for their grants and subventions, offered unto him. In the second part, with no less vehemency he exhorteth them to concord, peace and unity. Whereunto if he had also joined the third part, that is, as in words he exhorted to unity, so he had begun indeed first himself to take away the occasion of division, disobedience, and disturbance from his subjects; that is, had removed the stumbling-block of the Six Articles out of the people's way, which set brother against brother, neighbour against neighbour, the superior against the subject, and the wolves to devour the poor flock of Christ: then, had he not only spoken, but also done, like a worthy prince. But of this, more shall be said in the sequel hereof, God willing.

The King's Oration in the Parliament-House.

Although my chancellor for the time being hath, before this time, used very eloquently and substantially to make answer to such orations as have been set forth in this high court of parliament, yet is he not so able to open and set forth my mind and meaning, and the secrets of my heart, in so plain and ample manner as I myself am, and can do. Wherefore I, taking upon me to answer your eloquent oration, Master Speaker! say, that whereas you, in the name of our well-beloved Commons, have both praised and extolled me for the notable qualities that you have conceived to be in me, I most heartily thank you all that you put me in remembrance of my duty, which is, to endeavour myself to obtain and get such excellent qualities, and necessary virtues, as a prince or governor should or ought to have; of which gifts I recognise myself both bare and barren.

But for such small qualities as God hath endued me withal, I render to his goodness my most humble thanks, intending, with all my wit and diligence, to get and acquire to me such notable virtues and princely qualities, as you have alleged to be incorporate in my person.

The king's thanks to his commons.

These thanks for your loving admonition and good counsel first remembered, I eftsoons thank you again, because that you, considering our great charges (not for our pleasure, but for your defence; not for our gain, but to our great cost), which we have lately sustained, as well in defence against our and your enemies, as for the conquest of that fortress, which was to this realm most displeasant and noisome, and shall be, by God's grace, hereafter to our nation most profitable and pleasant, have freely, of your own mind, granted to us a certain subsidy here in an act specified; which, verily, we take in good part, regarding more your kindness than the profit thereof, as he that setteth more by your loving hearts, than by your substance. Besides this hearty kindness, I cannot a little rejoice, when I consider the perfect trust and sure confidence which you have put in me, as men having undoubted hope, and unfeigned belief, in my good doings and just proceedings; for that you, without my desire or request, have committed to mine order and disposition all chantries, colleges, hospitals, and other places specified in a certain act, firmly trusting that I will order them to the glory of God, and the profit of our commonwealth. Surely if I, contrary to your expectation, should suffer the ministers of the church to decay; or learning, which is so great a jewel, to be minished; or poor and miserable people to be unrelieved; you might say that I, being put in so special a trust as I am in this case, were no trusty friend to you, nor charitable man to mine even christened, neither a lover of the public wealth, nor yet one that feared God, to whom account must be rendered of all our doings. Doubt not, I pray you, but your expectation shall be served more godly and goodly than you will wish or desire, as hereafter you shall plainly perceive.

Promises the well bestowing of chantries and colleges.

Now, since I find such kindness on your part towards me, I cannot choose but love and favour you, affirming that no prince in the world more favoureth his subjects than I do you, nor any subjects or commons more love and obey their sovereign lord, than I perceive you do me, for whose defence my treasure shall not be hidden, nor, if necessity require, shall my person be unadventured. Yet, although I with you, and you with me, be in this perfect love and concord, this friendly amity cannot continue, except you, my lords temporal, and you, my lords spiritual, and you, my loving subjects, study and take pains to amend one thing, which is surely amiss and far out of order, to the which I most heartily require you; which is, that charity and concord is not among you, but discord and dissension beareth rule in every place. St. Paul saith to the Corinthians, in the thirteenth chapter, 'Charity is gentle, charity is not envious, charity is not proud,' and so forth, in the said chapter. Behold then what love and charity[1] is amongst you, when the one calleth the other heretic, and anabaptist; and he calleth him again papist, hypocrite, and pharisee. Be these tokens of charity amongst you? Are these the signs of fraternal love between you? No, no, I assure you that this lack of charity amongst yourselves will be the hinderance and assuaging of the fervent love between us, as I said before, except this wound be salved and clearly made whole. I must needs judge the fault and occasion of this discord to be partly by the negligence of you, the fathers and preachers of the spiritualty. For if I know a man which liveth in adultery, I must judge him a lecherous and carnal person. If I see a man boast and brag himself, I cannot but deem him a proud man. I see and hear daily, that you of the clergy preach one against another, teach one contrary to another, inveigh one against another, without charity or discretion. Some be too stiff in their old 'numpsimus,' others be too busy and curious in their new 'sumpsimus.'

Thus all men almost be in variety and discord, and few or none do preach truly and sincerely the word of God, according as they ought to do. Shall I now judge you charitable persons doing this? No, no, I cannot so do. Alas! how can the poor souls live in concord, when you preachers sow amongst them, in your sermons, debate and discord? Of you they look for light, and you bring them to darkness. Amend these crimes, I exhort you, and set forth God's word,[2] both by true preaching and good example-giving; or else I, whom God hath appointed his vicar and high minister here, will see these divisions extinct, and these enormities corrected, according to my very duty; or else I am an unprofitable servant, and an untrue officer.

Although (as I say) the spiritual men be in some fault, that charity is not kept amongst you, yet you of the temporalty be not clean and unspotted of malice and envy; for you rail on bishops, speak slanderously of priests, and rebuke and taunt preachers, both, contrary to good order and christian fraternity. If you know surely that a bishop or preacher erreth, or teacheth perverse doctrine, come and declare it to some of our council, or to us, to whom is committed by God, the authority to reform and order such causes and behaviours; and be not judges[3] yourselves of your own fantastical opinions and vain expositions, for in such high causes ye may lightly err. And although you be permitted to read holy Scripture,[4] and to have the word of God in your mother tongue, you must understand that it is licensed you so to do, only to inform your own conscience, and to instruct your children and family; and not to dispute and make Scripture a railing and a taunting stock against priests and preachers, as many light persons do. I am very sorry to know and hear how unreverently that most precious jewel, the word of God, is disputed, rhymed, sung,[5] and jangled in every alehouse and tavern, contrary to the true meaning and doctrine of the same: and yet I am even as much sorry that the readers of the same follow it, in doing, so faintly and coldly. For of this I am

(1) Charity and concord, in commonwealths, be things most necessary: but, in matters of religion, charity and concord be not enough, without verity and true worship of God. If true religion had been maintained and error reformed, these terms of variance had not need now to be reproved.

(2) And wherein else consisteth all this variance, but only because God's word hath not its free course, but that those who set it forth, are condemned and therefore burned.

(3) This can touch none but only the papists, who will needs be both accusers, and also judges in their own opinions and causes.

(4) How are they permitted to hear God's word, when no one is permitted to read it under the degree of a gentleman.

(5 St. Jerome wisheth the Scriptures not only to be read of all men, but also to be sung of women at their rocks, of ploughmen at the ploughs, of weavers at their looms, &c.

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sure, that charity was never so faint amongst you, and virtuous and godly living[1] was never less used, nor was God himself amongst Christians ever less reverenced, honoured, or served. Therefore (as I said before) be in charity one with another like brother and brother: love, dread, and fear God (to the which I, as your supreme head and sovereign lord, exhort and require you): and then, I doubt not but that that love and league which I spake of in the beginning, shall never be dissolved or broken between us. And as touching the laws which be now made and concluded, I exhort you, the makers, to be as diligent in putting them in execution, as you were in making and furthering the same; or else your labour shall be in vain, and your commonwealth nothing relieved.

NOTES UPON THE AFORESAID EXHORTATION OF KING HENRY.

The oration expended with notes upon the same.

Princes who exhort to concord and charity do well; but princes who seek out the causes of discord, and reform the same, do much better. The papist and protestant, heretic and pharisee, the old "mumpsimus" and the new "sumpsimus," be terms of variance and dissension, and be, I grant, "symptomata" of a sore wound in the commonwealth. But he that will amend this wound must first begin to search out the causes, and to purge the occasion thereof: otherwise, to cure the sore outwardly, which inwardly doth fester and rankle still, it is but vain.

The root and ground of all this grievance riseth hence: from the prelates and clergy of Rome, seeking, as it seemeth, altogether after riches, pomp, and honour of this world; who, to maintain the same under pretence of religion, do in very deed subvert religion. Under that title of the church, they bring into the church manifest errors and absurdities intolerable, who, pretending to be fathers of the church, if they transgressed but in manners and lightness of life, or negligence of government, they might be borne withal, for peace and concord's sake; and here modesty, civility, quietness, unity, and charity, might have place amongst modest natures. But now, they obscure the glory of the Son of God, which in no case ought to be suffered; they extinguish the light and grace of the gospel; they clog men's consciences; they set up idolatry, and maintain idols; they bring in false invocation, and restrain lawful matrimony, whereby groweth filthy pollution, adultery, and whoredom in the church unspeakable; they corrupt the sacraments; they wrest the Scripture to worldly purposes; they kill and persecute God's people: briefly their doctrine is damnable, their laws be impious, their doings are detestable. And yet, after all this, they creep craftily into the hearts of princes, under the title of the church, and colour of concord; making kings and princes believe that all be heretics and schismatics, who will not be subject to their ordinary power. Now Almighty God, who is a jealous God, and not suffering the glory of his Son to be defaced, nor his truth to be trodden under foot, stirreth up again the hearts of his people to understand his truth, and to defend his cause. Whereupon, of these two parts, as two mighty flints thus smiting together, cometh out the sparkle of this division, which can in no wise be quenched, but that one part must needs yield and give over. There is no neutrality, nor mediation of peace, nor exhortation to agreement,

(1) Godly living, though it increase not with the gospel so much as we wish, yet the defect thereof is not to be imputed to the gospel: and if we well compare time with time, we shall find, by viewing the books of the old wardmote quests of whores and bawds, and wicked livers, ten presented to one now, besides priests and the common stews.

that will serve between these two contrary doctrines, but either the pope's errors must give place to God's word, or else the verity of God must give place unto them. *Henry VIII.* A.D. 1545 to 1546.

Wherefore, as the good intent, and plausible oration of the king, in this behalf, was not to be discommended, in exhorting his subjects to charity, so had he much more deserved commendation, if he had sought the right way to work charity, and to help innocency amongst his subjects, by taking away the impious law of the Six Articles, the mother of all division and manslaughter. For what is this to the purpose, to exhort in words ever so much to charity, and indeed to give a knife to the murderer's hand, to run upon his naked brother, who never in conscience can leave his cause, nor yet hath power to defend himself? as by experience here followeth to be seen, what charity ensued after this exhortation of the king to charity, by the racking and burning of good Anne Askew, with three other poor subjects of the king, within half a year after; whereof shortly you shall hear more declared.

When these chantries and colleges thus, by act of parliament, were given into the king's hands as is above remembered (which was about the month of December, A.D. 1545), the next Lent following, Dr. Crome, preaching in the Mercer's chapel, among other reasons and persuasions to rouse the people from the vain opinion of purgatory, inferred this (grounding upon the said act of parliament): that if trentals and chantry masses could avail the souls in purgatory, then did the parliament not well in giving away monasteries, colleges, and chantries, which served principally to that purpose. But, if the parliament did well (as no man could deny) in dissolving them, and bestowing the same upon the king, then is it a plain case, that such chantries and private masses do nothing to confer and relieve them in purgatory. This dilemma of Dr. Crome, no doubt, was insoluble. But, notwithstanding, the charitable prelates, for all the king's late exhortation unto charity, were so charitable unto him, that on Easter next they brought him "coram nobis," where they so handled him, that they made him to recant. And if he had not, they would have dissolved him and his argument in burning fire, so burning hot was their charity, according as they burned Anne Askew and her fellows in the month of July the year following:[1] whose tragical story and cruel handling now, consequently, the Lord willing, you shall hear.

Crome's dilemma against private masses.

Driven to recant.

Charity of the bishops.

The Two Examinations of the worthy Servant of God, Mistress Anne Askew, Daughter of Sir William Askew, knight, of Lincolnshire.

MARTYRED IN SMITHFIELD FOR THE CONSTANT AND FAITHFUL TESTIMONY OF THE TRUTH.

Here[2] next follow the true examinations of Anne Askew, which here thou shalt have, gentle reader, according as she wrote them with her own hand, at the instant desire of certain faithful men and women: by which, if thou mark diligently the communications, both of her, and of her examiners, thou mayest easily perceive the tree by the fruit, and the man by his work.

(1) Not 'the year following,' but the same year to which Foxe had just referred, viz. 1546.—Ed.

(2) See Edition 1563, p. 669.—Ed.

Henry VIII.

The First Examination before the Inquisitors, A.D. 1545.

A. D. 1545 to 1546.

To satisfy your expectation, good people (said she), this was my first examination, in the year of our Lord 1545, and in the month of March.

First Christopher Dare examined me at Sadler's Hall, being one of the quest, and asked, if I did not believe that the sacrament hanging over the altar was the very body of Christ really. Then I demanded this question of him, Wherefore was St. Stephen stoned to death? and he said, he could not tell. Then I answered that no more would I assoil his vain question.

Christopher Dare, inquisitor.

Secondly, he said, that there was a woman who did testify that I should read, how God was not in temples made with hands. Then I showed him chapters vii. and xvii. of the Acts of the Apostles; what Stephen and Paul had said therein. Whereupon he asked me how I took those sentences? I answered, I would not throw pearls amongst swine, for acorns were good enough.

Thirdly, he asked me, wherefore I said, I had rather to read five lines in the Bible, than to hear five masses in the temple. I confessed that I said no less; not for the dispraise of either the epistle or the gospel, but because the one did greatly edify me, and the other nothing at all. As St. Paul doth witness in 1 Cor. xiv., where he saith, 'If the trumpet giveth an uncertain sound, who will prepare himself to the battle?'

Fourthly, he laid unto my charge, that I should say, If an ill priest ministered, it was the devil and not God.

Ill conditions of the ministers hurt not the faith of the receivers.

My answer was, that I never spake any such thing. But this was my saying: that whosoever he were that ministered unto me, his ill conditions could not hurt my faith, but in spirit I received, nevertheless, the body and blood of Christ.

Fifthly, he asked me what I said concerning confession. I answered him my meaning, which was, as St. James saith, that every man ought to acknowledge his faults to other, and the one to pray for the other.

Sixthly, he asked me what I said to the king's book: and I answered him that I could say nothing to it, because I never saw it.

Seventhly, he asked me if I had the Spirit of God in me. I answered, if I had not, I was but a reprobate or castaway.

A priest brought to examine Anne Askew.

Then he said, he had sent for a priest to examine me, who was there at hand. The priest asked me what I said to the sacrament of the altar, and required much to know my meaning therein. But I desired him again to hold me excused concerning that matter: none other answer would I make him, because I perceived him to be a papist.

Private masses idolatry.

Eighthly, he asked me, if I did not think that private masses did help the souls departed. I said, it was great idolatry to believe more in them, than in the death which Christ died for us.

Anne Askew brought to the lord mayor.

Then they had me thence unto my lord mayor, and he examined me, as they had before, and I answered him directly in all things, as I answered the quest before. Besides this, my lord mayor laid one thing to my charge, which was never spoken of me, but by them; and that was, whether a mouse, eating the host, received God or no? This question did I never ask, but indeed they asked it of me, whereunto I made them no answer, but smiled.

Women forbidden to speak in the congregation, and how.

Then the bishop's chancellor rebuked me, and said that I was much to blame for uttering the Scriptures. For St. Paul, he said, forbade women to speak or to talk of the word of God I answered him that I knew Paul's meaning as well as he, which is, in 1 Cor. xiv., that a woman ought not to speak in the congregation by the way of teaching: and then I asked him how many women he had seen go into the pulpit and preach? He said he never saw any. Then I said, he ought to find no fault in poor women, except they had offended the law.

Anne Askew commanded to the compter.

Then my lord mayor commanded me to ward. I asked him if sureties would not serve me; and he made me short answer, that he would take none. Then was I had to the Compter, and there remained eleven days, no friend admitted to speak with me. But, in the meantime, there was a priest sent unto me, who said that he was commanded of the bishop to examine me, and to give me good counsel, which he did not. But, first, he asked me for what cause I was put in

the Compter; and I told him, I could not tell. Then he said, it was great pity that I should be there without cause, and concluded, that he was very sorry for me.

Secondly he said, it was told him that I should deny the sacrament of the altar. And I answered him again, that what I had said, I had said.

Thirdly he asked me, if I were content to be shriven. I told him, so that I might have one of these three, that is to say, Dr. Crome, sir Guillam, or Huntington, I was contented, because I knew them to be men of wisdom. As for you, or any other, I will not dispraise, because I know you not. Then, said he, 'I would not have you think but that I, or any other that shall be brought you, shall be as honest as they: for if we were not, you may be sure the king would not suffer us to preach.' Then I answered with the saying of Solomon, 'By communing with the wise I may learn wisdom, but by talking with a fool I shall take scathe.' [Prov. i. 5.]

Whether a mouse may eat Christ's body in the sacrament, or no.

Fourthly he asked, If the host should fall, and a beast did eat it, whether the beast did receive God or no? I answered, 'Seeing that you have taken the pains to ask the question, I desire you also to assoil it yourself: for I will not do it, because I perceive you come to tempt me.' And he said it was against the order of schools, that he who asked the question should answer it. I told him I was but a woman, and knew not the course of schools.

Fifthly he asked me, if I intended to receive the sacrament at Easter, or no? I answered, that else I were no christian woman; and thereat I did rejoice, that the time was so near at hand. And then he departed thence with many fair words.

The 23d day of March, my cousin Brittayne came into the Compter unto me, and asked me whether I might be put to bail, or no? Then went he immediately unto my lord mayor, desiring him to be so good unto me, that I might be bailed. My lord answered him and said, that he would be glad to do the best that in him lay; howbeit he could not bail me, without the consent of a spiritual officer: requiring him to go and speak with the chancellor of London. For, he said, like as he could not commit me to prison without the consent of a spiritual officer, no more could he bail me without the consent of the same.

Master Brittain seeks to bail Anne Askewhis cousin: is sent to the bishop.

So, upon that, he went to the chancellor, requiring of him as he did before of my lord mayor. He answered him, that the matter was so heinous, that he durst not of himself do it, without my lord of London were made privy thereunto. But, he said, he would speak unto my lord in it, and bade him repair unto him the next morrow, and he should well know my lord's pleasure. And upon the morrow after, he came thither, and spake both with the chancellor and with my lord bishop of London. The bishop declared unto him, that he was very well contented that I should come forth to communication; and appointed me to appear before him the next day after, at three of the clock at afternoon. Moreover he said unto him, that he would there should be at the examination such learned men as I was affectioned to, that they might see, and also make report, that I was handled with no rigour. He answered him, that he knew no man that I had more affection to, than to other. Then said the bishop, 'Yes, as I understand, she is affectioned to Dr. Crome, sir Guillam Whitehead, and Huntington, that they might hear the matter, for she doth know them to be learned and of a godly judgment.' Also he required my cousin Brittayne, that he should earnestly persuade me to utter even the very bottom of my heart; and he sware by his fidelity, that no man should take any advantage of my words, neither yet would he lay ought to my charge for any thing that I should there speak; but, if I said any manner of thing amiss, he, with others more, would be glad to reform me therein, with most godly counsel.

Bonner's promise to him.

Anne Askew brought before Bonner.

On the morrow after, the bishop of London sent for me at one of the clock, his hour being appointed at three; and as I came before him, he said he was very sorry for my trouble, and desired to know my opinions in such matters as were laid against me. He required me also, in any wise, boldly to utter the secrets of my heart, bidding me not to fear in any point, for whatsoever I did say in his house, no man should hurt me for it. I answered, forasmuch as your lordship appointed three of the clock, and my friends will not come till that hour, I desire you to pardon me of giving answer till they come. Then said he, that he thought it meet to send for those four men who were aforenamed and appointed. Then I desired him not to put them to pain, for it should not

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need, because the two gentlemen which were my friends, were able enough to testify what I should say.

Anon after he went into his gallery with Master Spilman, and willed him in any wise that he should exhort me to utter all that I thought. In the meanwhile he commanded his archdeacon to commune with me, who said unto me, 'Mistress, wherefore are you accused and thus troubled here before the bishop?' To whom I answered again and said, 'Sir, ask, I pray you, my accusers; for I know not as yet.' Then took he my book out of my hand, and said, 'Such books as this, have brought you to the trouble that you are in. Beware,' said he, 'beware, for he that made this book, and was the author thereof, was a heretic, I warrant you, and burned in Smithfield.' And then I asked him, if he were certain and sure that it was true which he had spoken. And he said, he knew well the book was of John Frith's making. Then I asked him if he were not ashamed to judge of the book before he saw it within, or yet knew the truth thereof. I said also, that such unadvised hasty judgment is a token apparent of a very slender wit. Then I opened the book and showed it him. He said he thought it had been another, for he could find no fault therein. Then I desired him no more to be so unadvisedly rash and swift in judgment, till he thoroughly knew the truth: and so he departed from me.

Talk between the archdeacon and her.

Rash judgment reproved.

Good council given to the archdeacon.

Immediately after came my cousin Brittayne in, with divers others, as Master Hall of Gray's Inn, and such other like. Then my lord of London persuaded my cousin Brittayne, as he had done oft before, which was, that I should utter the bottom of my heart in any wise. My lord said after that unto me, that he would I should credit the counsel of such as were my friends and well-willers in this behalf, which was, that I should utter all things that burdened my conscience; for he assured me, that I should not need to stand in doubt to say any thing. For, like as he promised them (he said), he promised me, and would perform it; which was, that neither he, nor any man for him, should take me at advantage for any word that I should speak: and therefore he bade me say my mind without fear. I answered him, that I had nought to say, for my conscience (I thanked God) was burdened with nothing.

Talk between Anne Askew and Bonner.

Then brought he forth this unsavoury similitude; that if a man had a wound, no wise surgeon would minister help unto it before he had seen it uncovered. 'In like case,' saith he, 'can I give you no good counsel, unless I know wherewith your conscience is burdened.' I answered, that my conscience was clear in all things, and to lay a plaster unto the whole skin, it might appear much folly.

Bonner's similitude.

'Then you drive me,' saith he, 'to lay to your charge your own report, which is this: you did say, He that doth receive the sacrament by the hands of an ill priest, or a sinner, receiveth the devil, and not God.' To that I answered, 'I never spake such words: but, as I said before, both to the quest and to my lord mayor, so say I now again, that the wickedness of the priest should not hurt me, but in spirit and faith I received no less than the body and blood of Christ.' Then said the bishop unto me, 'What saying is this, in spirit? I will not take you at that advantage.' Then I answered, 'My lord, without faith and spirit, I cannot receive him worthily.'

Bonner's first objection against Anne Askew.

Then he laid unto me, that I should say, that the sacrament remaining in the pix, was but bread. I answered that I never said so; but indeed the quest asked me such a question, whereunto I would not answer (I said) till such a time as they had assoiled me this question of mine, Wherefore Stephen was stoned to death? They said, they knew not. Then said I again, no more would I tell them what it was.

The second article.

Then said my lord unto me, that I had alleged a certain text of the Scripture. I answered that I alleged none other but St. Paul's own saying to the Athenians, in the 17th chapter of the Acts of the Apostles, that 'God dwelleth not in temples made with hands.' Then asked he me, what my faith and belief was in that matter? I answered him, 'I believe as the Scripture doth teach me.'

Then inquired he of me, 'What if the Scripture doth say, that it is the body of Christ?' 'I believe,' said I, 'as the Scripture doth teach me.' Then asked he again, 'What if the Scripture doth say, that it is not the body of Christ?' My answer was still, 'I believe as the Scripture informeth me.' And upon this argument he tarried a great while, to have driven me to make him an answer

to his mind: howbeit, I would not, but concluded this with him, that I believed therein, and in all other things, as Christ and his holy apostles did leave them. *Henry VIII.* A. D. 1545 to 1546.

Then he asked me, why I had so few words? And I answered, 'God hath given me the gift of knowledge, but not of utterance: and Solomon saith, That a woman of few words is the gift of God.' [Prov. ix. 13.]

Thirdly, my lord laid unto my charge, that I should say that the mass was superstitious, wicked, and no better than idolatry. I answered him, 'No, I said not so. Howbeit I say the quest did ask me whether private mass did relieve souls departed or no? Unto whom then I answered, O lord! what idolatry is this, that we should rather believe in private masses, than in the healthsome death of the dear Son of God?' Then said my lord again, 'What an answer is that!' 'Though it be but mean,' said I, 'yet is it good enough for the question.' The fifth article.

Then I told my lord, that there was a priest who did hear what I said there before my lord mayor and them. With that the chancellor answered, Who was the same priest? 'So she spake it in very deed,' saith he, 'before my lord mayor and me.'

Then were there certain priests, as Dr. Standish and others, which tempted me much to know my mind. And I answered them always thus: 'That I said to my lord of London, I have said.' Then Dr. Standish desired my lord to bid me say my mind concerning the same text of St. Paul's [I answered, that it was against St. Paul's][1] learning, that I, being a woman, should interpret the Scriptures; especially where so many wise learned men were. Dr. Standish's demand.

Then my lord of London said, he was informed that one should ask of me, if I would receive the sacrament at Easter, and I made a mock of it.

Then I desired that mine accuser might come forth; which my lord would not. But he said again unto me, 'I sent one to give you good counsel, and at the first word you called him papist.' That I denied not, for I perceived he was no less, yet made I him none answer unto it. Anne Askew could not have her accuser.

Then he rebuked me, and said that I should report, that there were bent against me threescore priests at Lincoln. 'Indeed,' quoth I, 'I said so. For my friends told me, if I did come to Lincoln, the priests would assault me, and put me to great trouble, as thereof they had made their boast: and when I heard it, I went thither indeed, not being afraid, because I knew my matter to be good. Moreover I remained there nine days, to see what would be said unto me. And as I was in the minster, reading upon the Bible, they resorted unto me by two and two, by five and by six, minding to have spoken unto me, yet went they their ways again without words speaking.' The priests of Lincoln against her.

Then my lord asked if there were not one that did speak unto me. I told him, yes; that there was one of them at last, who did speak to me indeed. And my lord then asked me what he said? And I told him his words were of small effect, so that I did not now remember them. Then said my lord, 'There are many that read and know the Scripture, and yet follow it not, nor live thereafter.' I said again, 'My lord! I would wish that all men knew my conversation and living in all points; for I am sure myself this hour, that there are none able to prove any dishonesty by me. If you know that any can do it, I pray you bring them forth.' Then my lord went away, and said he would entitle somewhat of my meaning, and so he wrote a great circumstance: but what it was, I have not all in my memory; for he would not suffer me to have the copy thereof. Only do I remember this small portion of it: She standeth upon her honesty.

'Be it known,' saith he, 'of all men, that I, Anne Askew, do confess this to be my faith and belief, notwithstanding many reports made afore to the contrary. I believe that they which are houseled at the hands of a priest, whether his conversation be good or not, do receive the body and blood of Christ in substance really. Also, I do believe, that after the consecration, whether it be received or reserved, it is no less than the very body and blood of Christ in substance. Finally, I do believe in this and all other sacraments of holy church in all points, according to the old catholic faith of the same. In witness whereof, I, the said Anne, have subscribed my name.' Bonner's misreport of Anne Askew's confession.

There was somewhat more in it, which because I had not the copy, I cannot now remember. Then he read it to me, and asked me if I did agree to it. And I

(1) These words are supplied from 'The First Examinasyon of Anne Askew, with the Elucydacyon of Johan Bale,' (16mo. Marpurg. 1546), p. 32.—Ed.

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said again, 'I believe so much thereof, as the holy Scripture doth agree unto: wherefore I desire you, that ye will add that thereunto.' Then he answered, that I should not teach him what he should write. With that he went forth into his great chamber and read the same bill before the audience, who inveigled and willed me to set to my hand; saying also, that I had favour showed me. Then said the bishop, I might thank others, and not myself, for the favour that I found at his hand; for he considered, he said, that I had good friends, and also that I came of a worshipful stock.

The tenor of Bonner's writing, whereto she subscribed.

Then answered one Christopher, a servant unto Master Denny: 'Rather ought you, my lord, to have done it in such case for God's sake, than for man's.' Then my lord sat down, and took me the writing to set thereto my hand, and I wrote after this manner: 'I, Anne Askew, do believe all manner of things contained in the faith of the catholic church.'

And forasmuch as mention here is made of the writing of Bonner, which this godly woman said before she had not in memory, therefore I thought in this place to infer the same, both with the whole circumstance of Bonner, and with the title thereunto prefixed by the registrar, and also with her own subscription: to the intent the reader, seeing the same subscription neither to agree with the time of the title above prefixed, nor with the subscription after the writing annexed, might the better understand thereby what credit is to be given hereafter to such bishops, and to such registrars. The tenor of Bonner's writing proceedeth thus:

The copy of the bishop's report upon the confession of Anne Askew, as it standeth in registers.

"The true Copy of the Confession and Belief of Anne Askew, otherwise called Anne Kyme, made before the Bishop of London, the twentieth day of March, in the year of our Lord God, after the computation of the Church of England, 1545; and subscribed with her own hand in the presence of the said bishop and others whose names hereafter are recited, set forth, and published at this present: to the intent the world may see what credence is now to be given unto the same woman, who, in so short a time, hath so damnably altered and changed her opinion and belief; and therefore was rightly, in open court, arraigned and condemned."[1]

Be it known to all faithful people, that, as touching the blessed sacrament of the altar, I do firmly and undoubtedly believe, that after the words of consecration be spoken by the priest, according to the common usage of this church of England, there is present really the body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, whether the minister which doth consecrate be a good man or a bad man; and that also, whensoever the said sacrament is received, whether the receiver be a good man or a bad man, he doth receive it really and corporally. And moreover, I do believe that, whether the said sacrament be then received of the minister, or else reserved to be put into the pix, or to be brought to any person that is impotent or sick, yet there is the very body and blood of our said Saviour; so that whether the minister, or the receiver, be good or bad, yea, whether the sacrament be received or reserved, always there is the blessed body of Christ really.

And this thing, with all other things touching the sacrament and other sacraments of the church, and all things else touching the christian belief, which are taught and declared in the king's majesty's book, lately set forth for the erudition of the christian people, I, Anne Askew, otherwise called Anne Kyme, do truly and perfectly believe; and so here presently confess and acknowledge. And here I do promise, that henceforth I shall never say or do any thing against the premises, or against any of them. In witness whereof, I, the said Anne, have subscribed my name unto these presents.

Written the 20th day of March, in the year of our Lord God 1545.[2]

By me, Anne Askew, otherwise called Anne Kyme.

(1) Ex regist. Lond. (2) Ibid.

Witnesses: Edmund, bishop of London; John, bishop of Bath; Owen Oglethorp, doctor of divinity; Richard Smith, doctor of divinity; John Rudde, bachelor of divinity; William Pie, bachelor of divinity; John Wimsley, archdeacon of London; John Cook; Robert John; Francis Spilman; Edward Hall; Alexander Bret; Edmund Buts, with divers others more being then present. *Henry VIII.* A.D. 1546.

Here mayest thou note, gentle reader, in this confession, both in the bishop and his register, a double sleight of false conveyance. For although the confession purporteth the words of the bishop's writing, whereunto she did set her hand, yet by the title prefixed before, mayest thou see that both she was arraigned and condemned before this was registered; and also, that she is falsely reported to have put to her hand, which indeed, by this her own book, appeareth not so to be, but after this manner and condition: "I, Anne Askew, do believe all manner of things contained in the faith of the catholic church, and not otherwise." It followeth more in the story: Bonner and his register reproved with an untruth.

Then, because I did add unto it 'the catholic church,' he flung into his chamber in a great fury. With that, my cousin Brittayne followed, desiring him, for God's sake, to be good lord unto me. He answered, that I was a woman, and that he was nothing deceived in me. Then my cousin Brittayne desired him to take me as a woman, and not to set my weak woman's wit to his lordship's great wisdom. Bonner in a chafe against Anne Askew.

Then went in unto him Dr. Weston, and said, that the cause why I did write there the catholic church, was, that I understood not the church written afore. So, with much ado, they persuaded my lord to come out again, and to take my name, with the names of my sureties, which were my cousin Brittayne, and Master Spilman of Gray's Inn. Dr. Weston.

This being done, we thought that I should have been put to bail immediately, according to the order of the law: howbeit he would not suffer it, but committed me from thence to prison again until the next morrow, and then he willed me to appear in the Guildhall, and so I did. Notwithstanding they would not put me to bail there neither, but read the bishop's writing unto me, as before, and so commanded me again to prison. Then were my sureties appointed to come before them on the next morrow, in Paul's church, which did so indeed. Notwithstanding, they would once again have broken off with them, because they would not be bound also for another woman, at their pleasure, whom they knew not, nor yet what matter was laid unto her charge! Notwithstanding at the last, after much ado and reasoning to and fro, they took a bond of them of recognisance for my forth-coming: and thus I was at the last delivered. Anne Askew brought to the guildhall. Bailed at last under sureties, with much ado.

Written by me, Anne Askew.

The latter Apprehension and Examination of the worthy Martyr of God, Mistress Anne Askew, A.D. 1546.

I do perceive, dear friend in the Lord, that thou art not yet persuaded thoroughly in the truth concerning the Lord's supper, because Christ said unto his apostles, 'Take, eat, this is my body which is given for you.'

In giving forth the bread as an outward sign or token to be received with the mouth, he minded them in perfect belief to receive that body of his which should die for the people, and to think the death thereof to be the only health and salvation of their souls. The bread and the wine were left us for a sacramental communion, or a mutual participation of the inestimable benefits of his most precious death and blood-shedding, and that we should, in the end thereof, be thankful together for that most necessary grace of our redemption. For, in the closing up thereof he said thus, 'This do ye in remembrance of me: yea, so oft as ye shall eat it or drink it.'[1] Else should we have been forgetful of that we ought to have in daily remembrance, and also have been altogether unthankful for it. Therefore it is meet that in our prayers we call unto God to graft in our A declaration of Anne Askew of these words of our Saviour, 'This is my body.

(1) Luke xxii. 19. 1 Cor. xi. 25.

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foreheads the true meaning of the Holy Ghost concerning this communion. For St. Paul saith, 'The letter slayeth; the Spirit is it only that giveth life.'[1] Mark well the sixth chapter of John, where all is applied unto faith: note also the fourth chapter of St. Paul's second Epistle to the Corinthians, and in the end thereof ye shall find, that 'the things which are seen are temporal, but they that are not seen are everlasting.' Yea, look in Hebrews iii., and ye shall find that Christ as a son (and no servant) ruleth over his house, 'whose house are we,' and not the dead temple, 'if we hold fast the confidence and rejoicing of that hope to the end.'[2] 'Wherefore,' as said the Holy Ghost, 'To-day if ye shall hear his voice, harden not your hearts,'[3] &c.

The sum of my Examination before the King's Council at Greenwich.

Your request as concerning my prison-fellows I am not able to satisfy, because I heard not their examinations. But the effect of mine was this: I, being before the council, was asked of Master Kyme.[4] I answered, that my lord chancellor knew already my mind in that matter. They with that answer were not contented, but said it was the king's pleasure that I should open the matter unto them. I answered them plainly, I would not so do; but if it were the king's pleasure to hear me, I would show him the truth. Then they said, it was not meet for the king to be troubled with me. I answered, that Solomon was reckoned the wisest king that ever lived, yet misliked he not to hear two poor common women, much more his grace a simple woman and his faithful subject. So, in conclusion, I made them none other answer in that matter. Then my lord chancellor[5] asked of me my opinion in the sacrament. My answer was this, 'I believe that so oft as I, in a christian congregation, do receive the bread in remembrance of Christ's death, and with thanksgiving, according to his holy institution, I receive therewith the fruits, also, of his most glorious passion. The bishop of Winchester bade me make a direct answer: I said, I would not sing a new song of the Lord in a strange land. Then the bishop said, I spake in parables. I answered, it was best for him, 'for if I show the open truth,' quoth I, 'ye will not accept it.' Then he said I was a parrot. I told him again, I was ready to suffer all things at his hands, not only his rebukes, but all that should follow besides, yea, and all that gladly.

Parables best for Winchester: he beginneth to scold.

Then had I divers rebukes of the council, because I would not express my mind in all things as they would have me. But they were not in the mean time unanswered for all that, which now to rehearse were too much, for I was with them there about five hours. Then the clerk of the council conveyed me from thence to my lady Garnish.

Anne Askew brought again before the council.

The next day I was brought again before the council. Then would they needs know of me what I said to the sacrament. I answered, that I already had said what I could say. Then, after divers words, they bade me go by. Then came my lord Lisle, my lord of Essex, and the bishop of Winchester, requiring me earnestly that I should confess the sacrament to be flesh, blood, and bone. Then, said I, to my lord Parre and my lord Lisle, that it was a great shame for them to counsel contrary to their knowledge. Whereunto, in few words, they did say, that they would gladly all things were well.

Winchester answered home.

Then the bishop said he would speak with me familiarly. I said, 'So did Judas, when he unfriendly betrayed Christ.' Then desired the bishop to speak with me alone. But that I refused. He asked me, why. I said, that in the mouth of two or three witnesses every matter should stand, after Christ's and Paul's doctrine.[6]

The lord chancellor mute.

Then my lord chancellor began to examine me again of the sacrament. Then I asked him how long he would halt on both sides. Then would he needs know where I found that. I said, in the Scripture.[7] Then he went his way. Then the bishop said I should be burned. I answered, that I had searched all the Scriptures, yet could I never find that either Christ, or his apostles, put any creature to death. 'Well, well,' said I, 'God will laugh your threatenings

(1) 2 Cor. iii. 6. (2) Heb. iii. 14. (3) Psalm xcv. 7, 8.

(4) Concerning that which they here demanded, as touching Master Kyme, read in the century of John Bale writing upon this place. [See the Lattre Examinatyon of Anne Askew, with the Elucydacyon of Johan Bale, (16mo. Marpurg. 1547), p. 15.—Ed.]

(5) This lord chancellor was Wrisley or Wriothesley.

(6) Matt. xviii. 16. Cor. xiii. i. (7) 1 Kings xviii. 21.

to scorn.'[1] Then was I commanded to stand aside.[2] Then came to me Dr. Cox, and Dr. Robinson. In conclusion, we could not agree. *Henry VIII.* A. D. 1546.

Then they made me a bill of the sacrament, willing me to set my hand thereunto; but I would not. Then, on the Sunday, I was sore sick, thinking no less than to die: therefore I desired to speak with Master Latimer, but it would not be. Then was I sent to Newgate in my extremity of sickness; for in all my life afore I was never in such pain. Thus the Lord strengthen us in the truth. Pray, pray, pray!

The Confession of me Anne Askew, for the time I was in Newgate, concerning my belief.

I find in the Scripture, that Christ took the bread and gave it to his disciples, saying, 'Take, eat, this is my body which shall be broken for you;' meaning in substance, his own very body, the bread being thereof an only sign or sacrament. For, after like manner of speaking, he said he would break down the temple, and in three days build it up again, signifying his own body by the temple, as St. John declareth it,[3] and not the stony temple itself. So that the bread is but a remembrance of his death, or a sacrament of thanksgiving for it, whereby we are knit unto him by a communion of christian love; although there be many that cannot perceive the true meaning thereof: for the veil that Moses put over his face before the children of Israel, that they should not see the clearness thereof,[4] I perceive the same veil remaineth to this day. But when God shall take it away, then shall these blind men see. For it is plainly expressed in the history of Bel in the Bible, that, God dwelleth in nothing material. 'O king,' saith Daniel, 'be not deceived;[5] for God will be in nothing that is made with hands of men. 'Oh! what stiff-necked people are these, that will always resist the Holy Ghost. But, as their fathers have done, so do they, because they have stony hearts.'[6]

As Christ's body is called the temple in the Scripture, so is the bread called Christ's body.

Written by me, Anne Askew, that neither wish death, nor yet fear his might; and as merry as one that is bound towards heaven.

'Truth is laid in prison.'[7] 'The law is turned to wormwood.'[8] 'And there can no right judgment go forth.'[9]

'Oh! forgive us all our sins, and receive us graciously.' 'As for the works of our hands, we will no more call upon them; for it is thou, Lord, that art our God. Thou showest ever mercy unto the fatherless.'

'Oh! if they would do this,' saith the Lord, 'I should heal their sores, yea with all my heart would I love them.'

'O Ephraim, what have I to do with idols any more?' 'Whoso is wise, shall understand this; and he that is rightly instructed will regard it, for the ways of the Lord are righteous. Such as are godly, will walk in them; and as for the wicked, they will stumble at them.'[10]

'Solomon,' saith St. Stephen, 'builded a house for the God of Jacob. Howbeit, the Highest of all dwelleth not in temples made with hands, as saith the prophet, Heaven is my seat, and earth is my footstool. What house will ye build for me, saith the Lord? or what place is it that I shall rest in? Hath not my hand made all things?'[11]

'Woman, believe me,' saith Christ to the Samaritan, 'the time is at hand, that ye shall neither in this mountain, nor yet at Jerusalem, worship the Father. Ye worship ye wot not what; but we know what we worship: for salvation cometh of the Jews. But the hour cometh, and is now, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and verity.'[12]

(1) Psalm ii. 7

2) The following passage is omitted by Foxe, but is given by John Bale:—"Then came Master Paget to me with many glorious words, and desired me to speak my mind unto him: I might, he said, deny it again if need were. I said that I would not deny the truth. He asked me, how I could avoid the very words of Christ, 'Take, eat, this is my body which shall be broken for you?' I answered that Christ's meaning was there as in these other places of the Scripture. 'I am the door;' 'Behold the Lamb of God;' 'The rock-stone was Christ;' as well as others. Ye may not here, said I, take Christ for the material thing that he is signified by; for these ye will make him a very door, a vine, a lamb, a stone; clean contrary to the Holy Ghost's meaning. All these do signify Christ, like as the bread doth signify his body in that place. And though he did say there, 'Take, eat this in remembrance of me; yet did he not bid them hang up that bread in a box and make it a god, or bow to it." The song which Anne Askew sang at her death, is given by Bale, and will be found in the appendix.—Ed.

(3) John ii. 21. (4) Exod. xxxiv. 35; 2 Cor. iii. 13. (5) Bel and the Dragon, 7.
(6) Acts vii. 51. (7) Luke xxi. 7. (8) Amos v. 7. (9) Isa. lix. 14.
(10) Hosea xiv. 9. (11) Isa. lxvi. 1; Acts vii. 48. (12) John iv. 21.

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'Labour not,' saith Christ, 'for the meat that perisheth, but for that that endureth unto life everlasting, which the Son of man shall give you: for him hath God the Father sealed.'[1]

The sum of the Condemnation of me Anne Askew at the Guildhall.

They said to me there, that I was a heretic, and condemned by the law, if I would stand in my opinion. I answered, that I was no heretic, neither yet deserved I any death by the law of God. But, as concerning the faith which I uttered and wrote to the council, I would not, I said, deny it, because I knew it true. Then would they needs know, if I would deny the sacrament to be Christ's body and blood. I said, 'Yea: for the same Son of God that was born of the Virgin Mary, is now glorious in heaven, and will come again from thence at the latter day like as he went up.[2] And as for that ye call your God, it is a piece of bread. For a more proof thereof (mark it when you list,) let it but lie in the box three months, and it will be mouldy, and so turn to nothing that is good. Whereupon I am persuaded that it cannot be God.'

The substance of the sacrament denied to be God.

After that, they willed me to have a priest; and then I smiled. Then they asked me, if it were not good; I said, I would confess my faults unto God, for I was sure that he would hear me with favour. And so we were condemned by a quest.[3]

Her belief concerning the sacrament.

My belief which I wrote to the council was this: That the sacramental bread was left us to be received with thanksgiving, in remembrance of Christ's death, the only remedy of our soul's recovery; and that thereby we also receive the whole benefits and fruits of his most glorious passion.

Then would they needs know, whether the bread in the box were God or no: I said, 'God is a Spirit, and will be worshipped in spirit and truth.'[4] Then they demanded, 'Will you plainly deny Christ to be in the sacrament?' I answered, that I believe faithfully the eternal Son of God not to dwell there; in witness whereof I recited again the history of Bel,[5] Dan. xix., Acts vii. and xvii., and Matt. xxiv., concluding thus: 'I neither wish death, nor yet fear his might; God have the praise thereof with thanks.'

My Letter sent to the Lord Chancellor.

The Lord God, by whom all creatures have their being, bless you with the light of his knowledge. Amen.

My duty to your lordship remembered, &c.: It might please you to accept this my bold suit, as the suit of one who, upon due consideration, is moved to the same, and hopeth to obtain. My request to your lordship, is only that it may please the same to be a mean for me to the king's majesty, that his grace may be certified of these few lines which I have written concerning my belief, which when it shall be truly conferred with the hard judgment given me for the same, I think his grace shall well perceive me to be weighed in an uneven pair of balances. But I remit my matter and cause to Almighty God, who rightly judgeth all secrets. And thus I commend your lordship to the governance of him, and fellowship of all saints, Amen.

By your handmaid, Anne Askew.

My Faith briefly written to the King's Grace.

Her belief touching the sacrament.

I, Anne Askew, of good memory, although God hath given me the bread of adversity, and the water of trouble, yet not so much as my sins have deserved, desire this to be known unto your grace, that, forasmuch as I am by the law condemned for an evil doer, here I take heaven and earth to record, that I shall die in my innocency: and, according to that I have said first, and will say last, I utterly abhor and detest all heresies. And as concerning the supper of the Lord, I believe so much as Christ hath said therein, which he confirmed with his most blessed blood. I believe also so much as he willed me to follow and believe, and so much as the catholic church of him doth teach: for I will not forsake the commandment of his holy lips. But look, what God hath charged me with his mouth, that have I shut up in my heart. And thus briefly I end, for lack of learning.

Anne Askew.

(1) John vi. 27. (2) Acts i. 11. (3) Without a jury.—Ed. (4) John iv. 24.
(5) Bel and the Dragon, 7.

THE CRUEL HANDLING AND RACKING OF ANNE ASKEW AFTER HER CONDEMNATION.

Henry VIII. A. D. 1546.

The Effect of my Examination and Handling since my Departure from Newgate.

On Tuesday I was sent from Newgate to the sign of the Crown, where Master Rich, and the bishop of London, with all their power and flattering words went about to persuade me from God: but I did not esteem their glosing pretences.

Then came there to me Nicholas Shaxton, and counselled me to recant as he had done. I said to him, that it had been good for him never to have been born; with many other like words.

Then Master Rich sent me to the Tower, where I remained till three o'clock.

Then came Rich and one of the council,[1] charging me upon my obedience, to show unto them, if I knew any man or woman of my sect. My answer was, that I knew none. Then they asked me of my lady of Suffolk, my lady of Sussex, my lady of Hertford, my lady Denny, and my lady Fitzwilliam. To whom I answered, if I should pronounce any thing against them, that I were not able to prove it. Then said they unto me, that the king was informed that I could name, if I would, a great number of my sect. I answered, that the king was as well deceived in that behalf, as dissembled with in other matters. Anne Askew urged to accuse others.

Then commanded they me to show how I was maintained in the compter, and who willed me to stick to my opinion. I said, that there was no creature that therein did strengthen me: and as for the help that I had in the compter, it was by means of my maid. For as she went abroad in the streets, she made moan to the prentices, and they, by her, did send me money; but who they were I never knew.

Then they said that there were divers gentlewomen that gave me money: but I knew not their names. Then they said that there were divers ladies that had sent me money. I answered, that there was a man in a blue coat who delivered me ten shillings, and said that my lady of Hertford sent it me; and another in a violet coat gave me eight shillings, and said my lady Denny sent it me: whether it were true or no, I cannot tell; for I am not sure who sent it me, but as the maid did say. Then they said, there were of the council that did maintain me: and I said, No. Refuseth to accuse any.

Then they did put me on the rack, because I confessed no ladies or gentlewomen to be of my opinion, and thereon they kept me a long time; and because I lay still, and did not cry, my lord chancellor and Master Rich took pains to rack me with their own hands, till I was nigh dead. Put on the rack.

Then the lieutenant caused me to be loosed from the rack. Incontinently I swooned, and then they recovered me again. After that I sat two long hours reasoning with my lord chancellor upon the bare floor; where he, with many flattering words, persuaded me to leave my opinion. But my Lord God (I thank his everlasting goodness), gave me grace to persevere, and will do, I hope, to the very end. Anne Askew constant in her faith.

Then was I brought to a house, and laid in a bed, with as weary and painful bones as ever had patient Job; I thank my Lord God there-for. Then my lord chancellor sent me word, if I would leave my opinion, I should want nothing: if I would not, I should forthwith to Newgate, and so be burned. I sent him again word, that I would rather die, than break my faith. Anne Askew threatened to be burned.

Thus the Lord open the eyes of their blind hearts, that the truth may take place. Farewell, dear friend, and pray, pray, pray!

Touching the order of her racking in the Tower thus it was; first she was let down into a dungeon, where sir Anthony Knevet, the lieutenant, commanded his jailor to pinch her with the rack. Which being done as much as he thought sufficient, he went about to take her down, supposing that he had done enough. But Wriothesley, the The order of her racking.

(1) This counsellor was sir John Baker.

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chancellor, not contented that she was loosed so soon, confessing nothing, commanded the lieutenant to strain her on the rack again: which because he denied to do, tendering the weakness of the woman, he was threatened therefore grievously of the said Wriothesley, saying, that he would signify his disobedience unto the king. And so consequently upon the same, he and Master Rich, throwing off their gowns, would needs play the tormentors themselves; first asking her, if she were with child. To whom she answering again, said, "Ye shall not need to spare for that, but do your wills upon me." And so, quietly and patiently praying unto the Lord, she abode their tyranny, till her bones and joints were almost plucked asunder, in such sort as she was carried away in a chair. When the racking was past, Wriothesley and his fellow took their horse towards the court.

Wriothesley and Rich play the tormentors.

Wriothesley prevented by the lieutenant.

In the mean time, while they were making their way by land, the good lieutenant, eftsoons taking boat, sped him to the court in all haste to speak with the king before the others, and so did; who there making his humble suit to the king, desired his pardon, and showed him the whole matter as it stood, and of the racking of Mistress Askew, and how he was threatened by the lord chancellor, because, at his commandment, not knowing his highness's pleasure, he refused to rack her; which he, for compassion, could not find in his heart to do, and therefore humbly craved his highness's pardon.

The lieutenant pardoned by the king.

Which when the king had understood, he seemed not very well to like of their so extreme handling of the woman, and also granted to the lieutenant his pardon, willing him to return and see to his charge.

Great expectation was in the mean season among the warders and other officers of the Tower, waiting for his return; whom when they saw come so cheerfully, declaring unto them how he had sped with the king, they were not a little joyous, and gave thanks to God there-for.

Anne Askew's Answer unto John Lacel's Letter.

O friend, most dearly beloved in God! I marvel not a little what should move you to judge in me so slender a faith as to fear death, which is the end of all misery. In the Lord I desire you not to believe of me such wickedness: for I doubt it not, but God will perform his work in me, like as he hath begun. I understand the council is not a little displeased, that it should be reported abroad that I was racked in the Tower. They say now, that what they did there was but to fear me; whereby I perceive they are ashamed of their uncomely doings, and fear much lest the king's majesty should have information thereof; wherefore they would no man to noise it. Well! their cruelty God forgive them.

Your heart in Christ Jesu. Farewell and pray.

The Purgation or Answer of Anne Askew, against the false Surmises of her Recantation.

Anne Askew falsely suspected to recant.

I have read the process which is reported of them that know not the truth, to be my recantation. But, as the Lord liveth, I never meant a thing less than to recant. Notwithstanding this I confess, that in my first troubles I was examined of the bishop of London about the sacrament. Yet had they no grant of my mouth but this: that I believed therein as the word of God did bind me to believe. More had they never of me. Then he made a copy, which is now in print, and required me to set thereunto my hand; but I refused it. Then my two sureties did will me in no wise to stick thereat, for it was no great matter, they said.

Then with much ado, at the last I wrote thus: 'I, Anne Askew, do believe this, if God's word do agree to the same, and the true catholic church.' Then

the bishop, being in great displeasure with me because I made doubts in my writing, commanded me to prison, where I was awhile; but afterwards, by means of friends, I came out again. Here is the truth of that matter. And as concerning the thing that ye covet most to know, resort to John vi., and be ruled always thereby. Thus fare ye well quoth Anne Askew. *Henry VIII.* A. D. 1546.

The Confession of the Faith which Anne Askew made in Newgate, before she suffered.

I, Anne Askew, of good memory, although my merciful Father hath given me the bread of adversity, and the water of trouble, yet not so much as my sins have deserved, do confess myself here a sinner before the throne of his heavenly Majesty, desiring his forgiveness and mercy. And forasmuch as I am by the law unrighteously condemned for an evil doer concerning opinions, I take the same most merciful God of mine, who hath made both heaven and earth, to record, that I hold no opinions contrary to his most holy word. And I trust in my merciful Lord, who is the giver of all grace, that he will graciously assist me against all evil opinions which are contrary to his blessed verity. For I take him to witness, that I have done, and will, unto my life's end, utterly abhor them to the uttermost of my power.

The matter and cause why she suffered death.

But this is the heresy which they report me to hold: that after the priest hath spoken the words of consecration, there remaineth bread still. They both say, and also teach it for a necessary article of faith, that after those words be once spoken, there remaineth no bread, but even the self-same body that hung upon the cross on Good Friday, both flesh, blood, and bone. To this belief of theirs say I, nay. For then were our common creed false, which saith, that he sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty, and from thence shall come to judge the quick and the dead. Lo, this is the heresy that I hold, and for it must suffer the death. But as touching the holy and blessed supper of the Lord, I believe it to be a most necessary remembrance of his glorious sufferings and death. Moreover, I believe as much therein as my eternal and only Redeemer Jesus Christ would, I should believe.

Scripture sufficient to our salvation.

Finally, I believe all those Scriptures to be true, which he hath confirmed with his most precious blood. Yea, and as St. Paul saith, those Scriptures are sufficient for our learning and salvation, that Christ hath left here with us; so that I believe we need no unwritten verities to rule his church with. Therefore look, what he hath said unto me with his own mouth in his holy gospel, that have I, with God's grace, closed up in my heart, and my full trust is, as David saith, that it shall be a lantern to my footsteps.[1]

Anne Askew falsely reported to deny the holy eucharist.

There be some do say, that I deny the eucharist or sacrament of thanksgiving; but those people do untruly report of me. For I both say and believe it, that if it were ordered like as Christ instituted it and left it, a most singular comfort it were unto us all. But as concerning your mass, as it is now used in our days, I do say and believe it to be the most abominable idol that is in the world: for my God will not be eaten with teeth, neither yet dieth he again. And upon these words that I have now spoken, will I suffer death.

A Prayer of Anne Askew.

O Lord! I have more enemies now, than there be hairs on my head: yet Lord, let them never overcome me with vain words, but fight thou, Lord, in my stead; for on thee cast I my care. With all the spite they can imagine, they fall upon me, who am thy poor creature. Yet, sweet Lord, let me not set by them that are against me; for in thee is my whole delight. And, Lord, I heartily desire of thee, that thou wilt of thy most merciful goodness forgive them that violence which they do, and have done, unto me. Open also thou their blind hearts, that they may hereafter do that thing in thy sight, which is only acceptable before thee, and to set forth thy verity aright, without all vain fantasies of sinful men. So be it, O Lord, so be it!

By me, Anne Askew.

(1) Psalm cxix. 105.

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Hitherto we have entreated of this good woman: now it remaineth that we touch somewhat as concerning her end and martyrdom. After that she (being born of such stock and kindred that she might have lived in great wealth and prosperity, if she would rather have followed the world than Christ), now had been so tormented, that she could neither live long in so great distress, neither yet by her adversaries be suffered to die in secret, the day of her execution being appointed, she was brought into Smithfield in a chair, because she could not go on her feet, by means of her great torments. When she was brought unto the stake, she was tied by the middle with a chain, that held up her body. When all things were thus prepared to the fire, Dr. Shaxton, who was then appointed to preach, began his sermon. Anne Askew, hearing and answering again unto him, where he said well, confirmed the same; where he said amiss, "There," said she, "he misseth, and speaketh without the book."

Anne Askew brought unto the stake, lamed upon the rack; Shaxton preacheth at her burning.

The sermon being finished, the martyrs, standing there tied at three several stakes ready to their martyrdom, began their prayers. The multitude and concourse of the people was exceeding; the place where they stood being railed about to keep out the press. Upon the bench under St. Bartholomew's church sat Wriothesley, chancellor of England; the old duke of Norfolk, the old earl of Bedford, the lord mayor, with divers others. Before the fire should be set unto them, one of the bench, hearing that they had gunpowder about them, and being alarmed lest the faggots, by strength of the gunpowder, would come flying about their ears, began to be afraid: but the earl of Bedford, declaring unto him how the gunpowder was not laid under the faggots, but only about their bodies, to rid them out of their pain; which having vent, there was no danger to them of the faggots, so diminished that fear.

Then Wriothesley, lord chancellor, sent to Anne Askew letters, offering to her the king's pardon if she would recant; who, refusing once to look upon them, made this answer again, that she came not thither to deny her Lord and Master. Then were the letters likewise offered unto the others, who, in like manner, following the constancy of the woman, denied not only to receive them, but also to look upon them. Whereupon the lord mayor, commanding fire to be put unto them, cried with a loud voice, "Fiat justitia."

She refuseth the king's pardon.

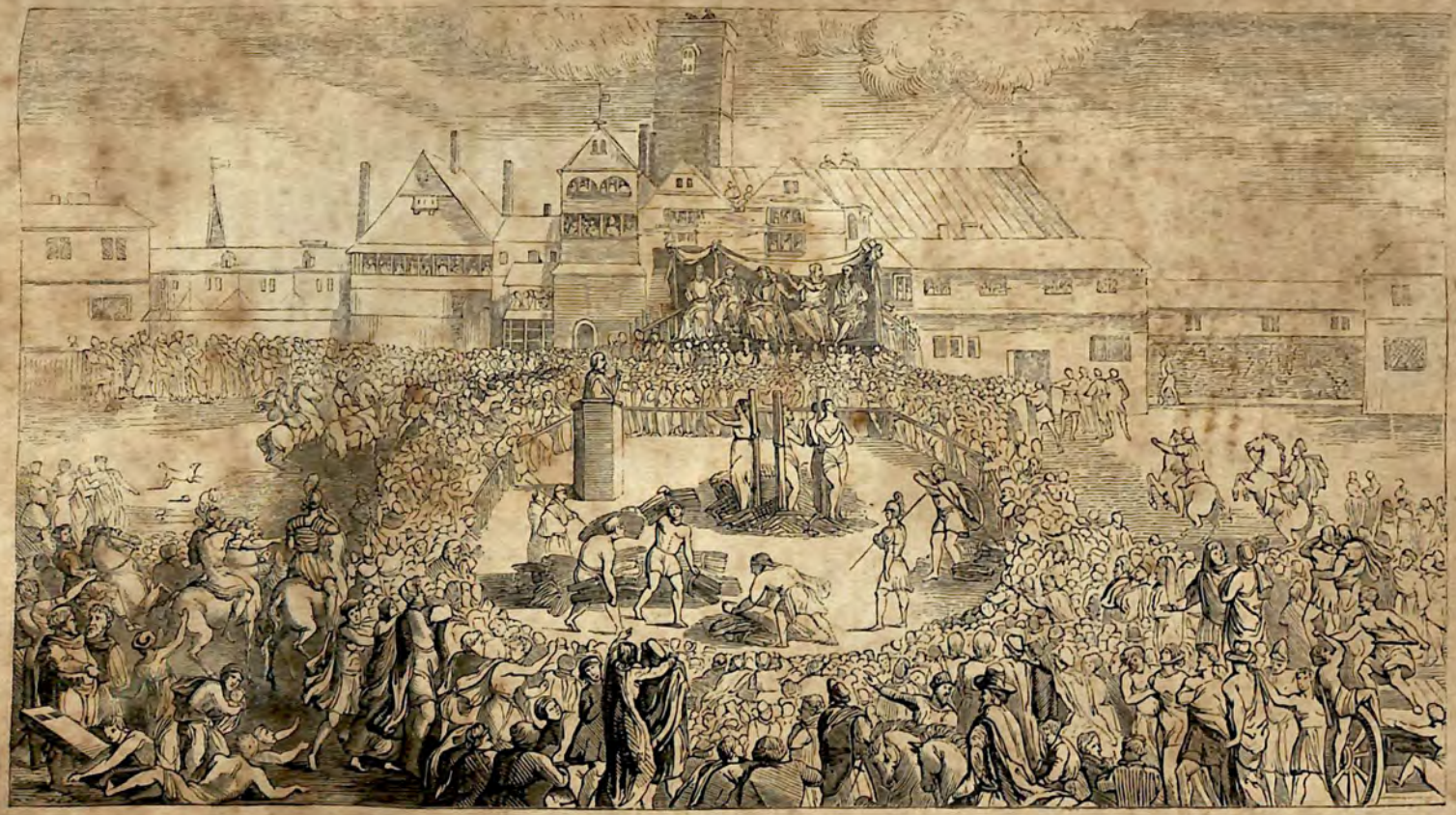
Justitia! justitia!

And thus the good Anne Askew, with these blessed martyrs, being troubled so many manner of ways, and having passed through so many torments, having now ended the long course of her agonies, being compassed in with flames of fire, as a blessed sacrifice unto God, she slept in the Lord A.D. 1546, leaving behind her a singular example of christian constancy for all men to follow.

The Martyrdom of John Lacels, John Adams, and Nicholas Belenian.

There was, at the same time, also burned together with her, one Nicholas Belenian, priest of Shropshire; John Adams, a tailor; and John Lacels, gentleman of the court and household of king Henry.

It happened well for them, that they died together with Anne Askew: for, albeit that of themselves they were strong and stout



THE BURNING OF ANNE ASKEW, JOHN LACELS, JOHN ADAMS, AND NICHOLAS BELENIAN.

men, yet, through the example and exhortation of her, they, being the more boldened, received occasion of greater comfort in that so painful and doleful kind of death; who, beholding her invincible constancy, and also stirred up through her persuasions, did set apart all kind of fear. *Henry VIII.* A. D. 1546.

Thus they, confirming one another with mutual exhortations, tarried looking for the tormentor and fire, which, at the last, flaming round about them, consumed their blessed bodies in happy martyrdom, in the year of our salvation 1546, about the month of June.[1]

There is also a certain letter extant, which the said John Lacels briefly wrote, being in prison, touching the sacrament of Christ's body and blood; wherein he doth both confute the error of them, who, being not contented with the spiritual receiving of the sacrament, will leave no substance of bread therein, and, also, confuteth the sinister interpretation of many thereupon: the tenor of which letter is as hereunder followeth.

The Copy of the Letter of John Lacels, written out of Prison.

St. Paul, because of sects and dissension among the Corinthians, wrote this epistle unto them; and, in like case pertaining to my conscience, I do protest my whole heart in the blessed supper of the Lord; wherein I trust in God to bring nothing for me, but I shall be able, with God's holy word, to declare and manifest the same. And herein I take occasion to recite the saying of St. Paul, in the said epistle, chap. xi., 'That which I delivered unto you, I received of the Lord. For the Lord Jesus, the same night in which he was betrayed, took bread, gave thanks, and brake it, and said, Take ye, eat ye; this is my body, which is broken for you.'

Here, me seemeth, St. Paul durst not take upon him his Lord and Master's authority. Wherefore, as at God's hand the breaking of the most innocent and immaculate body and blood of Christ is the quietness of all men's consciences, the only remedy of our sins, and the redemption of mankind, which is called in the Scripture the daily offering: so the mass, which is the invention of man (whose author is the pope of Rome, as it doth appear in Polydore Virgil and many others), is the unquietness of all Christendom, a blasphemy unto Christ's blood, and (as Daniel calleth it) the abominable desolation, as the Scripture shall hereafter more manifest it. St. Paul was, belike to learn of the Romans' church, the manner of the consecration as they call it, with the breathing over the host, and other ceremonies besides, that he durst not take upon him to say, 'Hoc est corpus meum.' But this I will admit: it was the Lord Jesus that made the supper; who also did finish it, and made an end of the only act of our salvation, not only here in this world, but with his Father in heaven; as he declareth himself, that he will drink no more of this bitter cup, till he drink it new in his Father's kingdom, where all bitterness shall be taken away.

Blasphemy and wickedness of the mass.

A prophecy.

St. Paul did not take upon him in the person of Christ to say, 'Hoc est corpus meum,' as our priests do.

Now, if any man be able to finish the act of our Saviour, in breaking of his body, and shedding of his blood here, and also to finish it with the Father in heaven, then let him say it. But I think that if men will look upon St. Paul's words well, they shall be forced to say, as St. Paul saith, 'The Lord Jesus said it;' and once for all, who only was the fulfiller of it. For these words 'Hoc est corpus meum,' were spoken of his natural presence (which no man is able to deny), because the act was finished on the cross, as the story doth plainly manifest it to them that have eyes. Now this bloody sacrifice is made an end of; the supper is finished, forasmuch as 'Christ hath once suffered for sins, the just for the unjust, to bring us to God, and was killed as pertaining to the flesh, and hath entered in by his own blood once for all, into the holy place, and found eternal redemption.'[2]

None but Christ can say, 'Hoc est corpus meum,' and he said it once for all.

Here now followeth the administration of the supper of the Lord, which I will take at Christ's hands after the resurrection, although other men will not

(1) Stowe says July 16th. See his Annals (fol. Lond. 1631,) p. 592.—Ed.
(2) 1 Cor. xi. 23. (3) 1 Pet. iii. 18; Heb. ix. 12

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be ashamed to bring the wicked counsels of foolish inventions for them. 'And it came to pass, as Christ sat at meat with them, he took bread, blessed, and brake it, and gave it to them; and their eyes were opened, and knew him, and he vanished out of their sight.'[1] And the apostles did know him in breaking of bread.

The right use of the Lord's supper in the apostles' time.

Here, also, it seemeth to me the apostles to follow their master Christ, and to take the right use of the sacrament, and also to teach it to those that were converted to Christ, as mention is made in the Acts of the Apostles, where it is said, 'They continued in the apostles' doctrine and fellowship, in breaking of bread, and prayer, and they continued daily with one accord in the temple, and brake bread in every house, and did eat there with gladness and singleness of heart, praising God; and had favour with all the people.'[2] And St. Paul, following the same doctrine, doth plainly show the duty of the minister, and also of them that shall receive it: 'As oft as ye shall eat this bread, and drink this cup, ye shall show the Lord's death until he come.'[3] Here I do gather, that the minister hath no further power and authority than to preach and pronounce the Lord's death, or else to say, the Lord Jesus said it, who did fulfil it on the cross.

How far the power of the minister extendeth in consecrating the supper.

How the flesh of Christ is eaten in the supper.

Furthermore, I do steadfastly believe, that where the bread is broken according to the ordinance of Christ, the blessed and immaculate Lamb is present to the eyes of our faith, and so we eat his flesh, and drink his blood, which is, to dwell with God, and God with us. And in this we are sure we dwell with God, in that he giveth us his Holy Spirit, even as the forefathers, that were before Christ's coming, did presently see the Lord's death, and did eat his body, and drink his blood.

Popish Priests take upon them to do more than Christ did.

In this I do differ from the pope's church, that the priests have authority to make Christ's natural presence in the bread, for so doth he more than our Lord and Saviour did; as the example is manifest in Judas, who, at Christ's hands, received the same wine and bread as the other apostles did. But the pope and his adherents are even they whom Daniel speaketh of,[4] saying, 'He shall set men to unhallow the sanctuary, and to put down the daily offering, and to set up the abominable desolation. Yea, he' of Rome, 'shall speak marvellous things against the God of heaven, and God of all gods, wherein he shall prosper so long, till the wrath be fulfilled, for the conclusion is devised already. He shall not regard the God of heaven, nor the God of his fathers, yea in his place shall he worship the mighty idol, and the God whom his fathers knew not, which is the god Maozim.'[5]

For lack of time, I leave the commemoration of the blessed supper of the Lord, and the abominable idol the mass, which is it that Daniel meaneth by the god Maozim.[6] Read the second and last chapters of Daniel, and 2 Thess. ii., where they recite the abomination of desolation, which Matthew saith, 'standeth in the holy place,'[7] that is, in the consciences of men. Mark saith, 'where it ought not to stand,'[8] which is a plain denial of all the inventions of men. Further, Luke saith, 'the time is at hand.'[9] Paul saith, 'the mystery of iniquity worketh already, yea, and shall continue till the appearance of Christ,'[10] which in my judgment is at hand.

The faithful and reverend confession of Lacels, touching the Lord's supper.

Now for the supper of the Lord, I do protest to take it as reverently as Christ left it, and as his apostles did use it, according to the testimonies of the prophets, the apostles, and our blessed Saviour Christ, which accordingly St. Paul to the Ephesians doth recite.

Now, with quietness, I commit the whole world to their pastor and herdsman Jesus Christ, the only Saviour and true Messias, and I commend my sovereign lord and master the king's majesty, king Henry VIII., to God the Father, and to our Lord Jesus Christ: the queen, and my lord the prince, with this whole realm, ever to the innocent and immaculate Lamb, that his blood may wash and purify their hearts and souls from all iniquity and sin, to God's glory, and to the salvation of their souls. I do protest, that the inward part of my heart doth groan for this; and I doubt not but to enter into the holy tabernacle which is above, yea, and there to be with God for ever. Farewell in Christ Jesu.

John Lacels, late servant to the king, and now I trust to serve the everlasting King, with the testimony of my blood in Smithfield.

(1) Luke xxiv. 31. (2) Acts ii. 47. (3) 1 Cor. xi. 26. (4) Chap. xi. 36.
(5) Maozim signifieth in Hebrew, as much as the god of divers temples.
(6) The god Maozim in Daniel alludeth much near to Mazon, which signifieth bread.
(7) Chap xxiv. 15. (8) Chap. xiii. 14. (9) Chap. xxi. 32. (10) 2 Thess. ii. 7.

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In Annæ Askevæ constantissimæ Fœminæ et Martyris Bustum, Epitaphium Sapphicum. J. F.[1]

Lictor incestis manibus cruente,
Membra quid frustra eculeis fatigas,
Vique virtutem laceras puellæ
Te melioris?
Fortius istis pietas nitescit
Pressa tormentis, quatitur nec ullis
Veritas vinclis, citius sed ipsa
Lassa fatiscunt.
Instat immani rabidus furore
Carnifex: ruptis jacet illa nervis
Fœmina in nervis, socias ut edat
Religionis.
Exprimit nullum tamen illa nomen:
Machinam vincit mulier tacendo.
Stat, stupent illi, furiunt trahendo:
Proficiunt nil.

Artubus luxis resoluta cedunt
Ossa juncturis: nihil e pudico
Corpore infractum est. Superat tyrannos
Pars tamen una.
Sola enim nullis potuit moveri
Lingua rupturis: socias periclo
Dum suo solvit, jubet et quietam
Stertere in auram.
Ergo quæ nullis aliis revinci
Quivit harpastis, moribunda tandem
Solvitur flammis: cineres coronat
Vita perennis.
Sola nequaquam potitur brabeio
Hæc tamen: partes veniunt coronæ
Martyres unà—opifex, Lacellus,
Belenianus.

One Rogers, a Martyr, burned in Smithfield.

Like as Winchester and other bishops did set on king Henry against Anne Askew and her fellow martyrs, so Dr. Repse, bishop of Norwich, did incite no less the old duke of Norfolk against one Rogers in the county of Norfolk; who, much about the same year and time, was there condemned and suffered martyrdom for the six articles. After which time it was not long, but within a half year, both the king himself, and the duke's house decayed: albeit, the duke's house, by God's grace, recovered again afterwards, and he himself converted to more moderation in this kind of dealing.

The Story of Queen Katharine Parr, late Queen, and Wife to King Henry the Eighth:

WHEREIN APPEARETH IN WHAT DANGER SHE WAS FOR THE GOSPEL, BY MEANS OF STEPHEN GARDINER AND OTHERS OF HIS CONSPIRACY; AND HOW GRACIOUSLY SHE WAS PRESERVED BY HER KIND AND LOVING HUSBAND THE KING.

After these stormy stories above recited, the course and order as well of the time as the matter of the story doth require now somewhat to treat, likewise, touching the troubles and afflictions of the virtuous and excellent lady queen Katharine Parr, the last wife to king Henry: the story whereof is this.

The religious zeal of queen Katharine Parr toward God's word.

About the same time above noted, which was about the year after the king returned from Boulogne, he was informed that queen Katharine Parr, at that time his wife, was very much given to the reading and study of the holy Scriptures, and that she, for that purpose, had retained divers well learned and godly persons to instruct her thoroughly in the same; with whom as, at all times convenient, she used to have private conference touching spiritual matters, so also of ordinary; but especially in Lent, every day in the afternoon, for the space of an hour, one of her said chaplains, in her privy chamber,

(1) See the Latin Edition. Basle, 1559, p. 209.—Ed.

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made some collation to her and to her ladies and gentlewomen of her privy chamber, or others that were disposed to hear; in which sermons they ofttimes touched such abuses as in the church then were rife. As these things were not secretly done, so neither were their preachings unknown to the king; whereof, at first, and for a great time, he seemed very well to like. This made her the more bold (being indeed become very zealous toward the gospel, and the professors thereof) frankly to debate with the king touching religion, and therein flatly to discover herself; oftentimes wishing, exhorting, and persuading the king, that as he had, to the glory of God, and his eternal fame, begun a good and a godly work in banishing that monstrous idol of Rome, so he would thoroughly perfect and finish the same, cleansing and purging his church of England clean from the dregs thereof, wherein as yet remained great superstition.

The exhortation of queen Katharine to the king.

The king toward his latter end waxed more impatient.

And albeit the king grew, towards his latter end, very stern and opinionate, so that of few he could be content to be taught, but worst of all to be contended withal by argument; notwithstanding, towards her he refrained his accustomed manner (unto others in like case used), as appeared by great respects, either for the reverence of the cause, whereunto of himself he seemed well inclined, if some others could have ceased from seeking to pervert him, or else, for the singular affection, which, until a very small time before his death, he always bare unto her. For never handmaid sought with more careful diligence to please her mistress, than she did, with all painful endeavour, apply herself, by all virtuous means, in all things to please his humour.

Virtuous inclination of queen Katharine towards the king.

Moreover, besides the virtues of the mind, she was endued with very rare gifts of nature, as singular beauty, favour, and comely personage, being things wherein the king was greatly delighted: and so enjoyed she the king's favour, to the great likelihood of the setting at large of the gospel within this realm at that time, had not the malicious practice of certain enemies professed against the truth (which at that time also were very great), prevented the same, to the utter alienating of the king's mind from religion, and almost to the extreme ruin of the queen and certain others with her, if God had not marvellously succoured her in that distress. The conspirers and practisers of her death were Gardiner bishop of Winchester, Wriothesley, then lord chancellor, and others, as well of the king's privy chamber, as of his privy council. These, seeking (for the furtherance of their ungodly purpose) to revive, stir up, and kindle, evil and pernicious humours in their prince and sovereign lord, to the intent to deprive her of this great favour which then she stood in with the king (which they not a little feared would turn to the utter ruin of their antichristian sect, if it should continue), and thereby to stop the passage of the gospel; and consequently (having taken away her, who was the only patroness of the professors of the truth), openly, without fear of check or controlment, with fire and sword, after their accustomed manner, to invade the small remainder, as they hoped, of that poor flock—made their wicked entry unto this their mischievous enterprise, after this manner following.

Enemies and conspirers against the gospel.

The king's majesty, as you have heard, misliked to be contended withal in any kind of argument. This humour of his, although not

in smaller matters, yet in causes of religion as occasion served, the queen would not stick, in reverent terms and humble talk, entering with him into discourse, with sound reasons of Scripture now and then to contrary; the which the king was so well accustomed unto in those matters, that at her hands he took all in good part, or, at least, did never show countenance of offence thereat: which did not a little appal her adversaries to hear and see. During which time, perceiving her so thoroughly grounded in the king's favour, they durst not for their lives once open their lips unto the king in any respect to touch her, either in her presence, or behind her back. And so long she continued this her accustomed usage, not only of hearing private sermons (as is said), but also of her free conference with the king in matters of religion, without all peril; until, at the last, by reason of his sore leg (the anguish whereof began more and more to increase), he waxed sickly, and therewithal froward, and difficult to be pleased.

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The king sometimes contrary to the queen in argument.

Waxeth sickly and difficult to please.

In the time of this his sickness, he had left his accustomed manner of coming, and visiting the queen: and therefore she, according as she understood him, by such assured intelligence as she had about him, to be disposed to have her company, sometimes being sent for, at other times of herself, would come to visit him, either after dinner or after supper, as was most fit for her purpose: at which times she would not fail to use all occasions to move him, according to her manner, zealously to proceed in the reformation of the church. The sharpness of the disease had sharpened the king's accustomed patience, so that he began to show some tokens of misliking; and, contrary unto his manner, upon a day breaking off that matter, he took occasion to enter into other talk, which somewhat amazed the queen: to whom, notwithstanding, in her presence he gave neither evil word nor countenance, but knit up all arguments with gentle words and loving countenance; and after other pleasant talk, she, for that time, took her leave of his majesty; who, after his manner, bidding her "Farewell, sweet heart!" (for that was his usual term to the queen,) licensed her to depart.

Beginneth to mislike the queen.

At this visitation chanced the bishop of Winchester aforenamed to be present, as also at the queen's taking her leave (who very well had printed in his memory the king's sudden interrupting of the queen in her tale, and falling into other matter), and thought, that if the iron were beaten whilst it was hot, and that the king's humour were holpen, such misliking might follow towards the queen, as might both overthrow her, and all her endeavours; and he only awaited some occasion to renew in the king's memory the former misliked argument. His expectation in that behalf did nothing fail him; for the king at that time showed himself no less prompt and ready to receive any information, than the bishop was maliciously bent to stir up the king's indignation against her. The king, immediately upon her departure from him, used these or like words: "A good hearing," quoth he, "it is, when women become such clerks; and a thing much to my comfort, to come in mine old days to be taught by my wife."

Winchester taketh occasion to work mischief.

The bishop, hearing this, seemed to mislike that the queen should so much forget herself as to take upon her to stand in any argument with his majesty, whom he, to his face, extolled for his rare virtues, and especially, for his learned judgment in matters of religion, above

His words to the king.

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not only princes of that and other ages, but also above doctors professed in divinity; and said that it was an unseemly thing for any of his majesty's subjects to reason and argue with him so malapertly, and grievous to him, for his part, and other of his majesty's councillors and servants, to hear the same; and that they all, by proof, knew his wisdom to be such, that it was not needful for any to put him in mind of any such matters: inferring, moreover, how dangerous and perilous a matter it is, and ever hath been, for a prince to suffer such insolent words at his subjects' hands; who, as they take boldness to contrary their sovereign in words, so want they no will, but only power and strength, to overthwart them in deeds.

Winchester's accusation against the queen.

Besides this, that the religion by the queen, so stiffly maintained, did not only disallow and dissolve the policy and politic government of princes, but also taught the people that all things ought to be in common; so that what colour soever they pretended, their opinions were indeed so odious, and for the prince's estate so perilous, that (saving the reverence they bear unto her for his majesty's sake) they durst be bold to affirm that the greatest subject in this land, speaking those words that she did speak, and defending those arguments that she did defend, had, with indifferent justice, by law deserved death.

Howbeit, for his part, he would not, nor durst he, without good warrant from his majesty, speak his knowledge in the queen's case, although very apparent reasons made for him, and such as his dutiful affection towards his majesty, and the zeal and preservation of his estate, would scarce give him leave to conceal, though the uttering thereof might, through her, and her faction, be the utter destruction of him, and of such as indeed did chiefly tender the prince's safety, without his majesty would take upon him to be their protector, and as it were their buckler: which, if he would do (as in respect of his own safety he ought not to refuse), he, with others of his faithful councillors, could, within short time, disclose such treasons cloaked with this cloak of heresy, that his majesty should easily perceive how perilous a matter it is, to cherish a serpent within his own bosom: howbeit, he would not, for his part, willingly deal in the matter, both for reverent respect aforesaid, and, also, for fear lest the faction was grown already too great, there, with the prince's safety, to discover the same. And therewithal, with heavy countenance, and whispering together with them of that sect there present, he held his peace.

Winchester abuseth the king with his flattery.

These, and such other kinds of Winchester's flattering phrases, marvellously whetted the king both to anger and displeasure towards the queen, and also to be jealous and mistrustful of his own estate; for the assurance whereof, princes use not to be scrupulous to do any thing. Thus then Winchester, with his flattering words, seeking to frame the king's disposition after his own pleasure, so far crept into the king at that time, and, with doubtful fears he, with other his fellows, so filled the king's mistrustful mind, that before they departed the place, the king (to see, belike, what they would do) had given commandment, with warrant to certain of them made for that purpose, to consult together about the drawing of certain articles against the queen, wherein her life might be touched; which the king, by their persuasions pretended to be fully resolved not to spare, having any rigour or colour of law to countenance the matter. With this com-

mission they departed for that time from the king, resolved to put their pernicious practice to as mischievous an execution. *Henry VIII.*

During the time of deliberation about this matter, they failed not to use all kind of policies and mischievous practices, as well to suborn accusers, as otherwise to betray her, in seeking to understand what books, by law forbidden, she had in her closet. And the better to bring their purpose to pass,[1] because they would not upon the sudden, but by means, deal with her, they thought it best, at first, to begin with some of those ladies, whom they knew to be great with her, and of her blood; the chiefest whereof, as most of estimation, and privy to all her doings, were these: the lady Herbert, afterwards countess of Pembroke, and sister to the queen, and chief of her privy chamber; the lady Lane, being of her privy chamber, and also her cousin german; the lady Tyrwit, of her privy chamber, and, for her virtuous disposition, in very great favour and credit with her. A.D. 1546. Ladies Herbert, Lane, and Tyrwit.

It was devised that these three above named should, first of all, have been accused and brought to answer unto the six articles; and, upon their apprehension in the court, their closets and coffers should have been searched, that somewhat might have him found whereby the queen might be charged; which, being found, the queen herself, presently, should have been taken, and likewise, by barge, carried by night unto the Tower. This platform thus devised, but yet in the end coming to no effect; the king, by those aforesaid, was forthwith made privy unto the device by Winchester and Wriothesley, and his consent thereunto demanded; who (belike to prove the bishop's malice, how far it would presume), like a wise politic prince, was contented dissemblingly to give his consent, and to allow of every circumstance; knowing, notwithstanding, in the end what he would do. And thus the day, the time, and the place of these apprehensions aforesaid, were appointed; which device yet after was changed. Winchester's platform.

The king at that time lay at Whitehall, and used very seldom, being not well at ease, to stir out of his chamber or privy gallery; and few of his council, but by especial commandment, resorted unto him; these only except, who, by reason of this practice, used, oftener than ordinary, to repair unto him. This purpose so finely was handled, that it grew now within few days of the time appointed for the execution of the matter, and the poor queen neither knew, nor suspected, any thing at all, and therefore used, after her accustomed manner, when she came to visit the king, still to deal with him touching religion, as before she did.

The king, all this while, gave her leave to utter her mind at the full, without contradiction; not upon any evil mind or misliking (ye must conceive) to have her speedy dispatch, but rather closely dissembling with them, to try out the uttermost of Winchester's fetches. Thus, after her accustomed conference with the king, when she had taken her leave of him (the time and day of Winchester's final date approaching fast upon), it chanced that the king, of himself, upon a certain night after her being with him, and her leave taken of him, in misliking her religion, brake the whole practice unto one of his physicians, either Dr. Wendy, or else Owen, but rather Wendy, as is supposed: pretending unto him, as though he intended not any

(1) How Winchester and his fellows devise against the gospellers!

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longer to be troubled with such a doctress as she was; and also declaring what trouble was in working against her by certain of her enemies, but yet charging him withal, upon peril of his life, not to utter it to any creature living: and thereupon declared unto him the parties above named, with all circumstances, and when and what the final resolution of the matter should be.

The wiles of this Ahithophel, Winchester, dispatched.

The queen all this while, compassed about with enemies and persecutors, perceived nothing of all this, nor what was working against her, and what traps were laid for her by Winchester and his fellows; so closely was the matter conveyed. But, see what the Lord God (who from his eternal throne of wisdom seeth and dispatcheth all the inventions of Ahithophel, and comprehendeth the wily, beguily, themselves) did for his poor handmaiden, in rescuing her from the pit of ruin, whereinto she was ready to fall unawares.

How the articles drawn against the queen, came to her hands.

For, as the Lord would, so came it to pass, that the bill of articles drawn against the queen, and subscribed with the king's own hand (although dissemblingly you must understand), falling from the bosom of one of the aforesaid councillors, was found and taken up of some godly person, and brought immediately unto the queen; who, reading there the articles comprised against her, and perceiving the king's own hand unto the same, for the sudden fear thereof fell incontinent into a great melancholy and agony, bewailing and taking on in such sort as was lamentable to see, as certain of her ladies and gentlewomen, being yet alive, who were then present about her, can testify.

The queen in an agony.

The king, hearing what perplexity she was in, almost to the peril and danger of her life, sent his physicians unto her; who, travailing about her, and seeing what extremity she was in, did what they could for her recovery. Then Wendy, who knew the cause better than the others, and perceiving, by her words, what the matter was, according to that the king before had told him, for the comforting of her heavy mind, began to break with her in secret manner, touching the said articles devised against her, which he himself (he said) knew right well to be true: although he stood in danger of his life, if ever he were known to utter the same to any living creature. Nevertheless, partly for the safety of her life, and partly for the discharge of his own conscience, having remorse to consent to the shedding of innocent blood, he could not but give her warning of that mischief that hanged over her head; beseeching her most instantly to use all secrecy in that behalf, and exhorting her somewhat to frame and conform herself unto the king's mind, saying, he did not doubt but, if she would so do, and show her humble submission unto him, she should find him gracious and favourable unto her.

Wendy, the king's physician, sent to her.

The exhortation of Wendy to her.

The king cometh to the queen to comfort her.

It was not long after this, but the king hearing of the dangerous state wherein she yet still remained, came unto her himself; unto whom, after that she had uttered her grief, fearing lest his majesty (she said) had taken displeasure with her, and had utterly forsaken her, he, like a loving husband, with sweet and comfortable words so refreshed and appeased her careful mind, that she, upon the same, began somewhat to recover; and so the king, after he had tarried there about the space of an hour, departed.

After this the queen, remembering with herself the words that

Master Wendy had said unto her, devised how, by some good opportunity, she might repair to the king's presence. And so, first commanding her ladies to convey away their books which were against the law, the next night following, after supper, she (waited upon only by the lady Herbert her sister, and the lady Lane, who carried the candle before her) went unto the king's bed-chamber, whom she found sitting and talking with certain gentlemen of his chamber; whom when the king did behold, very courteously he welcomed her, and, breaking off the talk which, before her coming, he had with the gentlemen aforesaid, began of himself, contrary to his manner before accustomed, to enter into talk of religion, seeming as it were desirous to be resolved by the queen, of certain doubts which he propounded. *Henry VIII.* A. D. 1546.

The queen, perceiving to what purpose this talk did tend, not being unprovided in what sort to behave herself towards the king, with such answers resolved his questions as the time and opportunity present did require, mildly, and with reverent countenance, answering again after this manner:

The queen's politic submission to the king.

'Your majesty,' quoth she, 'doth right-well know, neither I myself am ignorant, what great imperfection and weakness by our first creation is allotted unto us women, to be ordained and appointed as inferior and subject unto man as our head; from which head all our direction ought to proceed: and that as God made man to his own shape and likeness, whereby he, being endued with more special gifts of perfection, might rather be stirred to the contemplation of heavenly things, and to the earnest endeavour to obey his commandments, even so, also, made he woman of man, of whom and by whom she is to be governed, commanded, and directed; whose womanly weaknesses and natural imperfection ought to be tolerated, aided, and borne withal, so that, by his wisdom, such things as be lacking in her ought to be supplied.

'Since, therefore, God hath appointed such a natural difference between man and woman, and your majesty being so excellent in gifts and ornaments of wisdom, and I a silly poor woman, so much inferior in all respects of nature unto you, how then cometh it now to pass that your majesty, in such diffuse causes of religion, will seem to require my judgment? which when I have uttered and said what I can, yet must I, and will I, refer my judgment in this, and in all other cases, to your majesty's wisdom, as my only anchor, supreme head and governor here in earth, next under God, to lean unto.'

'Not so by St. Mary,' quoth the king; 'you are become a doctor, Kate, to instruct us (as we take it), and not to be instructed or directed by us.'

'If your majesty take it so,' quoth the queen, 'then hath your majesty very much mistaken me, who have ever been of the opinion, to think it very unseemly, and preposterous, for the woman to take upon her the office of an instructor or teacher to her lord and husband; but rather to learn of her husband, and to be taught by him. And whereas I have, with your majesty's leave, heretofore been bold to hold talk with your majesty, wherein sometimes in opinions there hath seemed some difference, I have not done it so much to maintain opinion, as I did it rather to minister talk, not only to the end your majesty might with less grief pass over this painful time of your infirmity, being attentive to our talk, and hoping that your majesty should reap some ease thereby; but also that I, hearing your majesty's learned discourse, might receive to myself some profit thereby: wherein, I assure your majesty, I have not missed any part of my desire in that behalf, always referring myself, in all such matters, unto your majesty, as by ordinance of nature it is convenient for me to do.'

"And is it even so, sweet heart!" quoth the king, "and tended

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your arguments to no worse end? Then, perfect friends we are now again, as ever at any time heretofore." And as he sat in his chair, embracing her in his arms, and kissing her, he added this, saying, that it did him more good at that time to hear those words of her own mouth, than if he had heard present news of a hundred thousand pounds in money fallen unto him. And with great signs and tokens of marvellous joy and liking, with promises and assurances never again in any sort more to mistake her, entering into other very pleasant discourses with the queen and lords, and the gentlemen standing by, in the end (being very far in the night) he gave her leave to depart: whom, in her absence, to the standers-by, he gave as singular and as affectuous commendations, as before time, to the bishop and the chancellor (who then were neither of them present), he seemed to mislike of her.

Perfect agreement between the king and the queen.

Now then, God be thanked! the king's mind was clean altered, and he detested in his heart (as afterwards he plainly showed) this tragical practice of those cruel Caiaphases; who, nothing understanding of the king's well-reformed mind and good disposition toward the queen, were busily occupied about thinking and providing for their next day's labour, which was the day determined to have carried the queen to the Tower.

The king abhors the malicious workings of the bloody papists.

The day and almost the hour appointed being come, the king, being disposed in the afternoon to take the air (waited upon with two gentlemen only of his bed-chamber), went into the garden, whither the queen also came, being sent for by the king himself, the three ladies above named alone waiting upon her; with whom the king, at that time, disposed himself to be as pleasant as ever he was in all his life before: when suddenly, in the midst of their mirth, the hour determined being come, in cometh the lord chancellor into the garden with forty of the king's guards at his heels, with purpose indeed to have taken the queen, together with the three ladies aforesaid,[1] whom they had before purposed to apprehend alone, even then unto the Tower. Whom then the king sternly beholding, breaking off his mirth with the queen, stepping a little aside, called the chancellor unto him; who, upon his knees, spake certain words unto the king, but what they were (for that they were softly spoken, and the king a pretty good distance from the queen), it is not well known, but it is most certain that the king's replying unto him, was "Knave!" for his answer; yea, "arrant knave! beast! and fool!" And with that the king commanded him presently to avaunt out of his presence. These words, although they were uttered somewhat low, yet were they so vehemently whispered out by the king, that the queen did easily, with her ladies aforesaid, overhear them; which had been not a little to her comfort, if she had known at that time the whole cause of his coming, as perfectly as after she knew it. Thus departed the lord chancellor out of the king's presence as he came, with all his train; the whole mould of all his device being utterly broken.

The king reviletth the lord chancellor.

Wriothesley's devices, and Winchester's platform lie in the dust.

The king, after his departure, immediately returned to the queen; whom she, perceiving to be very much chafed (albeit, coming towards her, he enforced himself to put on a merry countenance), with as

(1) This purpose being altered, that the ladies should be first taken, it was then appointed that they, with the queen, should altogether be apprehended, in manner as is here declared.

sweet words as she could utter, she endeavoured to qualify the king's displeasure, with request unto his majesty in behalf of the lord chancellor, with whom he seemed to be offended; saying, for his excuse, "that albeit she knew not what just cause his majesty had at that time to be offended with him, yet she thought that ignorance, not will, was the cause of his error," and so besought his majesty (if the cause were not very heinous), at her humble suit, to take it. *Henry VIII.* A.D. 1546. Excuse for her enemy.

"Ah! poor soul," quoth he, "thou little knowest how evil he deserveth this grace at thy hands. Of my word, sweet-heart! he hath been towards thee an arrant knave, and so let him go." To this the queen, in charitable manner replying, in few words ended that talk; having also, by God's only blessing, happily, for that time and ever, escaped the dangerous snares of her bloody and cruel enemies for the gospel's sake. The queen, by God's blessing, delivered from her adversaries.

The pestiferous purpose of this bishop, and of such like bloody adversaries practising thus against the queen, and proceedings of God's gospel (as ye have heard), putteth me in remembrance of another like story of his wicked working in like manner, a little before; but much more pernicious and pestilent to the public church of Jesus Christ, than this was dangerous to the private estate of the queen: which story, likewise, I thought here, as in convenient place, to be adjoined and notified, to be known to all posterity, according as I have it faithfully recorded and storied by him who heard it of the archbishop Cranmer's own mouth declared, in order and form as followeth.

A Discourse touching a certain Policy used by Stephen Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester, in staying King Henry the Eighth from redressing of certain Abuses of Ceremonies in the Church; being Ambassador beyond the Seas.

ALSO THE COMMUNICATION OF KING HENRY THE EIGHTH, HAD WITH THE AMBASSADOR OF FRANCE AT HAMPTON-COURT, CONCERNING THE REFORMATION OF RELIGION, AS WELL IN FRANCE AS IN ENGLAND, A.D. 1546, IN THE MONTH OF AUGUST.

It chanced in the time of king Henry the Eighth, when his highness did lastly (not many years before his death), conclude a league between the emperor, the French king, and himself, that the bishop of Winchester, Stephen Gardiner by name, was sent in embassage beyond the seas for that purpose; in whose absence the archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer, attending upon the king's court, sought occasion somewhat to further the reformation of the corrupt religion, not yet fully restored unto perfection. For, like as the said archbishop was always diligent and forward to prefer and advance the sincere doctrine of the gospel, so was that other bishop a contrary instrument, continually spurning against the same, in whatsoever coast of the world he remained. For, even now, he, being beyond the seas, in the temporal affairs of the realm, forgat not, but found the means, as a most valiant champion of the bishop of Rome, to stop and hinder, Stephen Gardiner ambassador. This Winchester a great hinderer of the course of the gospel.

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as well the good diligence of the said archbishop, as the godly disposition of the king's majesty in that behalf, which thus chanced:

Whilst the said bishop of Winchester was now remaining beyond the seas about the affairs aforesaid, the king's majesty and the said archbishop having conference together for the reformation of some superstitious enormities in the church, amongst other things the king determined forthwith to pull down the roods in every church, and to suppress the accustomed ringing on Allhallow-night, with a few such like vain ceremonies; and therefore, when the said archbishop took his leave of the king to go into Kent, his diocese, his highness willed him to remember that he should cause two letters to be devised: "By me," quoth the king, "to be signed; the one to be directed unto you, my lord, and the other unto the archbishop of York, wherein I will command you both, to send forth your precepts unto all other bishops within your provinces, to see those enormities and ceremonies reformed undelayedly, that we have communed of."

The king's conference with Cranmer about reformation of the church, rood-lofts, ringing on Allhallow-night.

So upon this, the king's pleasure known, when the archbishop of Canterbury was then come into Kent, he caused his secretary to conceive and write these letters according to the king's mind; and, being made in a readiness, he sent them to the court to sir Anthony Denny, for him to get them signed by the king. When Master Denny had moved the king thereunto, the king made this answer:—

Letters of reformation to be signed by the king.

'I am now otherways resolved, for you shall send my lord of Canterbury word, that since I spake with him about these matters, I have received letters from my lord of Winchester, now being on the other side of the sea, about the conclusion of a league between us, the emperor, and the French king, and he writeth plainly unto us, that the league will not prosper nor go forward, if we make any other innovation, change, or alteration, either in religion or ceremonies, than heretofore hath been already commenced and done. Wherefore, my lord of Canterbury must take patience herein, and forbear until we may espy a more apt and convenient time for that purpose.'

Reformation of religion stopped by Gardiner.

This matter of reformation began to be revived again, at what time the great ambassador from the French king came to the king's majesty at Hampton Court, not long before his death;[1] where then no gentleman was permitted to wait upon his lord and master, without a velvet coat, and a chain of gold. And, for that entertainment of the ambassador, were builded in the park there three very notable, great, and sumptuous banqueting-houses; at the which it was purposed, that the said ambassador should have been, three sundry nights, very richly banqueted. But, as it chanced, the French king's great affairs were then suddenly such, that this ambassador was sent for home in post-haste, before he had received half the noble entertainment that was prepared for him, so that he had but the fruition of the first banqueting-house.

The matter of reformation again renewed a little before the king's death. The king's banquet for the French ambassador.

Now, what princelike order, was there used, in the furniture of the banquet, as well in placing of the noble estates, namely, the king's majesty, and the French ambassador, with the noble men both of England and France on the one part, and of the queen's highness and the lady Anne of Cleve, with other noble women and ladies on the other part, as also touching the great and sumptuous preparation

(1) This ambassador was admiral of France, whose name was Monsieur de Annebalt: he came to Hampton Court, the 20th day of August, A. D. 1546.

of costly and fine dishes there out of number spent, it is not our purpose here presently to treat thereof, but only to consider and note the conference and communication had the first night after the said banquet was finished, between the king's majesty, the said ambassador, and the archbishop of Canterbury (the king's highness standing openly in the banqueting-house, in the open face of all the people, and leaning one arm upon the shoulder of the archbishop of Canterbury, and the other arm upon the shoulder of the ambassador), touching the establishing of godly religion between those two princes in both their realms: as, by the report of the said archbishop unto his secretary, upon occasion of his service to be done in king Edward's visitation, then being registrar in the same visitation, relation was made on that behalf in this sort:

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Secret communication between the king and the French ambassador and the archbishop of Canterbury.

When the said visitation was put in a readiness, before the commissioners should proceed in their voyage, the said archbishop sent for the said registrar,[1] his man, unto Hampton Court, and willed him in any wise to make notes of certain things in the said visitation; whereof he gave unto him instruction: having then further talk with him touching the good effect and success of the said visitation. Upon this occasion the registrar said thus unto his master the archbishop.

The testimony and credit of the story.

Registrar:—'I do remember, that you, not long ago, caused me to conceive and write letters, which king Henry the Eighth should have signed, and have directed unto your grace and the archbishop of York, for the reformation of certain enormities in the churches, as taking down of the roods, and forbidding of ringing on Allhallow-night, and such like vain ceremonies: which letters your grace sent to the court to be signed by the king's majesty, but as yet I think that there was never any thing done therein.'

'Why,' quoth the archbishop again, 'never heard you those letters were suppressed and stopped?' Whereunto the archbishop's servant, answering again: 'As it was,' said he, 'my duty to write those letters, so was it not my part to be inquisitive what became thereupon.' 'Marry!' quoth the archbishop, 'my lord of Winchester then being beyond the seas, about the conclusion of a league between the emperor, the French king, and the king our master, and fearing that some reformation should here pass in the realm touching religion, in his absence, against his appetite, wrote to the king's majesty,[2] bearing him in hand that the league then towards, would not prosper nor go forwards on his majesty's behalf, if he made any other innovation or alteration in religion, or in the ceremonies in the church, than was already done; which his advertisement herein caused the king to stay the signing of those letters, as sir Anthony Denny wrote to me by the king's commandment.'

Then said his servant again unto him, 'Forasmuch as the king's good intent took no place then, now your grace may go forward in those matters, the opportunity of the time much better serving thereunto than in king Henry's days.'

'Not so,' quoth the archbishop. 'It was better to attempt such reformation in king Henry the Eighth's days than at this time; the king being in his infancy. For, if the king's father had set forth any thing for the reformation of abuses, who was he that durst gainsay it? Marry! we are now in doubt how men will take the change, or alteration of abuses, in the church; and, therefore, the council hath forborne especially to speak thereof, and of other things which gladly they would have reformed in this visitation, referring all those and such-like matters unto the discretions of the visitors. But, if king Henry the Eighth had lived unto this day with the French king, it had been past my lord of Winchester's power to have visored the king's highness, as he did when he was about the same league.'

'I am sure you were at Hampton Court,' quoth the archbishop, 'when the French king's ambassador was entertained there at those solemn banqueting-

(1) The name of this registrar was Master Morice, secretary some time to archbishop Cranmer.
(2) Mark the mischievous fetches of this old fox, Winchester.

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houses, not long before the king's death; namely, when, after the banquet was done the first night, the king was leaning upon the ambassador and upon me: if I should tell what communication between the king's highness and the said ambassador was had, concerning the establishing of sincere religion then, a man would hardly have believed it: nor had I myself thought the king's highness had been so forward in those matters as then appeared. I may tell you, it passed the pulling down of roods, and suppressing the ringing of bells. I take it that few in England would have believed, that the king's majesty and the French king had been at this point, not only, within half a year after, to have changed the mass in both the realms into a communion (as we now use it), but also utterly to have extirped and banished the bishop of Rome, and his usurped power, out of both their realms and dominions. Yea, they were so thoroughly and firmly resolved in that behalf, that they meant also to exhort the emperor to do the like in Flanders and other his countries and seigniories; or else they would break off from him. And herein the king's highness willed me,' quoth the archbishop, 'to pen a form thereof to be sent to the French king, to consider of. But the deep and most secret providence of Almighty God, owing to this realm a sharp scourge for our iniquities, prevented for a time this their most godly device and intent, by taking to his mercy both these princes.'

The purpose of king Henry and of the French king a little before their deaths.

A brief Narration of the Trouble of Sir George Blage.

Sir George falsely accused, sent to Newgate and condemned.

Here would also something be said of sir George Blage, one of the king's privy chamber, who, being falsely accused by sir Hugh Caverley, knight, and Master Littleton, was sent for by Wriothesley, lord chancellor, the Sunday before Anne Askew suffered, and the next day was carried to Newgate, and from thence to Guildhall, where he was condemned the same day, and appointed to be burned the Wednesday following. The words which his accusers laid unto him were these: "What if a mouse should eat the bread? then, by my consent, they should hang up the mouse:" whereas, indeed, these words he never spake, as to his life's end he protested. But the truth (as he said) was this, that they, craftily to undermine him, walking with him in Paul's church after a sermon of Dr. Crome, asked if he were at the sermon. He said, "Yea." "I heard say," saith Master Littleton, "that he said in his sermon, that the mass profiteth neither for the quick, nor for the dead." "No," saith Master Blage. "Wherefore then?" "Belike for a gentleman, when he rideth a hunting, to keep his horse from stumbling." And so they departing, immediately after he was apprehended (as is showed), and condemned to be burned. When this was heard among them of the privy chamber, the king, hearing them whispering together (which he could never abide), commanded them to tell him the matter. Whereupon the matter being opened, and suit made to the king, especially by the good earl of Bedford, then lord privy seal, the king, being sore offended with their doings, that they would come so near him, and even into his Privy Chamber, without his knowledge, sent for Wriothesley, commanding eftsoons to draw out his pardon himself, and so was he set at liberty; who, coming after to the king's presence, "Ah! my pig" (saith the king to him, for so he was wont to call him). "Yea," said he, "if your majesty had not been better to me than your bishops were, your pig had been roasted ere this time."

Crafty undermining of false accusers.

Master Blage pardoned by the king.

The king's pig almost roasted.

But to let this matter of sir George Blage pass, we will now reduce our story again to Anne Askew and her fellow martyrs, who, the same week, were burned, and could find no pardon.

Then the catholic fathers, when they had brought this christian woman, with the residue, as above hath been declared, unto their rest, they, being now in their ruff and triumph, like as the pharisees, when they had brought Christ to his grave, devised with themselves how to keep Him down still, and to overtread truth for ever. Whereupon, consulting with certain of the council, they made out a strait and hard proclamation, authorized by the king's name, for the abolishing of the Scripture, and all such English books as might give any light to the setting forth of God's true word, and the grace of the gospel: the copy and tenour of which proclamation is this, as followeth.

A Proclamation for the abolishing of English Books, after the Death of Anne Askew, set forth by the King, A.D. 1546, the eighth day of July.

The king's most excellent majesty—understanding how, under pretence of expounding and declaring the truth of God's Scripture, divers lewd and evil-disposed persons have taken upon them to utter and sow abroad, by books imprinted in the English tongue, sundry pernicious and detestable errors and heresies, not only contrary to the laws of this realm, but also repugnant to the true sense of God's law and his word,[1] by reason whereof certain men of late, to the destruction of their own bodies and souls, and to the evil example of others, have attempted arrogantly and maliciously to impugn the truth, and therewith trouble the sober, quiet, and godly religion, united and established under the king's majesty in this his realm; his highness, minding to foresee the dangers that might ensue of the said books, is enforced to use his general prohibition, commandment, and proclamation, as followeth:

The New Testament of Tyndale and of Coverdale's translation forbidden.

First, That from henceforth no man, woman, or person, of what estate, condition, or degree soever he or they be, shall, after the last day of August next ensuing, receive, have, take, or keep in his or their possession, the text of the New Testament, of Tyndale's or Coverdale's translation in English, nor any other than is permitted by the act of parliament made in the session of the parliament holden at Westminster in the thirty-fourth and thirty-fifth year of his majesty's most noble reign; nor, after the said day, shall receive, have, take, or keep, in his or their possession, any manner of books printed or written in the English tongue, which be, or shall be, set forth in the names of Frith, Tyndale, Wickliff, Joy, Roy, Basil, Bale, Barnes, Coverdale, Turner, Tracy, or by any of them; or any other book or books containing matter contrary to the said act made in the year thirty-four, or thirty-five; but shall, before the last day of August next coming, deliver the same English book or books, to his master in that household, if he be a servant, or dwell under any other; and the master or ruler of the house, and such others as dwell at large, shall deliver all such books of these sorts aforesaid as they have, or shall come to their hands, delivered as afore or otherwise, to the mayor, bailiff, or chief constable of the town where they dwell, to be by them delivered over openly within forty days next following after the said delivery, to the sheriff of the shire, or to the bishop's chancellor, or commissary of the same diocese; to the intent the said bishop, chancellor, commissary, and sheriff, and every of them, may cause them incontinently to be openly burned: which thing the king's majesty's pleasure is, that every of them shall see executed in most effectual sort, and of their doings thereof make certificate to the king's majesty's most honourable council, before the first day of October next coming.

Divers other books in English restrained.

Burning Scripture and other books.

And, to the intent that no man shall mistrust any danger of such penal statutes as be passed in this behalf, for the keeping of the said books, the king's majesty is most graciously contented, by this proclamation, to pardon that offence to the said time appointed by this proclamation for the delivery of the

A bait to bring in books.

(1) Nay rather for the ignorance and lack of God's Scripture, many have taken occasion of error and heresies intolerable.

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said books; and commandeth that no bishop, chancellor, commissary, mayor, bailiff, sheriff, or constable, shall be curious to mark who bringeth forth such books, but only order and burn them openly, as is in this proclamation ordered. And if any man, after the last day of August next coming, shall have any of the said books in his keeping, or be proved and convicted, by sufficient witness, before four of the king's most honourable council, to have hidden them, or used them, or any copy of any of them, or any part of them, whereby it should appear that he willingly hath offended the true meaning of this proclamation, the same shall not only suffer imprisonment and punishment of his body at the king's majesty's will and pleasure, but also shall make such fine and ransom to his highness for the same, as by his majesty, or four of his grace's said council, shall be determined, &c.

The penalty limited.

Finally, His majesty straitly chargeth and commandeth, that no person or persons, of what estate, degree, or condition soever he or they be, from the day of this proclamation, presume to bring any manner of English book, concerning any manner of christian religion, printed in the parts beyond the seas, into this realm, to sell, give, or distribute any English book, printed in outward parts, or the copy of any such book, or any part thereof, to any person dwelling within this his grace's realm, or any other his majesty's dominions, unless the same shall be specially licensed so to do by his highness's express grant, to be obtained in writing for the same, upon the pains before limited; and therewithal to incur his majesty's extreme indignation.

*Hereafter[1] follow the names of certain books, which, either after the injunction mentioned before,[2] or some other, in this king's days, were prohibited; the names of which books here follow, in order expressed.

The Names of certain prohibited Books.

First, The Whole Bible.[3]
Item, The New Testament.
Item, A General Confession.
Item, The Acts of the Disputation in the council of the Empire at Regensburgh.[4]
Item, A Short Recapitulation or Abridgment.
Item, A Confutation touching the Protestation of Dr. Barnes.
Item, The Christian State of Matrimony.
Item, A very excellent and sweet Exposition on the Twenty-third Psalm of David, called in Latin, 'Dominus regit me.'
Item, The Old Faith.
Item, The Order that the church and congregation of Christ in Denmark, and in many other places of Germany doth use at the Supper of the Lord, and at the ministration of the blessed sacrament of Baptism and Holy Wedlock.
Item, A Faithful and True Prognostication upon the year 1536, translated out of high Almain into English.
Item, Psalms and Songs, drawn, as is pretended, out of Holy Scripture.

First, The Exposition of Daniel the Prophet, gathered out by Philip Melancthon, John Œcolampade, Conrade Pellicane; and out of John Draconite, &c., translated into English.[5]
Item, David's Psalter, translated into English.
Item, Jeremy, the Prophet, translated into English.
Item, An Apology against William Tyndale.
Item, A book called 'The Prophet Esay,' translated into English.
Item, The Subversion of Moses' false foundation.
Item, A Present Consolation for the sufferance of persecution for righteousness.

(1) This catalogue of prohibited books is only found in the First Edition, 1563, pp. 573, 574.—Ed.
(2) See p. 565 of this volume.—Ed.
(3) 'The whole Bible,' by Miles Coverdale.
(4) Regensburg or Ratisbon.—Ed.
(5) Translated into English, by George Joye.

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First, A New Year's Gift.[1]
Item, David's Harp, full of most delectable harmony, newly stringed and set in tune.
Item, The Golden Book of Christian Matrimony.
Item, News out of Heaven.
Item, A Christmas Banquet, garnished with many pleasant and dainty dishes.
Item, The True Defence of Peace.
Item, A Potation or Drinking, for the holy time of Lent.
Item, An Invective against the most wicked vice of Swearing.
Item, The Right Pathway unto Prayer.
Item, The New Policy of War.
Item, A New Catechism.
Item, A Pleasant New Nosegay.
Item, Christmas Carols, very new and godly.[2]

First, The New Testament in divers prints.
Item, The Obedience of a Christian Man.[3]
Item, An Answer of Sir Thomas More's Dialogue.
Item, A book, called The Prophet Jonas, teaching to understand the right use of Scripture.
Item, A Treatise of the Justification by Faith only, otherwise called, The Parable of the Wicked Mammon.
Item, The Parable and Complaint of a Ploughman unto Christ.
Item, A Book touching the Church.
Item, A Godly Disputation between a Christian Shoemaker and a Popish Parson.
Item, The Disclosing of the Man of Sin.

First, A Letter, sent by John Frith unto the faithful followers of the Gospel.
Item, A Treatise, made by the said John Frith, while he was prisoner in the Tower of London.
Item, A Treatise, [another] made by the said John Frith, while he was prisoner in the Tower of London.
Item, A Book, made by the said Frith, prisoner in the Tower of London, answering unto Master Moore's Letter.
Item, The New Testament of William Tracey, esquire, expounded both by William Tyndale and John Frith.
Item, A Book against the Sacrament, made by John Frith.
Item, A Mirror or Glass for them that be sick and in pain: translated out of Dutch into English.
Item, An Exposition upon Magnificat, translated out of Latin into English.
Item, The Original and Spring of all Sects and Ordery: translated out of Dutch into English.
Item, The Old God and the New.

First, A Comparison between the Old Learning and the New: translated out of Latin into English.
Item, The Abridgment of Unio Dissidentium: translated out of Latin into English.
Item, The Hunting of the Fox.
Item, The sum of the Holy Scripture.
Item, The Book of Merchants, right necessary to all folks; newly made by the Lord Pantapole.
Item, The Spiritual Nosegay.

First, A Supplication made by the said Barnes, unto the king's majesty.
Item, A Book in Articles, touching Christian Religion.
Item, A Book called the Preparation to the Cross and Death.
Item, A Brief Chronicle, concerning the examination, and the death of Sir John Oldcastle the Lord Cobham.

(1) By Theodore Basil, alias Thomas Beacon.
(2) Made by the said Basil, otherwise called Thomas Beacon.
(3) By William Tyndale.

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Item, A Preface against the Genealogy of John Huntingdon.
Item, A Mystery of Iniquity, disclosed and confuted by the said John Bale.
Item, The Image of Both Churches.
Item, The second and third part of the Image of Both Churches.
Item, The Disclosing the Man of Sin; made by Bale, naming himself Harrison.
Item, The Door of Holy Scripture; made by Thomas Boughe.
Item, The Lord's Flail; made by T. Solme.
Item, The Lamentation against the City of London; made by Roderick Mors.
Item, An Epistle Exhortatory, made by Henry Stalbridge.
Item, A Work concerning both parts of the Sacrament; made by Melancthon.
Item, The Exposition of Daniel the Prophet; made by Melancthon.
Item, The Image of a Counterfeit Bishop; made by Luther.
Item, The Obedience of a Christian Man; compiled by William Tyndale.
Item, The Medicine of Life; by Urbanus Regius.
Item, Common Places of Scripture.
Item, The Confession of the Germans, with the defence of the same.
Item, A Compendious Letter, which John Pomerane, curate of the congregation of Wittenburgh, sent to the faithful congregation in England.
Item, The Defence of Marriage of Priests; made by James Sawtre.
Item, Ten Places of Scripture, by which it is proved, that doctrines and traditions of men ought to be avoided.
Item, A Consolation for Christian People to repair again to the Lord's Temple; with certain places of Scripture, truly applied to satisfy their minds for the expelling of Idolatry.
Item, The Epistle Exhortatory of an English Christian unto his dearly beloved country of England.
Item, The Image of a very Christian Bishop and of a Counterfeit Bishop.
Item, An Exposition upon the sixth and seventh chapters of Matthew.
Item, The Lantern of Light.
Item, A Pathway unto Holy Scripture.
Item, A Treatise called The New Additions.
Item, The Liberty of a Christian Man.
Item, The Practice of Prelates.

Untrue dealing of the papists in gathering heresies where none are.

Forasmuch as it is, and always hath been, the common guise and practice of the pope's church, to extinguish, condemn, and abolish all good books and wholesome treatises of learned men, under a false pretence of errors and heresies, whereof examples abundantly appear in this history above: now, for the better trial hereof, to see and try the impudent and shameless vanity of these catholic clergymen, in mistaking, falsifying, depraving, blaspheming, and slandering, where they have no cause, against all right and honest dealing, yea, against their own knowledge, conscience, and manifest verity of God's word; I shall therefore desire the attentive reader, before we pass any further, to consider and expend here two things by the way: First, what opinions and articles these men gather out of their books for errors and heresies. Secondly, how wittingly and willingly they wrest, pervert, and misconstrue their sayings and writings in such sense as the writers never spake nor meant; and all, to bring them into hatred of the world, after they have burned their books.

Articles of Wickliff and others, falsified by the papists.

So did they before with John Wickliff, John Huss, and Jerome: so did they before with Martin Luther, Tyndale, Frith, Lambert, Barnes, Joye, Roy, Seton; and, briefly, yet do still with all the protestants, either perverting their sayings otherwise than they meant, or noting for heresies such as are manifest principles and grounds of our religion: or else falsely belieing them, or untruly mistaking them, either in mangling the places, or adding to their words, as may serve

for their most advantage, to bring them out of credit with princes and all the people. *Henry VIII.*

For the more evident probation and experience whereof, thou shalt see here, christian reader, as in a table laid before thine eyes, the book or catalogue of such errors, blasphemies, and heresies, which the catholic papists in their own registers have extracted out of their books, whom in this, and other proclamations, they have condemned. Whereunto, moreover, we have annexed the very places also of the authors, out of which every article is gathered, keeping also the same signature of verse and page, which they in their registers do send us unto. So that with little diligence thou mayest now, loving reader, easily perceive, conferring the articles and places together, what truth and fidelity these bloody catholics have used toward the children of God: first, in burning up their bodies; then, in consuming and abolishing their books; and afterwards, in drawing out articles, such as they list themselves, out of their works, to make the people believe what damnable heretics they were, as by these articles hereunder ensuing, collected and contained in their own registers, may well appear. In all which articles, there is not one (speaking of these writers which here they have condemned) but either it is a perfect truth, and a principle of christian doctrine, or else it is falsely gathered, or perversely recited, or craftily handled, and maliciously mangled; having either something cut from it, or some more added, or else racked out of his right place, or wrested to a wrong meaning, which the place giveth not, or else which some other place following doth better expound and declare. This false and malicious dealing hath always been a common practice amongst God's enemies from the beginning, to falsify, wrest, and deprave all things, whatsoever maketh not to their faction and affection, be it ever so true and just. So began they with Stephen, the first martyr of Jesus Christ,[1] and so have they continued still, and yet do to this present day. A.D. 1546. The words of St. Stephen falsely depraved.

Long it were to recite, but more grievous to behold, what spite and falsehood were used in the articles of the Albigenses, Waldenses, Wickliff, Swinderby, Brute, Thorpe, Armachanus, sir John Oldcastle, John Huss, the Bohemians, and such others: which thing, if the books and places whence these articles were gathered against them had been suffered to remain, we might more plainly understand. In the mean season, as touching these articles here present, forasmuch as the bishop's own registers have offered them unto us, and do yet remain with the selfsame books from whence they be excerpted, I shall therefore desire thee, friendly reader, first to consider the articles, and lay them with the places which the registers themselves do assign, and then judge thyself, what is to be thought thereof. The articles, gathered out of the aforesaid books, with the bishops' decree prefixed before the same, are as hereunder follow:

A Public Instrument by the Bishops, for the abolishing of the Scripture, and other Books, to be read in English.

In the name of God, Amen. Be it known to all and singular true and faithful people, to whom these present letters testimonial, or this present public and authentic instrument, shall come to be seen, read, heard, or understood, and

(1) Acts vi. 7.

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whom this under-written shall or may teach, or appertain unto in any manner of wise in time to come; William, by the sufferance of Almighty God, archbishop of Canterbury, primate of all the realm of England, sendeth greeting in our Lord God everlasting. We signify unto you all, and let you well to wit and know by these presents, that the king, our sovereign lord, hearing of many books in the English tongue, containing many detestable errors, and damnable opinions, printed in the parts beyond the seas, to be brought into divers towns, and sundry parts of this his realm of England, and sown abroad in the same, to the great decay of our faith catholic, and perilous corruption of his people, unless speedy remedy were briefly provided; his highness, willing evermore to employ all his study and mind, in the high degree which Almighty God hath called him unto, to the wealth of his subjects, that they might live not only in tranquillity and peace, but also be kept pure and clean of all contagion, and wrong opinions in Christ's religion: considering also, that he, being defender of the faith, would be full loth to suffer such evil seed sown amongst his people, and so take root that it might overgrow the corn of the catholic doctrine before sprung in the souls of his subjects: for the repelling of such books, calling unto him of his great goodness and gracious disposition, not only certain of the chief prelates and clerks of his realm, but also of each university a certain number of the chief learned men, proposed such of those books as his grace had ready to be read unto them, requiring to hear in that behalf their advice and judgment of them: who, both by great diligence and mature deliberation, perusing over the said books, found in them many errors and heresies, both detestable and damnable, being of such sort, that they were like briefly to corrupt a great part of his people (if they might be suffered to remain in their hands any space); gathering also out of them many great errors and pestilent heresies, and noting them in writing, to the intent to show for what cause they reputed the said books damnable; of which hereafter, out of each book gathered, many do ensue: albeit many more there be in the said books, which books totally do swarm full of heresies and detestable opinions.

Heresies and Errors collected by the Bishops out of the Book of Tyndale, named "The Wicked Mammon,"

WITH THE PLACES OF THE BOOK ANNEXED TO THE SAME, OUT OF WHICH EVERY ARTICLE IS COLLECTED.

First Article. "Faith only justifieth." Fol. 62.[1]

The papists, of the principles of divinity, make heresy.

This article being a principle of the Scripture, and the ground of our salvation, is plain enough by St. Paul and the whole body of the Scripture; neither can any make this a heresy, but they must make St. Paul a heretic, and show themselves enemies unto the promises of grace, and to the cross of Christ.

Article. II. "The law maketh us to hear God, because we be born under the power of the devil." Fol. 62.

Article. III. "It is impossible for us to consent to the will of God." Fol. 62.

The place of Tyndale from whence these articles be wrested, is in the "Wicked Mammon," as followeth: which place I beseech thee indifferently to read, and then to judge.

'In the faith which we have in Christ, and in God's promises, find we mercy, life, favour, and peace. In the law we find death, damnation, and wrath: moreover, the curse and vengeance of God upon us. And it, that is to say the law, is called of Paul, the ministration of death and damnation. (2 Cor. iii.) In the law we are proved to be enemies of God, and that we hate him: for how can we be at peace with God, and love him, seeing we are conceived and born under the power of the devil, and are his possession and kingdom, his captives and bondmen, and led at his will, and he holdeth our hearts, so that it is impossible for

(1) These folios refer to an edition of the works of Tyndale, Frith, and Barnes, printed by John Daye, London, 1573; and to which Foxe wrote a preface. There has been occasion to correct a few of them. The passages within brackets have been inserted from that edition, and collated with an edition printed at 'Malborowe, in the lande of Hesse,' in 1528.—Ed.

us to consent to the will of God: much more is it impossible for a man to fulfil the law by his own strength and power, seeing that we are by birth and nature the heirs of eternal damnation,' etc.[1]

IV. "The law requireth impossible things of us." Fol. 62. Article.
Read the place:

'The law, when it commandeth that thou shalt not lust, giveth thee not power so to do, but damneth thee because thou canst not so do. If thou wilt therefore be at peace with God, and love him, then must thou turn to the promises, and to the gospel, which is called of Paul [in the place before rehearsed of the Corinthians] the ministration of righteousness, and of the spirit.'[2]

V. "The Spirit of God turneth us and our nature, that we do good, as naturally as a tree doth bring forth fruit." Fol. 65. Article.
The place is this:

'The Spirit of God accompanieth faith, and bringeth with her light, wherewith a man beholdeth himself in the law of God, and seeth his miserable bondage and captivity, and humbleth himself, and abhorreth himself. She bringeth God's promises of all good things in Christ. God worketh with his word, and in his word, and as his word is preached, faith rooteth herself in the hearts of the elect. And as faith entereth, and the word of God is believed, the power of God looseth the heart from the captivity and bondage under sin, and knitteth and coupleth him to God, and to the will of God; altereth him and changeth him clean; fashioneth and forgeth him anew; giveth him power to love and to do that which before was impossible for him either to love or do, and turneth him into a new nature; so that he loveth that which before he hated, and hateth that which he before loved, and is clean altered and changed and contrarily disposed, and is knit and coupled fast to God's will, and naturally bringeth forth good works, that is to say, that which God commandeth to do, and not things of his own imagination: and that doth he of his own accord, as a tree bringeth forth fruit of her own accord,' etc.[3]

VI. "Works do only declare to thee that thou art justified." Fol. 67. Article.

If Tyndale say that works do only declare our justification, he doth not thereby destroy good works; but only showeth the right use and office of good works to be nothing to merit our justification, but rather to testify a lively faith, which only justifieth us. The article is plain by the Scripture and St. Paul.

VII. "Christ with all his works did not deserve heaven." Fol. 69. Article.
Read the place:

'All good works must be done freely, with a single eye, without respect of any thing, and that no profit be sought thereby. That commandeth Christ,[4] where he saith, Freely have ye received, freely give again. For look, as Christ with all his works did not deserve heaven[5] (for that was his already), but did us service therewith; and neither looked [for], nor sought his own profit, but ours, and the honour of God his Father only: even so we, with all our works, may not seek our own profit, neither in this world nor in heaven; but must and ought freely to work to honour God withal, and without all manner [of] respect seek our neighbour's profit, and do him service,' etc.

VIII. "Labouring by good works to come to heaven, thou shamest Christ's blood." Fol. 70. Article.

(1) Herein is nothing contained but what is rightly consonant unto the Scripture.
(2) 2 Cor. iii. What heresy is in these words?
(3) This place speaketh of the operation and effect of faith, containing nothing but what is maintainable by the Scripture.
(4) Matt. x.
(5) He meaneth in his divinity, but in his humanity he deserved heaven by his works, not only for himself, but for us all.

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Read the place:

'If thou wouldest obtain heaven with the merits and deservings of thine own works, so doest thou wrong, yea and shamest the blood of Christ, and unto thee Christ is dead in vain. Now is the true believer heir of God by Christ's deservings, yea and in Christ was predestinate and ordained unto eternal life before the world began. And when the gospel is preached unto us, we believe the mercy of God; and, in believing, we receive the Spirit of God, which is the earnest of eternal life; and we are in eternal life already, and feel already in our hearts the sweetness thereof, and are overcome with the kindness of God and Christ, and, therefore, love the will of God, and of love are ready to work freely; and not to obtain that which is given us freely, and whereof we are heirs already.'

To say that heaven is gotten by our deservings, is a popish heresy, and contrary to the Scriptures.

Article. IX. "Saints in heaven cannot help us thither." Fol. 70.

Whether saints can help us unto heaven, see the Scripture; and mark well the office of the Son of God, our only Saviour and Redeemer, and thou shalt not need to seek any further.

Article. X. "To build a church in the honour of our Lady, or any other saint, is in vain; they cannot help thee, they be not thy friends." Fol. 71.

Read the place of Tyndale:

Our friends, to be made of the wicked mammon, mean the poor alive, and not the saints departed.

'What buildest thou churches, foundest abbeys, chantries, and colleges, in honour of saints, to my Mother, to St. Peter, Paul, and saints that be dead, to make of them thy friends? They need it not, yea, they are not thy friends, [but theirs which lived then when they did, of whom they were holpen.] Thy friends are thy poor [which are now in thy time and live with thee, thy poor] neighbours, which need thy help and succour. Them make thy friends with the unrighteous mammon, that they may testify of thy faith, and that thou mayest know and feel that thy faith is right, and not feigned.'

Article. XI. "All flesh is in bondage of sin, and cannot but sin." Fol. 74.

This article is evident enough of itself, confirmed by the Scripture, and needeth no allegations.

Article. XII. "Thou canst not be damned without Christ be damned, nor Christ be saved without thou be saved." Fol. 75, 76.

Read the place:

'A physician serveth but for sick men, and that for such [sick] men as feel their sickness, and mourn there-for, and long for health. Christ, likewise, serveth but for such sinners only as feel their sin, and that for such sinners that sorrow and mourn in their hearts for health. Health is the power or strength to fulfil the law, or to keep the commandments: Now, he that longeth for that health, that is to say, for to do the law of God, is blessed in Christ, and hath a promise that his lust shall be fulfilled, and that he shall be made whole: Blessed are they which hunger and thirst for righteousness' sake, (that is, to fulfil the law,) for their lust shall be fulfilled. Matt. 5.

'This longing, and the consent of the heart unto the law of God, is the working of the Spirit, which God hath poured into thine heart, in earnest, that thou mightest be sure that God will fulfil all his promises that he hath made thee.[1] It is also the seal and mark which God putteth on all men that he chooseth unto everlasting life. So long as thou seest thy sin, and mournest, and consentest to the law, and longest (though thou be never so weak), yet the Spirit shall keep thee in all temptations from desperation, and certify thine heart, that God, for his truth, shall deliver thee, and save thee; yea, and by thy good deeds shalt thou be saved—not which thou hast done, but which Christ hath done for thee. For Christ is thine, and all his deeds are thy deeds. Christ

(1) The believing man, standing upon the certainty of God's promise, may assure himself of his salvation, as truly as Christ himself is saved; and he can no more than Christ himself be damned: and, although the Scripture doth not use this phrase of speaking, yet it importeth no less in effect, by reason of the verity of God's promise, which impossible it is to fail.

is in thee, and thou in him, knit together inseparably; neither canst thou be damned, except Christ be damned with thee; neither can Christ be saved, except thou be saved with him.' *Henry VIII.* A. D. 1546.

The like comfortable words he hath afterwards, fol. 82, which are these:

'He that desireth mercy, the same feeleth his own misery and sin, and mourneth in his heart to be delivered, that he might honour God, and God for his truth must hear him, which saith by the mouth of Christ,[1] Blessed are they which hunger and thirst after righteousness, for they shall be satisfied. God, for his truth's sake, must put the righteousness of Christ in him, and wash his unrighteousness away in the blood of Christ. And be the sinner never so weak, so feeble and frail, though he have sinned never so oft and so grievous; yet so long as this lust, desire, and mourning to be delivered, remaineth in him, God seeth not his sins, reckoneth them not, for his truth's sake, and love to Christ. He is not a sinner in the sight of God, that would be no sinner: he that would be delivered, hath his heart loose already: his heart sinneth not, but mourneth, repenteth, and consenteth unto the law and will of God, and justifieth God, that is, beareth record that God who made the law, is righteous and just. And such a heart, trusting in Christ's blood, is accepted for full righteousness, and his weakness, infirmity, and frailty is pardoned, and his sins are not looked upon, until God put more strength in him, and fulfil his lust.'

XIII. "The commandments be given us, not to do them, but to know our damnation, and to call for mercy of God." Fol. 76. Article.

Read the place:

'If thou wilt enter into life, keep the commandments.[2]—First remember, that when God commandeth us to do any thing, he doth it not therefore, because that we, of ourselves, are able to do that he commandeth, but that by the law we might see and know our horrible damnation and captivity under sin, and should repent and come unto Christ, and receive mercy,' etc.[3]

XIV. "Fasting is only to avoid surfeit, and to tame the body; all other purposes be nought." Fol. 81. Article.

The words of Tyndale be these:

'Fasting is to abstain from surfeiting or overmuch eating, from drunkenness and cares of the world, as thou mayest read in Luke xxi. And the end of fasting, is to tame the body, that the spirit may have a free course unto God, and may quietly talk with God. For overmuch eating and drinking, and care of worldly business, press down the spirit, choke her, and tangle her, that she cannot lift up herself to God. Now he that fasteth for any other intent than to subdue the body, that the spirit may wait on God, and freely exercise herself in the things of God, the same is blind, and wotteth not what he doth; erreth, and shooteth at a wrong mark; and his intent and imagination is abominable in the sight of God.' The true end of fasting.

XV. "To bid the poor man pray for me, is only to remember him to do his duty; not that I have any trust in his prayer." Fol. 82. Article.

The words of Tyndale be these:

'When we desire one another to pray for us, that do we to put our neighbour in remembrance of his duty, and not that we trust in his holiness: our trust is in God, in Christ, and in the truth of God's promises. We have also a promise, that when two or three or more agree together in one thing, according to the will of God, God heareth us. Notwithstanding, as God heareth many, so heareth

(1) Matt. v. (2) Matt. xix.
(3) This article is falsely wrested out of these words; which do not say that we should not do the commandments, but that we cannot do them.

Henry VIII. he few, and so heareth he one, if he pray after the will of God, and desire the honour of God.'[1]

A. D. 1546. Article. XVI. "Though thou give me a thousand pounds to pray for thee, I am no more bound now than I was before." Fol. 83.

The words be these:

'If thou give me a thousand pounds to pray for thee, I am no more bound than I was before. Man's imagination can make the commandment of God neither greater nor smaller; neither can to the law of God either add or diminish. God's commandment is as great as himself.'[2]

Article. XVII. "A good deed done, and not of fervent charity, as Christ's was, is sin." Fol. 83.

The words of Tyndale be these:

'Though thou show mercy unto thy neighbour, yet if thou do it not with such burning love as Christ did unto thee, so must thou acknowledge thy sin, and desire mercy in Christ.'[3]

Article. XVIII. "Every man is lord of another man's goods." Fol. 83.

The words of Tyndale be these:

'Christ is Lord over all, and every christian is heir annexed with Christ, and therefore lord of all, and every one lord of whatsoever another hath. If thy brother or neighbour therefore need, and thou have to help him, and yet showest not mercy, but withdrawest thy hands from him, then robbest thou him of his own, and art a thief.'[4]

Read more hereof in the twentieth article following.

Article. XIX. "I am bound to love the Turk with the very bottom of my heart." Fol. 84.

The place of this article is this:

'I am bound to love the Turk with all my might and power, yea and above my power, even from the ground of my heart, after the ensample that Christ loved me; neither to spare goods, body, nor life, to win him to Christ. And what can I do more for thee, if thou gavest me all the world? Where I see need, there can I not but pray, if God's Spirit be in me.'

Article. XX. "The worst Turk living hath as much right to my goods at his needs, as my household, or mine own self."[5] Fol. 84.

Read and mark well the place in "The Wicked Mammon:"

'In Christ, we are all of one degree without respect of persons. Notwithstanding, though a Christian man's heart be open to all men, and receiveth all men, yet, because that his ability of goods extendeth not so far, this provision is made, that every man shall care for his own household; as father and mother, and thine elders that have holpen thee; wife, children, and servants. If thou shouldest not care and provide for thine household, then were thou an infidel, seeing thou hast taken on thee so to do; and forasmuch as that is thy part, committed unto thee of the congregation. When thou hast done thy duty to thine household, and yet hast further abundance of the blessing of God, that owest thou to the poor that cannot labour, or would labour and can get no work, and

(1) The place biddeth us put our trust in Christ only, and not in poor men's prayers; and so doth the Scripture likewise, and yet no heresy therein.

(2) This place answereth for itself sufficiently.

(3) This place tendeth to no such meaning as is in the article, but only showeth our good deeds to be imperfect.

(4) This place giveth to none any propriety of another man's goods but only by way of christian communion.

(5) Lo! reader, how peevishly this place is wrested. First, here is no mention made of any Turk. Secondly, this place speaking of an infidel, meaneth of such Christians as forsake their own households. Thirdly, by his right in thy goods, he meaneth no propriety that he hath to claim, but only to put thee in remembrance of thy christian duty what to give.

are destitute of friends: to the poor, I mean, which thou knowest; to them of thine own parish. [For that provision ought to be had in the congregation, that every parish care for their poor.] If thy neighbours which thou knowest be served, and thou yet have superfluity, and hearest necessity to be among the brethren a thousand miles off, to them art thou debtor: yea, to the very infidels we be debtors, if they need, so far forth as we maintain them not against Christ, or to blaspheme Christ. Thus is every man that needeth thy help, thy father, mother, sister, and brother in Christ; even as every man that doth the will of the Father, is father, mother, sister, and brother unto Christ.

'Moreover, if any be an infidel and a false christian, and forsake his household, his wife, children, and such as cannot help themselves, then art thou bound to them, and thou have wherewith, even as much as to thine own household; and they have as good right in thy goods, as thou thyself,' etc.

'If the whole world were thine, yet hath every brother his right in thy goods, and is heir with thee, as we are all heirs with Christ.'

XXI. "Alms deserve no meed." Fol. 84. Article.

The place is this:

'He that seeketh with his alms more than to be merciful, to be a neighbour, to succour his brother's need, to do his duty to his brother, to give his brother that he oweth him, the same is blind, and seeth not what it is to be a christian man, and to have fellowship in Christ's blood.'

XXII. "There is no work better than another to please God, to pour water, to wash dishes, to be a souter,[1] or an apostle, all is one; to wash dishes and to preach is all one, as touching the deed to please God." Fol. 85. Article.

The words of Tyndale be these:

'As pertaining to good works, understand that all works are good which are done within the law of God, in faith and with thanksgiving to God; and understand that thou, in doing them, pleasest God, whatsoever thou doest within the † law of God; as when thou pourest water, etc.

'Moreover, put no difference between works, but whatsoever cometh into thy hands, that do, as time, place, and occasion giveth, and as God hath put thee in degree, high or low: for as touching to please God, there is no work better than another. God looketh not first on thy works, as the world doth, as though the beautifulness of the works pleased him, as it doth the world, or as though he had need of them. But God looketh first on the heart; what faith thou hast to his words; how thou believest him [trustest him], and how thou lovest him for his mercy that he hath showed thee. He looketh with what heart thou workest, and not what thou workest; how thou acceptest the degree that he hath put thee in, and not of what degree thou art, whether thou be an apostle or a shoemaker.

'Set this ensample before thine eyes: Thou art a kitchen-page, and washest thy master's dishes. Another is an apostle, and preacheth the word of God. Of this apostle hark what St. Paul saith,[2] If I preach (saith he), I have nought to rejoice in, for necessity is put unto me. As who should say, God hath made me so: woe is unto me if I preach not. If I do it willingly (saith he), then have I my reward; that is, then am I sure that God's Spirit is in me, and that I am elect to eternal life. If I do it against my will, an office is committed unto me; that is, if I do it not of love to God, but to get a living thereby, and for a worldly purpose, and had rather otherwise live; then do I that office which God hath put me in, and yet please not God myself, etc.

'Moreover, howsoever he preacheth, he hath not to rejoice in that he preacheth. But and if he preach willingly, with a true heart, and of conscience to God, then hath he his reward; that is, then feeleth he the earnest of eternal life, and the working of the Spirit of God in him. And as he feeleth God's goodness and mercy, so be thou sure he feeleth his own infirmity, weakness, and unworthiness, and mourneth and acknowledgeth his sin, in that the heart will not arise to work with that full lust and love that is in Christ our Lord: and, nevertheless, is he yet at peace with God, through faith and trust in Christ Jesu. For

(1) 'Souter,' a cobbler. (2) 2 Cor. ix.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1546.

the earnest of the Spirit that worketh in him, testifieth and beareth witness unto his heart, that God hath chosen him, and that his grace shall suffice him, which grace is now not idle in him. In his works putteth he no trust.

'Now thou that ministerest in the kitchen, and art but a kitchen-page, receivest all things of the hand of God, knowest that God hath put thee in that office, submittest thyself to his will, and servest thy master, not as a man, but as Christ himself, with a pure heart, according as Paul teacheth us; puttest thy trust in God, and with him seekest thy reward. Moreover, there is not a good deed done, but thy heart rejoiceth therein; yea, when thou hearest that the word of God is preached by this apostle, and seest the people turn to God, thou consentest unto the deed; thy heart breaketh out in joy, springeth and leapeth in thy breast, that God is honoured; and thou, in thine heart, doest the same that the apostle doth, and haply with greater delectation and a more fervent spirit. Now, he that receiveth a prophet in the name of a prophet, shall receive the reward of a prophet (Matt. x.); that is, he that consenteth to the deed of a prophet, and maintaineth it, the same hath the same Spirit, and earnest of everlasting life, which the prophet hath, and is elect as the prophet is.

No difference of men before God in respect of deeds, but only in respect of faith.

'Now if thou compare deed to deed, there is great difference betwixt washing of dishes and preaching the word of God: but, as touching to please God, none at all. For neither that, nor this pleaseth, but as far forth as God hath chosen a man; hath put his Spirit in him, and purified his heart, by faith and trust in Christ,' etc.[1]

Article. XXIII. "Ceremonies of the church have brought the world from God." Fol. 86.

Read the place of Tyndale:

'Seek the word of God in all things, and without the word of God do nothing, though it appear ever so glorious. Whatsoever is done without the word of God, that count idolatry. The kingdom of heaven is within us.[2] Wonder therefore at no monstrous shape, nor at any outward thing without the word. For the world was never drawn from God, but with an outward show, and glorious appearance and shining of hypocrisy, and of feigned and visored fasting, praying, watching, singing, offering, sacrificing, hallowing of superstitious ceremonies, and monstrous disguising.'

Article. XXIV. "Beware of good intents: they are damned of God." Fol. 87.

Article. XXV. "See thou do nothing but that God biddeth thee." Fol. 87.

The words of Tyndale out of which these two articles be gathered are these:

Good intents.

'Beware of thy good intent, good mind, good affection or zeal, as they call it. Peter, of a good mind, and of a good affection or zeal, chid Christ, because he said that he must go to Jerusalem and there be slain. But Christ called him Satan for his labour (a name that belongeth to the devil), and said that he perceived not godly things, but worldly.[3] Of a good intent, and of a fervent affection to Christ, the sons of Zebedee would have had fire to come down from heaven to consume the Samaritans; but Christ rebuked them, saying, that they wist not of what spirit they were; that is, that they understood not how that they were altogether worldly and fleshly minded.[4] Peter smote Malchus of a good zeal, but Christ condemned his deed. The very Jews, of a good intent and of a good zeal, slew Christ, and persecuted the apostles, as Paul beareth them record. I bear them record (saith he), that they have a fervent mind to God-ward, but not according to knowledge.[5] It is another thing, then, to do of a good mind, and to do of knowledge. Labour for knowledge, that thou mayest know God's will, and what he would have thee to do.

(1) The words of Tyndale sufficiently discharge the article of all heresy, if they be well-weighed. The meaning whereof is this, that all our acceptation with God, standeth only upon our faith in Christ, and upon no work nor office. Cornelius the soldier, believing in Christ, is as well justified before God, as the apostle or preacher; so that there is no rejoicing now either in work or office, but only in our faith in Christ, which only justifieth us before God. Rom. viii.

(2) Luke xvii. (3) Matt. xvi. (4) Luke ix. (5) Rom. x.

'Our mind, intent, and affection or zeal, are blind, and all that we do of them is damned of God; and for that cause hath God made a testament between him and us, wherein is contained both what he would have us to do, and what he would have us to ask of him. See, therefore, that thou do nothing to please God withal, but that he commandeth; neither ask any thing of him but that he hath promised thee.' *Henry VIII.* A.D. 1546.

XXVI. "Churches are for preaching only, and not as they be used now." Fol. 87. Article.

This article containeth neither error nor heresy, but is plain enough of itself, to all them that have their minds exercised in the scriptures of God.

XXVII. "To worship God otherwise than to believe that he is just and true in his promise, is to make God an idol." Fol. 87. Article.

Read the words of Tyndale with this article.

'God is honoured on all sides, in that we count him righteous in all his laws and ordinances, and also true in all his promises. Other worshipping of God none, except we make an idol of him.'

XXVIII. "Pharaoh had no power to let the people depart at God's pleasure." Fol. 95. Article.

XXIX. "Our prelates, in sin say they have power." Fol. 95. Article.

Read the place in "The Wicked Mammon," out of the which these two articles are gathered.

'Paul saith, If thou confess with thy mouth that Jesus is the Lord, and believe with thine heart that God raised him from death, thou shalt be safe:[1] that is, if thou believe he raised him up again for thy salvation. Many believe that God is rich and almighty, but not unto themselves: and that he will be good to them, and defend them, and be their God. Pharaoh, for pain of the plague, was compelled to confess his sins; but had yet no power to submit himself unto the will of God, and to let the children of Israel go, and to lose so great profit for God's pleasure: as our prelates confess their sins, saying, Though we be never so evil, yet have we the power. And again, The scribes and the pharisees, say they, sat in Moses' seat: Do as they teach, but not as they do. Thus confess they that they are abominable.'

HERE FOLLOW OTHER HERESIES AND ERRORS, COLLECTED BY THE BISHOPS OUT OF TYNDALE'S BOOK NAMED, "THE OBEDIENCE OF A CHRISTIAN MAN," WITH THE PLACES OF THE BOOK ANNEXED TO THE SAME.

First Article.—"Tyndale saith, 'We are bound to make satisfaction to our neighbour, but not to God.'" Fol. 132. Article.

'Satisfaction' is a full recompense or amends-making to him whom we have offended, which recompense we are able to make one man to another, and are bound so to do; but to God no man can make any amends or recompense, but only God's own Son Christ Jesus our Saviour: for else, if man could have made satisfaction to God, then had Christ died in vain.'[3]

Lo! what heresy or error is in this article?

II. "He saith, that children ought not to marry without the consent of their parents." Fol. 120. Article.

The words of Tyndale in the "Obedience," be these:

(1) Rom. x.
(2) 'Satisfaction' is treated of at fo. 132 in the edition of 1573, and also at fo. 149; but this passage does not occur in either page.—ED.
(3) Gal. ii.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1546. The parents' consent in marriage.

'Let the fathers and mothers mark how they themselves were disposed at all ages, and, by experience of their own infirmities, help their children, and keep them from occasions. [Let them teach children to ask marriages of their fathers and mothers, and] let them provide marriages for them in season, teaching them also to know, that she is not his wife which the son taketh, nor he her husband which the daughter taketh, without the consent and good will of their elders, or them that have authority over them. If their friends will not marry them, then are they not to blame, if they marry themselves. Let not the fathers and mothers always take the uttermost of their authority of their children, but, at all times, suffer with them, and bear their weakness, as Christ doth ours.'

Article. III. "He saith, that vows are against the ordinance of God." Fol. 109.

They that say that this article is a heresy, let them show where these vows in all the New Testament be ordained of God; especially such vows of single life, and wilful poverty, as by the canon law be obtruded on young priests and novices. St. Paul plainly forefendeth any widows to be admitted under the age of threescore years. Is not here, trow you, a perilous heresy?

Article. IV. "He saith, that a christian man may not resist a prince being an infidel and an ethnic.' This taketh away freewill." Fol. 112.

St. Peter willeth us to be subject to our princes.[1] St. Paul also doth the like;[2] who was also himself subject to the power of Nero; and, although every commandment of Nero against God he did not follow, yet he never made resistance against the authority and state of Nero; as the pope useth to do against the state not only of infidels, but also of christian princes.

Article. V. "'Whatsoever is done before the Spirit of God cometh and giveth us light, is damnable sin.' This is against moral virtues." Fol. 113.

What heresy Aristotle in his Ethics can find by this article, I cannot tell. Sure I am, that the Word and Spirit of God, well considered, can find none, but rather will pronounce the contrary to be a damnable heresy.

Article. VI. "He reproveth men that make holy saints their advocates to God, and there he saith, that saints were not rewarded in heaven for their holy works." Fol. 114.

The words of Tyndale be these:

'They turn from God's word, and put their trust and confidence in the saint, and his merits, and make an advocate, or rather a God, of the saint.' * * * 'They ascribe heaven unto their imaginations and mad inventions, and receive it not of the liberality of God, by the merits and deserving of Christ.'

Article. VII. "God moved the hearts of the Egyptians to hate the people; likewise he moved kings," etc. Fol. 118.

The words in the "Obedience" be these:

'In Psalm cvi. thou readest, He destroyed the rivers, and dried up the springs of water, and turned the fruitful land into barrenness, for the wickedness of the inhabitants thereof. When the children of Israel had forgotten God in Egypt, God moved the hearts of the Egyptians to hate them, and to subdue them with craft and wiliness.'[3]

'In 2 Kings ii. God was angry with his people, and moved David to number them, when Joab and the other lords wondered why he would have them numbered: and because they feared lest some evil should follow, dissuaded the

(1) 1 Pet. ii. (2) Rom. xiii. (3) Psalm civ. and Deut. iii.

king: yet it holped not. God so hardened his heart[1] in his purpose, to have an occasion to slay the wicked people.' *Henry VIII.*

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VIII. "Paul was of higher authority than Peter." Fol. 125. Article.
The words in "The Obedience" be these:

'I suppose, saith he (meaning Paul), that I was not behind the high apostles; meaning in preaching Jesus Christ and his gospel, and in ministering the Spirit. And, in the same chapter, he proveth by the doctrine of Christ, that he was greater than the high apostles: for Christ saith, To be great in the kingdom of God, is to do service, and take pain for others.' Upon which rule Paul disputeth, saying, If they be the ministers of Christ, I am more: in labours more abundant, in stripes above measure, in prison more plenteous, in death oft, etc. If Paul preached Christ more than Peter, and suffered more for his congregation, then is he greater than Peter, by the testimony of Christ.'

IX. "A priest ought to have a wife for two causes." Fol. 133. Article.
The words of Tyndale be these:

'He must have a wife for two causes; one, that it may thereby be known who is meet for the room: he is unapt for so chargeable an office, which had never household to rule. Another cause is, that chastity is an exceeding seldom gift, and unchastity exceeding perilous for that degree, inasmuch as the people look as well unto the living as unto the preaching, and are hurt at once if the living disagree, and fall from the faith, and believe not the word.' True doctrine made heresy.

X. "He condemneth auricular confession." Fol. 140. Article.
Of this read above.

XI. "Every man is a priest, and we need no other priest to be a mean for us unto God." Fol. 144. Article.
The words in "The Obedience" be these:

'There is a word called in Latin 'sacerdos,' in the Greek, 'ἱερεὺς,' in Hebrew 'cohan;' that is, a minister, an officer, a sacrificer, or a priest, as Aaron was a priest, and sacrificed for the people, and was a mediator between God and them; and in the English it should have had some other name than priest: but Antichrist hath deceived us with unknown and strange terms to bring us into confusion and superstitious blindness. Of that manner is Christ a priest for ever, and all we are priests through him, and need no more of any such priest to be a mean for us unto God,'[2] etc.

XII. "He destroyeth the sacraments of matrimony and orders." Fol. 144. Article.
As truly as matrimony and orders be sacraments, so truly is this article a heresy.

XIII. "He saith that purgatory is the pope's invention, and, therefore, he may do there whatsoever he will." Fol. 150. Article.
One of the pope's own writers saith thus: "Souls being in purgatory, are under the pope's jurisdiction, and the pope may, if he will, evacuate all purgatory." Furthermore the old fathers make little mention of purgatory; the Greek church never believed the purgatory; St. Augustine doubteth of purgatory; and the Scriptures plainly disprove purgatory. St. John saith, "The blood of Jesus Christ the Son of God purgeth us from all sin;"[3] and the pope saith, "Sin cannot be purged but by the fire of purgatory." Now, whose invention can purgatory be, but only the pope's?

(1) God sometimes hardeneth the heart of good princes, for the wickedness of the people.
(2) 'And made us kings and priests to God his Father,' &c. Apoc. i. (3) 1 John i.

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XIV. "Saints be saved not by their merits, but only by the merits of Christ." Fol. 151.

What can be more manifest and plain by the Scriptures, than this? Isaiah saith, "All we have erred, every man in his own ways, and God hath laid upon him all our iniquities," etc.

Article.

XV. "He saith, 'No man may be hired to pray.'" Fol. 155.

The words in "The Obedience" be true, which are these:

'To pray one for another, are we equally bound: and to pray, is a thing that we may always do, whatsoever we have in hand; and that to do, may no man hire another: Christ's blood hath hired us already;' etc.

Article.

XVI. "He saith, 'Why should I trust in Paul's prayer or holiness?' If St. Paul were alive, he would compare himself to St. Paul, and be as good as he." Fol. 159.

The words of Tyndale be these:

The words of Tyndale import no such meaning as in the article.

'Why, am not I also a false prophet, if I teach thee to trust in Paul, or in his holiness or prayer, or in any thing save in God's word, as Paul did? If Paul were here, and loved me as he loved them of his time, to whom he was a servant to preach Christ, what good could he do for me, or wish me, but preach Christ, and pray to God for me, to open my heart, to give me his Spirit, and to bring me to the full knowledge of Christ? Unto which port or haven when I am once come, I am as safe as Paul, fellow with Paul, joint heir with Paul of all the promises of God;' etc.

Article.

XVII. "He saith, that all that be baptized, become Christ himself." Fol. 163.

With this article confer the words of "The Obedience," which be these:

'In Matt. xxv. saith Christ, Inasmuch as ye have done it to any of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it to me: and inasmuch as ye have not done it unto one of the least of these, ye have not done it unto me. Here seest thou that we are Christ's brethren, and even Christ himself, and whatsoever we do one to another, that do we to Christ?' etc.

Article.

XVIII. "He saith, that the children of faith be under no law." Fol. 163.

The words of Tyndale be these:

The article is true, being truly taken.

'I serve thee not because thou art my master or my king, for hope of reward or fear of pain, but for the love of Christ. For the children of faith are under no law, as thou seest in the epistles to the Romans, to the Galatians, and the first of Timothy, but are free. The Spirit of Christ hath written the lively law of love in their hearts, which driveth them to work of their own accord, freely and willingly, for the great love's sake only which they see in Christ; and, therefore, need they no law to compel them,' etc.

Article.

XIX. "There is no deed so good, but that the law condemneth it." Fol. 167.

The place in "The Obedience" is this:

What heresy is in this?

'Thou hast the story of Peter, how he smote Malchus' ear, and how Christ healed it again. There hast thou, in the plain text, great learning, great fruit, and great edifying, which I pass over. Then come I, when I preach of the law and the gospel, and borrow this example, to express the nature of the law and of the gospel, and to paint it unto thee before thine eyes; and of Peter and his sword make I the law, and of Christ the gospel, saying, As Peter's sword cutteth off the ear, so doth the law. The law damneth, the law killeth and

mangleth the conscience. There is no ear so righteous, that can abide the hearing of the law. There is no deed so good, but that the law damneth it. But Christ (that is to say, the gospel, the promises and testament that God hath made in Christ), healeth the ear and conscience, which the law hath hurt.' *Henry VIII.* A.D. 1546.

XX. "To ask of God more than he hath promised, cometh of a false faith, and is plain idolatry." Fol. 171. Article.

The words of Tyndale are these:

'Look wherein thou canst best keep the commandments; thither get thyself, and there abide,' etc. 'If we have infirmities that draw us from the laws of God, let us cure them with the remedies that God hath made. If thou burn, marry; for God hath promised thee no chastity, as long as thou mayest use the remedy that he hath ordained; no more than he hath promised to slack thine hunger without meat. Now, to ask of God more than he hath promised, cometh of a false faith, and is plain idolatry,' etc. What heresy is in this?

XXI. "Our pains-taking in keeping the commandments, doth nothing but purge the sin that remaineth in the flesh; but to look for any other reward or promotion in heaven, than God hath promised for Christ's sake, is abominable in the sight of God." Fol. 171. Article.

Consider the place in "The Obedience," which is this:

'To look for any other reward or promotion in heaven, or in the life to come, than that which God hath promised for Christ's sake, and which Christ hath deserved for us with his pain-taking, is abominable in the sight of God; for Christ only hath purchased the reward. And our pain-taking to keep the commandments, doth but purge the sin that remaineth in the flesh, and certify us, that we are chosen and sealed with God's Spirit, unto the reward that Christ hath purchased for us.'

XXII. "The pope hath no other authority but to preach only." Fol. 173. Article.

Christ said to Peter, "Feed my sheep;"[1] "and thou being converted, confirm thy brethren."[2] And to his apostles he said, "Go ye into all the world and preach the gospel," etc. Again, St. Paul[3] saith, that Christ sent him not to baptize, but to preach: to what other office or function he sent the pope, let them judge, who consider the Scriptures.[4]

XXIII. "If thou bind thyself to chastity, to obtain that which Christ purchased for thee, so surely art thou an infidel." Fol. 175. Article.

Read and confer the place of Tyndale, which is this:

'Chastity canst thou not give to God, further than God lendeth it thee. If thou canst not live chaste, thou art bound to marry, or to be damned. Last of all for what purpose thou bendest thyself, must be seen. If thou do it to obtain thereby that which Christ hath purchased for thee, so art thou an infidel, and hast no part with Christ. If thou wilt see more of this matter, look in Deuteronomy, and there thou shalt find it more largely treated of.' Chastity.

XXIV. "He denieth, rebuketh, and damneth miracles." Fol. 176. Article.

The words in Tyndale's "Obedience" be these:

'And when they cry Miracles, Miracles, remember that God hath made an everlasting testament, with us in Christ's blood; against which we may receive no miracles, no, neither the preaching of Paul himself, if he came again (by his own teaching to the Galatians), neither yet by the preaching of the angels of heaven,' etc. Miracles how far to be believed.

(1) John xxi. (2) Luke xxii. (3) 1 Cor. i.
(4) This heresy is only to the pope: but none at all to God.

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'The end of God's miracles is good: the end of these miracles is evil. For the offerings, which are the cause of the miracles, do but minister and maintain vice, sin, and all abomination, and are given to them that have too much, so that for very abundance they foam out their own shame, and corrupt the whole world with the stench of their filthiness.' Fol. 159.

Article. XXV. "He saith, that no man should serve God with good intent or zeal; for it is plain idolatry." Fol. 177.

The place is this in "The Obedience:"

Good intents, without God's word.

'Remember Saul was cast away of God for ever, for his good intent. God requireth obedience unto his word, and abhorreth all good intents and good zeals which are without God's word; for they are nothing else but plain idolatry, and worshipping of false Gods.'

HERE FOLLOW OTHER HERESIES AND ERRORS, COLLECTED BY THE BISHOPS, OUT OF THE BOOK CALLED "THE REVELATION OF ANTICHRIST,"[1] WITH THE PLACES OF THE BOOK, OUT OF WHICH THEY WERE GATHERED, ANNEXED TO THE SAME.

Article. I. "To bind a man perpetually to any vow of religion, is without doubt an error." Fol. 19.

The place of the book called "The Revelation," whence this article is gathered, is this that followeth:

'Which the fathers did neither make nor keep: he meaneth vows, but, with the liberty of the spirit, binding no man perpetually to them. For, if they did, without doubt, they erred according to man's fragility.'

Article. II. "To say the constitutions of religion are good, because holy men did ordain them, as Augustine, Benedict, Francis, Dominic, and such others, and to follow such examples of fathers, is to leave the faith." Fol. 19.

The place of the article is this:

'But they object, The statutes and ordinances are good: holy men did make them, as Augustine, Benedict, Bernard, Francis, Dominic, and such others. To this I answer, that is even it, that Christ and the apostles did mean,[2] that these works should be like to those things which are taught in the gospel, for that they call counterfeiting of the doctrine, and privily bringing in of sects and heresies, because they take only of the fathers' examples of works, and leave the faith,' etc.

Article. III. "All moral divines have a wicked conscience, full of scrupulosity." Fol. 3.

Moral divines be they, whose doctrine and hope of salvation consisteth in moral virtues, rather than in christian faith, apprehending the free promises of God in Christ. And they that be such, can never be certified in conscience of their salvation, but always be full of fear and scrupulosity. St. Paul, therefore, saith, "It is therefore of faith, that it might come by grace, and the promise might be firm and sure to the whole seed."[3]

Article. IV. "Moral virtues, as justice, temperance, strength, chastity, described by natural reason, make a synagogue, and corrupt Christ's faith." Fol. 64.

(1) Translated by John Frith, A.D. 1529. (8vo. Marlborow in Hesse). This work, and 'The Sum of the Scriptures,' are extremely scarce.—ED.

(2) 2 Pet. ii. (3) Rom. iv.

The place of this article, gathered out of "The Revelation," is this: *Henry VIII.* A. D. 1546.

'So many he (the pope he meaneth) corrupteth, as he hath subdued and led under his laws and empery. And who is he in the world that is not subject under him, except they be infants, or peradventure some simple persons, who are reserved by the inscrutable counsel and provision of God? O thou man of sin! O thou son of perdition! O thou abomination! O thou corrupter! O thou author of evil consciences! O thou false master of good consciences! O thou enemy of faith and christian liberty! Who is able to rehearse, yea, or to comprehend in his mind, the infinite waves of this monstrous king's evils?'[1]

'If he had ordained these his laws in those works of virtues that are commended in the ten precepts, or else in such as the philosophers and natural reason did describe, as are justice, strength, temperance, chastity, mildness, truth, goodness, and such others, peradventure they should only have made a synagogue, or else have ordained in the world a certain civil justice; for, through these, faith also should have been corrupted, as it was among the Jews. Howbeit, now he keepeth not himself within these bounds, but runneth at riot, and more at large, raising infinite tempests of mischief, enticing and drawing us to ceremonies, and his own feigned traditions, and bindeth us like asses and ignorant fools, yea and like stocks unto them,' etc.

V. "Christ took away all laws, and maketh us free and at liberty; and most of all he suppresseth all ceremonies." Fol. 63, 65. Article.

The place of this article, gathered out of "The Revelation," is this:

'Christ, taking away all laws to make us free and at liberty, did most of all suppress and disannul the ceremonies, which did consist in places, persons, garments, meats, days, and such other; so that their use should be to all men most free and indifferent,' etc.

What he meaneth by taking away all laws, he declareth a little before, saying:

'He hath not delivered us from the law, but from the power and violence of the law, which is the very true loosing. But, for all that, he hath not taken away from the powers and officers, their right, sword, and authority to punish the evil: for such pertain not to his kingdom, until they are made spiritual; and then freely and with a glad heart they serve God.'

VI. "If the pope would make all the observations of the ceremonies, as Lent, fasting, holy-days, confession, matrimony, mass, matins, and relics, etc., free and indifferent, he should not be Antichrist; but now, because he commandeth them in the name of Christ, he utterly corrupteth the church, suppresseth the faith, and advanceth sin." Fol. 67. Article.

If the pope will infer a necessity of those things which Christ leaveth free and indifferent, then what doth he make himself but Antichrist? The article is plain, and is founded upon the doctrine of Christ, and St. Paul.

VII. "To believe in Christ, maketh sure inheritors with Christ." Fol. 1. Article.

VIII. "If a man say, 'Then shall we do no good works?' I answer as Christ did: 'This is the work of God to believe in him whom he hath sent.'" Fol. 1. Article.

(1) By this king, he meaneth the king of faces which Daniel speaketh of in the eighth chapter. [Dan. viii. 23. 'A king of fierce countenance, and understanding dark sentences.' See also Note 1, page 589.—Ed.]

Henry VIII. A.D. 1546.

The place of these two articles, gathered out of "The Revelation," is this:

'Who is this light, that we are exhorted to believe in? Truly it is Christ, as St. John doth testify. He was the true light, that lighteneth all men who come into the world.[1] To believe in this light, maketh us the children of light, and the sure inheritors with Jesus Christ. Even now have we cruel adversaries, who set up their bristles, saying, Why! shall we then do no good works? To these we answer, as Christ did to the people, in the sixth of St. John, who asked him what they should do, that they might work the works of God. Jesus answered and said unto them, This is the work of God, that ye believe in him whom he hath sent. And after it followeth, Verily, verily I say unto you, he that believeth on me hath everlasting life. To this also consenteth St. John, in his epistle, saying, These things have I written unto you that believe on the name of the Son of God, that you may surely know, how that you have eternal life.—What is the name of the Son of God? Truly his name is Jesus, that is to say, a Saviour; therefore thou must believe that he is a Saviour.

'But what availeth this? The devils do thus believe and tremble.[2] They know, that he is the Son of God, and said unto him, crying, O Jesu, the Son of God! what have we to do with thee? They know, that he hath redeemed mankind by his passion, and they laboured to let it: for when Pilate was set down to give judgment, his wife sent unto him, saying, Have thou nothing to do with that just man; for I have suffered many things this day in my sleep about him.[3] No doubt she was vexed of the devil, to the intent that she should persuade her husband to give no sentence upon him, so that Satan might the longer have had jurisdiction over mankind. They know, that he hath suppressed sin and death; as it is written, Death is consumed into victory. Death, where is thy sting? Hell, where is thy victory? The sting of death is sin; the strength of sin is the law; but thanks be unto God which hath given us victory through our Lord Jesus Christ: who by sin damned sin in the flesh. For God made him to be sin for us, that is to say, a sacrifice for our sin (and so is sin taken in many places) which knew no sin, that we, by his means, should be that righteousness, which before God is allowed.[4] It is not, therefore, sufficient to believe that he is a Saviour and Redeemer; but that he is a Saviour and Redeemer unto thee,' etc.

Article. IX. "Numbering of sins maketh a man more a sinner, yea, a blasphemer of the name of God." Fol. 3.

The place of this article, gathered out of "The Revelation," is this:

'Acknowledge thyself a sinner, that thou mayest be justified. Not that the numbering of thy sins can make thee righteous, but rather a greater sinner, yea, and a blasphemer of the holy name of God, as thou mayest see in Cain, who said that his sins were greater than that he might receive forgiveness; and so was a reprobate,' etc.

Article. X. "God bindeth us to that which is impossible for us to accomplish." Fol. 3.

The place of this article, gathered out of "The Revelation," is this:

'If thou ask of me, why he bindeth us to that which is impossible for us to accomplish, thou shalt have St. Augustine's answer, who saith, in the second book that he wrote to Jerome, that the law was given us, that we might know what to do, and what to eschew; to the intent that when we see ourselves not able to do that which we are bound to do, nor avoid the contrary, we may then know what we shall pray for, and of whom we shall ask this strength, so that we may say unto our Father, Good Father! command whatsoever it pleaseth thee, but give us thy grace to fulfil what thou commandest. And when we perceive that we cannot fulfil his will, yet let us confess that the law is good and holy, and that we are sinners and carnal, sold under sin.[5] But let us not

(1) John i. (2) James ii.; Matt. viii. (3) Matt. xxvii.
(4) Hosea xiii.; Heb. ii.; 1 Cor. xv.; Rom. viii. (5) Rom. vii.

here stick; for now we are at hell-gates, and doubtless should fall into utter desperation, except God did bring us again, showing us his gospel and promise, saying, Fear not, little flock; for it is your Father's pleasure to give you a kingdom,'[1] etc. *Henry VIII.* A.D. 1546.

XI. " Sin cannot condemn us, for our satisfaction is made in Christ who died for us." Fol. 4. Article.

The place of this article, gathered out of " The Revelation," is this:

'Sin hath no power over us, neither can condemn us, for our satisfaction is made in Christ, who died for us that were wicked and naturally the children of wrath. But God, which is rich in mercy, through the great love wherewith he loved us, even when we were dead through sin, hath quickened us with Christ, and with him hath raised us up, and with him hath made us sit in heavenly places, through Jesus Christ; to show, in times to come, the exceeding riches of his grace in his kindness towards us through Christ Jesus. For by grace are ye saved, through faith; and that not of yourselves, for it is the gift of God, and cometh not of works, lest any man should boast himself,'[2] etc.

XII. " I will show thee an evident argument and reason, that thou mayest know without doubt, who is Antichrist. All they that do pursue, are Antichrist. The pope, bishops, cardinals, and their adherents do pursue: therefore the pope, bishops, and cardinals, and their adherents, are Antichrists. I ween our syllogismus be well made." Fol. 9. Article.

The place of this article gathered out of " The Revelation," is this:

'I will show thee an evident reason, that thou mayest know without doubting who is the very Antichrist: and this argument may be grounded upon their furious persecution, which Paul doth confirm, writing to the Galatians. We, dear brethren, are the children of promise, as Isaac was; not the sons of the bondwoman, as Ishmael. But, as he that was born after the flesh did persecute him that was born after the Spirit, even so it is now. Mark Paul's reason. By Isaac, are signified the elect; and by Ishmael, the reprobate. Isaac did not persecute Ishmael; but, contrary, Ishmael did persecute Isaac. Now let us make our reason:

Bar- All they that do persecute as Ishmael, be reprobates and Antichrists. Major.
ba- But all the popes, cardinals, bishops, and their adherents, do persecute. Minor.
ra. Therefore all the popes, cardinals, bishops, and their adherents, be Ishmael; reprobates and Antichrists. Conclusion.

'I ween our syllogismus is well made, and in the first figure.'

Read the place, and see how he proveth the parts of this argument more at large.

XIII. " I think verily, that so long as the successors of the apostles were persecuted and martyred, there were good christian men, and no longer." Fol. 10. Article.

The bishops of Rome in the primitive church, were under persecution the space of well near three hundred years, under which persecution, as good as thirty of them, and more, died martyrs. Since that time have succeeded two hundred and four popes, who have lived in great wealth and abundance, amongst whom if the book of " The Revelation" think that there be not four to be found good christian men, I think no less but that he may so think without any heresy.

(1) Luke xii. (2) Ephes. ii.

Henry VIII. XIV. "It is impossible that the word of the cross should be without affliction and persecution." Fol. 10.

A. D. 1546. St. Paul saith, "Whosoever will live virtuously in Christ Jesus, shall suffer persecution."[1] And how then can this be truth in Paul, and in this man heresy?

Article. XV. "That the apostles did ever curse any man, truly we cannot read in Scripture: for Christ commanded them to bless those that cursed them." Fol. 11.

Upon what good ground of "The Revelation" this heresy is wrung out, let the place be conferred, which is written in these words following:

'They are as merciful as the wolf is on his prey. They were ordained to bless men;[2] but they curse as the devil were in them. Paul saith, that he hath power to edify, and not to destroy.[3] But I wot not of whom these bloody beasts have their authority, which do so much rejoice in cursing and destruction. We read how Paul did excommunicate the Corinthian (and that for a great transgression), to the intent that he might be ashamed of his iniquity, and desired again the Corinthians to receive him with all charity:[4] but, that the apostles did curse any man, truly we cannot read in Scripture;[5] for Christ commanded them to bless those that cursed them, and to pray for those that persecuted them,' etc.

Article. XVI. "By works, superstitions, and ceremonies, we decay from the faith, which alone doth truly justify and make holy." Fol. 15.

Note here, good reader, how perversely and corruptly this article is drawn. For whereas the place of this book, which is written in fol. 15, expressly speaketh of trusting to works, meaning that we should put no confidence in works, but only in faith in Christ Jesus, this article, to make it appear more infamous and heretical, leaveth out the false trust, and speaketh simply as though works should decay faith. Read the place, which is written in these words following:

False wresting.

'Daniel calleth not this word *peschiam*, any manner of sin, but those special and chief sins, which resist and fight against the truth and the faith: as are the trusting in works, superstitions and ceremonies, by which we decay from the faith,' etc.

Article. XVII. "The abusion of the mass with all its solemnities, with vigils, year-minds, foundations, burials, and all the business that is done for the dead, is but a face and a cloak of godliness, and a deceiving of the people: as if they were good works rather for the dead than for the quick." Fol. 24.

True godliness consisteth in faith, that is, in the true knowledge of the Son of God, whom he hath sent, and in the observation of God's commandments. All their rites and additions instituted by man, are no part of true godliness. And whoso putteth trust and confidence therein, as being things meritorious for the dead, is deceived. Such funerals St. Augustine calleth rather refreshings of the living, than relievings and helps of the dead.

Article. XVIII. "To keep and observe one day to fast, another to abstain; to forbear such a meat upon the fasting day to deserve heaven thereby; is a wicked face and cloak, and against Paul." Fol. 29.

(1) 2 Tim. iii. (2) 1 Cor x. (3) 1 Cor. xiii. (4) 1 Cor. v. (5) 2 Cor. iii. 6.

The truth of this article is manifest enough to be void of all error and heresy, unless it be heresy, to believe and hold with the Scripture. St. Paul saith, " If heaven, and our righteousness, come by the law, then Christ died in vain."[1]

XIX. " The multiplication of holy-days, of feasts of Corpus Christi, of the Visitation of our Lady, etc., is a wicked face and colour; and indeed foolish, unprofitable and vain." Fol. 30. Article.

This article, likewise, needeth no declaration, containing in it a true and necessary complaint of such superfluous holy-days of the pope's making: which, as they bring with them much occasion of wickedness, idleness, drunkenness, and vanity, and so having also joined unto them opinion of religion, and meritorious devotion and God's service, they gender superstition, and nourish the people in the same.

XX. " Keeping of virginity and chastity of religion is a devilish thing." Fol. 30. Article.

The place, cited in the book of " The Revelation of Antichrist," doth sufficiently open itself, speaking and meaning only of those monkish vows, which, by the canonical constitution of the pope, are violently forced upon priests and monks, the coaction whereof St. Paul doth rightly call " the doctrine of devils." And here note by the way another trick of a popish caviller: for, where the words of the book speak plainly of the chastity of the religious, he, fraudulently turning it to a universality, saith, " the chastity of the religion," whereby it might seem to the simple reader more odious and heretical. The words of the place be these: Another place falsely depraved by the papists.

' Keeping of virginity and chastity of the religious seemeth to be a godly and a heavenly thing; but it is a devilish thing: of the which it is spoken in 1 Tim. iv., Forbidding to marry, etc. Whereas, again, our most reverend father maketh that thing necessary, that Christ would have free, whereof Daniel[2] speaketh, He shall not be desirous of women. Here Daniel meaneth, that he shall refuse and abstain from marriage, for a cloak of godliness, and not for love of chastity.'

XXI. " Worshipping of relics is a proper thing, and a cloak of advantage against the precept of God, and nothing but the affection of men." Fol. 30, 31. Article.

These be the words in " The Revelation :"

' This (the worshipping of relics he meaneth) is a proper and most fruitful cloak of advantage. Out of this were invented innumerable pilgrimages, with which the foolish and unlearned people might lose their labour, money, and time; nothing, in the mean season, regarding their houses, wives, and children; contrary to the commandment of God; when they might do much better deeds to their neighbours, which is the precept,' etc.

XXII. " There is but one special office that pertaineth to thine orders, and that is, to preach the word of God." Fol. 36. Article.

Of this matter sufficient hath been said before in the twenty-second article alleged out of the book of " The Obedience."

XXIII. " The temple of God is not stones and wood, neither in the time of Paul was there any house which was called ' The temple of God.' " Fol. 37. Article.

(1) Gal. ii. (2) Chap. xi

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The place of this article is this:

'Who is an adversary (the pope he meaneth), and is exalted above all that is called God, or that is worshipped: so that he shall sit in the temple of God, and show himself as God. Doth he not sit in the temple of God, who saith and professeth himself to be the master in the whole church? What is the temple of God? Is it stones and wood? Doth not Paul say, The temple of God is holy, which temple are ye? Neither in the time of Paul was there any house, which was called 'the temple of God,' as we now call them. What meaneth this sitting, but reigning, teaching and judging? Who, since the beginning of the church, durst presume to call himself the master of the whole church, but only the pope?' etc.

The place is not so grievous as the article maketh.

Article. XXIV. "He that fasteth no day, that saith no matins, and doth none of the precepts of the pope, sinneth not, if he think that he doth not sin." Fol. 43.

The place in "The Revelation" is this:

The place is here clear and plain without any danger of heresy.

'Because he feareth the consciences under the title and pretence of Christ's name, he maketh of those things which in themselves are no sins, very grievous offences. For he that believeth that he doth sin if he eat flesh on the apostles' even, or say not matins and prime in the morning, or else leave undone any of the pope's precepts, no doubt he sinneth; not because the deed which he doth is sin, but because he believeth it is sin, and because against this foolish belief and conscience he offendeth: of which foolish conscience the pope only is head-author; for another, doing the same deed, thinking that he doth not sin, truly offendeth not. And this is the cause, that the spirit of Paul complaineth that many shall depart from the faith. And for this foolish conscience men's traditions be pernicious and noisome, the snares of souls, hurting the faith and the liberty of the gospel. If it were not for this cause, they should do no hurt. Therefore the devil, through the pope, abuseth these consciences to establish the laws of his tyranny, to suppress the faith and liberty, and to replenish the world with error, sin, and perdition,' etc.

Traditions how they do hurt.

Article. XXV. "Christ ordained the sacrament of the altar only to nourish the faith of them that live; but the pope maketh it a good work, and a sacrifice to be applied both to the quick and dead." Fol. 48.

The place is this:

The place toucheth the abuse of the sacrament; and is not against the sacrament.

'Satan hated the sacrament, and knew no way how to suppress and disannul it; therefore he found this craft: that the sacrament, which Christ did only ordain to nourish and establish the faith of them that live, should be counted for a good work and sacrifice, and bought and sold. And so faith is suppressed, and this wholesome ministry is applied, not to the quick, but unto the dead; that is to say, neither to the quick, nor yet to the dead. Oh this incredible fury of God!' etc.

Article. XXVI. "These signs (he speaketh of miracles and visions, or apparitions) are not to the increase of faith and gospel, for they are rather against the faith and gospel, and they are the operation of Satan, and lying signs." Fol. 49.

The place is as followeth:

The place containeth a true complaint of false illusions, and may well be borne.

'Who is able to number the monstrous marvels only of them that are departed? Good Lord! what a sea of lies hath invaded us, of apparitions, conjurings, and answers of spirits? by which it is brought to pass, that the pope is also made the king of them that are dead, and reigneth in purgatory, to the great profit of his priests, who have all their living, riches, and pomp out of purgatory. Howbeit they should have less, if they did so well teach the faith of them that live, as they do [teach] riddles of them that are dead: neither was there, since the beginning of the world, any work found of so little labour and great advantage. For truly to this purpose were gathered almost the possessions of all princes and rich men; and, through these riches, sprang up all pleasures and idleness, and of idleness came very Babylon and Sodom,' etc.

'Neither are these signs to the increase of the faith and gospel (for they are rather against the faith and gospel); but they are done to establish the tyranny of these faces and riddles,[1] and to set up and confirm the trust in works. Among these illusions are those miracles to be reputed, which are showed in visions, pilgrimages, and worshippings of saints, as there are plenty now-a-days, which the pope confirmeth by his bulls, yea, and sometimes doth canonize saints that he knoweth not. Now behold what is the operation of Satan in lying signs,' etc. *Henry VIII.* A. D. 1546.

XXVII. "The people of Christ do nothing because it is commanded, but because it is pleasant and acceptable unto them." Fol. 63. Article.

The words out of which this article is gathered, are these:

'They are the people of Christ, who willingly do hear and follow him, not for any fear of the law, but only enticed and led with a gracious liberty and faithful love; not doing any thing because it is commanded, but because it is pleasant and acceptable unto them, though it were not commanded: for they that would do otherwise, should be counted the people of the law and synagogue,' etc. The place giveth another meaning than the article.

XXVIII. "In the whole new law is no urgent precept, nor grievous; but only exhortations to observe things necessary for soul's health." Fol. 63. Article.

The place of this article, gathered out of "The Revelation," is this:

'A christian should work nothing by compulsion of the law, but all through the spirit of liberty, as Paul saith:[2] The law is not given to a righteous man. For whatsoever is done by compulsion of the law, is sin, for it is not done with a glad and willing spirit, but with a contrary will, and rebelling against the law; and this truly is sin. Therefore, in Corinthians,[3] he calleth the preachers of the New Testament the ministers of the Spirit, and not of the letter, because they teach grace, and not the law. Wherefore in the whole New Testament are there no urgent or grievous precepts, but only exhortations to observe those things which are necessary to our health: neither did Christ and his apostles at any time compel any man. And the Holy Ghost was for that cause called *Paracletus*, that is to say, an exhorter and comforter,' etc. The place is sound, and standeth well with Scripture.

XXIX. "All things necessary are declared in the New Testament, but no man is compelled, but to do according to his own will. Therefore Christ teacheth,[4] that a rebel should not be killed, but avoided." Fol. 63, 66. Article.

The words in "The Revelation" are these:

'In the New Testament are all things declared, which we ought to do and leave undone; what reward is ordained for them that do and leave undone; and of whom to seek, find, and obtain help to do and to leave undone. But no man is compelled, but suffered to do according to their own will. Therefore in Matthew,[5] he teacheth that a rebel should not be killed, but avoided, and put out of company like a Gentile,' etc.

XXX. "Christ forbade that one place should be taken as holy, and another profane; but would that all places should be indifferent." Fol. 68. Article.

The place is this:

'Christ taketh away the difference of all places; will be worshipped in every place. Neither is there in his kingdom one place holy, and another profane, but all places are indifferent; neither canst thou more heartily and better

(1) This book of the 'Revelation of Antichrist,' treating upon the eighth chapter of Daniel, who there speaketh of the king of faces and riddles, alludeth here to the same.
(2) 1 Tim. ii. (3) 2 Cor. iv. (4) Matt. xviii. (5) Ibid.

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believe, trust, and love God, in the temple, at the altar, in the church-yard, than in thy barn, vineyard, kitchen, or bed. And, to be short, the martyrs of Christ have honoured him in dark dungeons and prisons,' etc.

Article. XXXI. "He raileth against all the rites and ceremonies of the mass, as he were mad." Fol. 68.

The place out of which this article is collected, is as followeth:

'If a nun touch the *super-altare*, or *corpores* (as they call it), it is a sin. To touch the chalice is a great transgression. To say mass with an unhallowed chalice, is a grievous offence. To do sacrifice in vestments which are not consecrated, is a heinous crime. It is reputed for a sin, if in ministering any sacrament, the priest doth lack any ornament that pertaineth thereunto. If he call a child, or speak in the words of a canon, it is a sin. He offendeth also that doth stutter or stammer in the words of the canon. He sinneth that toucheth the holy relics of saints. He that toucheth the sacrament of the altar either with hand or finger, though it be for necessity, to pluck it from the roof of his mouth, committeth such villanous iniquity, that they will scrape and shave off the quick flesh from the part which did touch it. I think, at length, they will flay the tongue, the roof of the mouth, the throat, and the belly, because they touch the sacrament. But to hurt thy neighbour, or privily to convey away any of his goods, or not to help him in his need, is in a manner counted for no sin, nor yet regarded,'[1] etc.

Article. XXXII. "No labour is now-a-days more tedious than saying of mass, matins, etc. which, before God, are nothing but grievous sins." Fol. 70.

Article. XXXIII. "The sins of Manasseh, and other wicked kings, sacrificing their own children, are but light and childish offences to those. The cursed sacrifices of the Gentiles may not be compared to ours; we are seven times worse Gentiles than we were before we knew Christ." Fol. 70.

The words out of which these two articles are gathered, are these:

'They are so oppressed (those he meaneth who are under the servitude of the pope's laws and decrees), that they fulfil them only with the outward work; for their wills are clean contrary, as we see by experience in the troublesome business of vigils, masses, and hours, which must be both said and sung: in the which they labour with such weariness, that now-a-days no labour is more tedious. Yet nevertheless, the cruel exactors of these most hard works compel men to work such things without ceasing, which before God are nothing but grievous sins; although before men they be good works, and counted for the service of God. Here are invented the enticements of the senses through organs, music, and diversity of songs; but these are nothing to the spirit, which rather is extinct through these wanton trifles. Ah, Christ! with what violence, with what power, are they driven headlong to sin, and perish through this abomination.[2]

'It is horrible to look into these cruel whirlpools of consciences, which perish with so great pains and labour. What light offences to these are the sins wherein Manasseh and other wicked kings sinned, by doing sacrifice with their own children and progeny?[3] Truly, the cursed sacrifices of the most rude Gentiles, no not of the Lestrigones,[4] may be compared unto ours. The saying of Christ may be verified in us: seven more wicked spirits make the

(1) This place noteth only the preposterous judgment of those who set more by the precepts of men, than by the commandments of God; and yet herein he useth no railing, nor maketh terror.
(2) The place may seem to speak somewhat vehemently peradventure, but yet I see no heresy in it.
(3) 2 Kings xxi.
(4) The Lestrigones were a people or giants about the borders of Italy, who, as Homer saith, used to eat men's flesh. [Odys. x 120.—ED.]

end worse than the beginning. For I say, that we are worse Gentiles seven times, than we were before we knew Christ,' etc. *Henry VIII.*

A. D. 1546.

XXXIV. "It were better to receive neither of the parts of the sacrament of the altar, than the one alone." Fol. 73.

The words be these:

'Plainly I think that the whole is taken away, since I see manifestly the one part gone (for the bread and the wine is but one sacrament); the other is left only for a laughing stock. For he that in one part offendeth against God, is guilty in all. Therefore it were better to receive neither of the parts, than the one alone; for so we might the more surely eschew the transgression of that which Christ did institute,' etc. The truth of this place may be avouched by good reason.

XXXV. "The law of the pope, that commandeth all men to communicate together upon one day, is a most cruel law, constraining men to their own destruction." Fol. 73. Article.

The place is this:

'He (the pope he meaneth) setteth a most cruel and deadly snare to tangle the consciences; suffereth not the use of this sacrament to be free; but compelleth all together, on one certain day once in the year, to communicate. Here, I pray thee, christian brother! how many dost thou think to communicate only by the compulsion of this precept, who truly, in their heart, had rather not communicate? and all these sin (for they do not communicate in spirit, that is to say, neither in faith nor will, but by the compulsion of this letter and law), since this bread requireth a hungry, and not a full heart, and much less a disdaining and hateful mind. And of all these sins the pope is author, constraining all men, by his most cruel law, to their own destruction; whereas he ought to leave this communion free to every man, and only call and exhort them, and not compel and drive them unto it,' etc. Men ought not to be driven to the communion against their wills, but to be exhorted and left to their own disposition.

XXXVI. "The Spirit would that nothing should be done, but that which is expressly rehearsed in the Scripture." Fol. 81. Article.

In things appertaining to God's worship and service, true it is that he is not to be worshipped, but only according to that which he hath revealed and expressed unto us in his own word. And this is the meaning of the author, as by his words doth plainly appear.

XXXVII. "St. Thomas Aquinas savoureth nothing of the Spirit of God." Fol. 83. Article.

The doctrine of Thomas Aquinas referreth the greatest, or a very great part of our righteousness to "opus operatum," and unto merits. The Spirit of God referreth all our righteousness before God, only to our faith in Christ. Now, how these savour together, let any indifferent reader judge. Thomas Aquinas.

XXXVIII. "The pope did condemn the truth of the word of God openly at Constance in John Huss, persevering unto this day in the same stubbornness." Fol. 86. Article.

Touching the condemnation of John Huss, and the manner of his handling, and the cause of his death, read his story before; and consider, moreover, his prophecy of the hundred years after him expired, how truly the sequel did follow in Martin Luther, and then judge of his cause, good reader, as the truth of God's word shall lead thee. And thus much concerning these slanderous articles. John Huss.

Henry VIII. A. D. 1546.

HERE FOLLOW OTHER HERESIES AND ERRORS, COLLECTED BY THE BISHOPS OUT OF THE BOOK NAMED "THE SUM OF THE SCRIPTURE," WITH THE PLACES OF THE BOOK ANNEXED TO THE SAME.

Article. I. First article:—"The water of the font hath no more virtue in it than hath any other water." Fol. 1.

Article. II. "The virtue of baptism lieth not in hallowed water, or in other outward thing, but only in faith." Fol. 6.

The place of these two articles gathered out of "The Sum of the Scripture," is this:

'The water of baptism taketh not away our sin; for then were it a precious water, and then it behoved us daily to wash ourselves therein: neither hath the water of the font more virtue in itself, than the water that runneth in the river of Rhine. When Philip baptized the eunuch,[2] the servant of Candace the queen of Ethiopia, there was then no hallowed water, nor candle, nor salt, nor cream, neither white habit; but he baptized him in the first water they came to upon the way. Here mayest thou perceive that the virtue of baptism lieth not in hallowed water, nor in the outward things that we have at the font, but in the faith only, etc. Christ hath healed us (saith St. Paul) by the bath of regeneration, and renovation of the Holy Ghost.'[3]

Article. III. "Godfathers and godmothers be bound to help their children that they be put to school, that they may understand the gospel, and the epistles of St. Paul." Fol. 15.

The place of this article, gathered out of the said book, is this:

'The godfathers and godmothers be bound to help the children that they be put to school, to the intent that they may understand the gospel, the joyful message of God, with the epistles of St. Paul. God hath commanded to publish, and to show the gospel, not only to priests, but to every creature: Go ye (saith Christ unto his disciples) into the universal world, and preach the gospel to every creature.[4] For we be all equally bound to know the gospel and the doctrine of the New Testament, etc. And St. Paul, writing to the Corinthians, confesseth that he sendeth his epistles to all the church; that is to say, to all the assembly of christian men, and to all them that call on the name of Jesus,' etc.

Article. IV. "We think, when we believe that God is God, and ken our creed, that we have the faith that a christian man is bound to have; but so doth the devil believe." Fol. 17.

Article. V. "To believe that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, be one God, is not the principal that we must believe: our faith doth not lie principally in that; for so believeth the devil." Fol. 18.

The place out of the which these two articles are collected, is this:

'We think, when we believe that God is God, and ken our creed, that we have the faith which a christian is bound to have. The devil believeth also that there is a God, and life everlasting, and a hell, but he is never the better for it; and he trembleth always for his faith, as saith St. James,[5] The devils believe, and they tremble. A man might ask, What shall I then believe? Thou shalt believe plainly and undoubtedly, that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, is one only God, etc. But this, likewise, believeth the wicked spirits, and are nothing the better there-for. There is yet another faith which Christ so much requireth of us in the gospel, and whereunto St. Paul in almost

What that true faith is which justifieth.

(1) Translated by Simon Fish, about the year 1530.—Ed. (2) Acts viii.
(3) Tit. iii. (4) Mark xvi. (5) James ii.

all his epistles so strongly exhorteth us; that is, that we believe the gospel. When our Lord first began to preach, he said (as rehearseth St. Mark), 'Repent and believe the gospel.'[1]

Of this faith read before in the first article gathered out of "The Wicked Mammon," and in the ninth and tenth of "The Revelation of Antichrist."

VI. "If we believe that God hath promised everlasting life, it is impossible that we should perish." Fol. 20. Article.

Lo here, good reader! another manifest example of the unhonest dealing and false cogging of these men. For whereas the place of the author speaketh expressly of putting our trust in God and his promises, the article prettily leaveth out our trusting in God's promise, and saith only, *if* we believe that God hath promised. Read the place, and confer it with the article, and then judge whether there be no difference between trusting in the promise that God hath made of everlasting life, and believing only that God hath made the promise of everlasting life. The place here followeth as it is there written: The place of the author falsely wrested.

'When with a perfect courage we put all our trust in God and in his promises, it is impossible that we should perish, for he hath promised us life everlasting. And forasmuch as he is Almighty, he may well perform that which he hath promised; and in that he is merciful and true, he will perform his promise made unto us, if we can believe it steadfastly, and put all our trust in him.'

VII. "If thou canst surely and steadfastly believe in God, he will hold his promise: for he hath bound himself to us, and by his promise he oweth us heaven, in case that we believe him." Fol. 21. Article.

Seeing all our hope standeth only upon the promise of God, what heresy then is in this doctrine, to say that God oweth us heaven by his promise, which is to mean no other but that God cannot break promise? And now judge thou, good reader, whether is more heresy to say, that God oweth us heaven by his promise, as we say; or this, that God oweth us heaven by the condignity and congruity of our works, as the papists say. True doctrine made heresy.

VIII. "All Christ's glory is ours." Fol. 27. Article.

IX. "We need not to labour to be Christ's heirs, and sons of God, and to have heaven; for we have all these things already." Fol. 24. Article.

The words, out of which these two heresies are gathered, be these:

'We be made his heirs, and all his glory is ours, as St. Paul largely declareth. This hath God given us without our deserving, and we need not to labour for all these things, for these we have already,' etc.

They that note these articles for heresy, by the same judgment they may make heresy of St. John's gospel, and of Paul's epistle, and of all together. St. John saith, "The glory which thou gavest me, I have given them that they may be one, as we also are one."[2] "As many as received him, to them gave he power to be the sons of God."[3] St. Paul saith, "The same Spirit certifieth our spirit, that True doctrine made heresy.

(1) Mark i. (2) John xvii. (3) John i.

Henry VIII. we are the sons of God. If we be sons, then are we also heirs, the heirs I mean of God, and heirs annexed with Christ."[1]

A. D. 1546. X. "We need not to labour, by our good works, to get everlasting life, for we have it already; we be all justified; we be all the children of God." Fol. 28.

Article. XI. "All that think that good works help or profit any thing to get the gift of salvation, they blaspheme against God, and rob God of his honour." Fol. 28.

Article. XII. "If we be circumcised, that is to say, if we put any trust in works, Christ shall not help us." Fol. 18.

Article. XIII. "We deserve nothing of God." Fol. 30.

Article. XIV. "We deserve not everlasting life by our good works; for God hath promised it unto us, before that we began to do good." Fol. 40.

Article. XV. "Every christian man must keep God's commandments by love, and not by hope to get for his service everlasting life." Fol. 42.

Article. XVI. "The Jews kept the commandments, and the law of God; yet they could not come to heaven." Fol. 43.

Article. XVII. "Men, trusting in their good works, are like to the thief on the left side, and are such men as come to the church daily, keep holy-days and fasting-days, and hear masses, and these people be soonest damned; for this is one of the greatest errors in Christendom, to think that thy good works shall help to thy salvation." Fol. 47.

True christianity turned into heresy. If these articles be made heresies, which refer the benefit of our inheritance of life and salvation to God's gift, and not to our labours; to grace, and not to merits; to faith, and not to the law of works; then let us shut up clean the New Testament, and away with God's word, and set up a new divinity of the pope's making; yea, let us leave Christ with his heretical gospel, and, in his stead, set up the bishop of Rome with his Talmud, and become the disciples of his decretals. And certes, except christian princes begin betimes to take some zeal of God unto them, and look more seriously upon the matter, the proceedings of these men seem to tend to little better, than to drive us at length from true Christianity, to another kind and form of religion of their own invention, if they have not brought it well near to pass already.

Article. XVIII. "To serve God in a tediousness, or for fear of hell, or for the joys of heaven, is but a shadow of good works, and such service doth not please God." Fol. 41.

The place is this:

These contain no matter either of error or heresy. 'Works done in faith be only pleasant unto God, and worthy to be called good works; for they be the works of the Holy Ghost, that dwelleth in us by this faith. But they that are done by tediousness, and evil will, for fear of hell, or for desire of heaven, be nothing else but shadows of works, making hypocrites. The end of our good works is only to please God, acknowledging that if we do ever so much, we can never do our duty; for they that for fear of hell, or for the joys of heaven, do serve God, do a constrained service, which God will not have. Such people do not serve God, because he is their God and their Father, but to have their reward, and to avoid his punishments; and such people are hired men and waged servants, and are not children. But the children of God serve their Father for love,' etc.

(1) Rom. viii.

XIX. "We must love death, and more desire to die, than to fear death." Fol. 36. *Henry VIII.*

Although our nature be frail, and full of imperfection, so that we do not as we should, yet doing as we ought, and as we are led by the Scriptures to do, we should not dread, but desire rather to die, and be with Christ, as the place itself doth well declare, which is this: A. D. 1546.

'We must love death, and more desire to die, and to be with God, as did St. Paul, than to fear death. For Jesus Christ died for us, to the intent that we should not fear to die; and he hath slain death, and destroyed the sting of death, as writeth St. Paul, saying, O death, where is thy sting? Death is swallowed up in victory![1] And to the Philippians, Christ is to me life, and death is to me advantage.'[2] The place is sound and perfect.

XX. "God made us his children and his heirs, while we were his enemies, and before we knew him." Fol. 44. Article.

I marvel what the papists mean in the registers to condemn this article as a heresy, unless their purpose be utterly to impugn and gainstand the Scripture, and the writings of St. Paul, who, in the fifth chapter to the Romans, and other his epistles, importeth even the same doctrine in all respects, declaring, in formal words, that we be made the children and heirs of God, and that we were reconciled unto him when we were his enemies.

XXI. "It were better never to have done good works, and ask mercy there-for, than to do good works, and think that for them God is bound to a man by promise." Fol. 48. Article.

XXII. "We can show no more honour to God, than faith and trust in him." Fol. 48. Article.

The place out of which these two articles be gathered, is this:

'It were better for thee a thousand fold, that thou hadst been a sinner, and never had done good deed, and to acknowledge thine offences and evil life unto God, asking mercy with a good heart, lamenting thy sins, than to have done good works, and in them to put thy trust, thinking that therefore God were bound to thee. There is nothing which (after the manner of speaking) bindeth God, but firm and steadfast faith and trust in him and his promises, etc.: for we can show unto God no greater honour, than to have faith and trust in him: for whosoever doth that, he confesseth that God is true, good, mighty, and merciful,' etc. What heresy can be drawn out of this place.

XXIII. "Faith without good works, is no little or feeble faith, but it is no faith." Fol. 50. Article.

XXIV. "Every man doth as much as he believeth." Fol. 50. Article.

The place out of which these two articles be gathered, is this:

'If thy faith induce thee not to do good works, then hast not thou the right faith, thou doest but only think that thou hast it. For St. James saith, That faith without works is dead in itself.[3] He saith not, that it is little or feeble, but that it is dead; and that which is dead, is not. Therefore, when thou art not moved by faith unto the love of God, and by the love of God unto good works, thou hast no faith, but faith is dead in thee; for the Spirit of God, that by faith cometh into our hearts to stir up love, cannot be idle. Every one doth as much as he believeth, and loveth as much as he hopeth, as writeth St. John: He that hath this hope, that he is the Son of God, purifieth himself as he is pure. He saith not, he that purifieth himself hath this hope, for the hope must come before, proceeding from the faith; as it behoveth that the tree must first be good, which must bring forth good fruit.' Heresy picked out where none is.

(1) 1 Cor. xv. (2) Phil. i. (3) James ii.

Henry VIII. XXV. "We cannot be without motions of evil desires; but we must mortify them in resisting them." Fol. 52.

A. D. 1546. They that note this article of heresy, may note themselves rather to be like the pharisee,[1] who, foolishly flattering himself in the false opinion of his own righteousness, was not subdued to the righteousness which standeth before God by faith; and, therefore, went home to his house less justified than the publican. If the Scriptures condemn the heart of man to be crooked, even from his youth;[2] and also condemn all the righteousness of man to be like a defiled cloth; and if St. Paul could find in his flesh no good thing dwelling, but showeth a continual resistance between the old man and the new; then must it follow, that these pharisees, who condemn this article of heresy, either carry no flesh, and no old man about them to be resisted; or, verily, say what they will, they cannot choose but be cumbered with evil motions, for the inward man continually to fight against. The place of the author sufficiently defendeth itself, as followeth:

No man can find any heresy in this place, except he be a pharisee.

'St. Paul biddeth us mortify all our evil desires and carnal lusts, as uncleanness, covetousness, wrath, blasphemy, detraction, pride, and other like vices.[3] And unto the Romans,[4] he saith, Let not sin reign in your mortal bodies: that is to say, albeit we cannot live without the motion of such evil desires, yet we shall not suffer them to rule in us, but shall mortify them in resisting them,' etc.

Article. XXVI. "All true Christianity lieth in love of our neighbours for God: and not in fasting, keeping of holy-days, watching, praying, and singing, and long prayers, daily and all day long hearing mass, running on pilgrimage," etc. Fol. 52.

The place of this article is this:

Confer this article with the Scripture, and thou shalt see no heresy in it.

'Thou hast always occasion to mortify thine evil desires, to serve thy neighbour, to comfort him, and to help him with word and deed, with counsel and exhortation, and other semblable means. In such love towards our neighbour for the love of God, lieth all the law and the prophets, as saith Christ, yea, and all Christianity; and not in fasting, keeping of holy-days, watching, singing, and long prayers; daily and all day long hearing of masses, setting up of candles, running on pilgrimages, and such other things, which as well the hypocrites, proud people, envious, and subject to all wicked affections, do,' etc.

Article. XXVII. "Many doctors in divinity, and not only common people, believe that it is the part of christian faith only to believe that Jesus Christ hath lived here on earth." Fol. 53, 54.

The place is this:

To believe, that Christ here lived and died, is good: but this is not the only thing that maketh a christian man.

'We believe that Jesus Christ hath here lived on earth, and that he hath preached, and that he died for us, and did many other things. When we believe these things after the story, we believe that this is our christian faith. This not only the simple people believe, but also doctors in divinity, who are taken for wise men. Yea, the devil hath also this faith; as saith St. James, The devils believe, and they tremble.[5] For, as we have said before, the devil believeth that God is God, and that Jesus Christ hath here preached, that he died, was buried, and rose again. This must we also believe, but this is not the faith whereof speaketh the gospel, and St. Paul,' etc.

Of this faith, and what it is, read before in the place of the fourth and fifth articles of this book, and of the first article gathered out of

(1) Luke xviii. (2) Gen. viii. (3) Col. iii. (4) Rom. vi. (5) James ii.

"The Wicked Mammon," and the ninth and tenth articles of "The Revelation of Antichrist." *Henry VIII*

XXVIII. "He that doth good against his will, he doth evil." Fol. 56. A.D. 1546.

The place is this:

'All good deeds, which are not done by love and good will, are sin before God, as saith St. Augustine: He that doth good against his will, doth evil; albeit that he doth be good: for that which I do against my will, I hate; and when I hate the commandment, I hate also him that hath commanded it,' etc.

XXIX. "No man doth more than he is bound to do, and therefore no man may make others partakers of their good works." Fol. 59.[1] Article.

The words be these:

'The prophet Isaiah saith, We are all as an unclean thing, and all our justice is as it were a filthy cloth:[2] and therefore I can never marvel enough, that many of the religious persons would make others partakers of their good works, seeing that Christ saith in the gospel, When ye have done all those things which are commanded you, say, We are unprofitable servants; we have done but that which was our duty to do. For none can do too much. None doth more than he is bound to do, but only Jesus Christ (who only, as saith St. Peter, never did sin, neither was there deceit found in his mouth[3]) hath done that he was not bound to do; and as the prophet Isaiah saith, hath taken upon him our infirmities, and borne our sorrows; he was wounded for our offences, and smitten for our wickedness, and by his stripes are we made whole,'[4] etc.

XXX. "Christ hath gotten heaven by his passion; but that right hath he no need of, but hath granted it to all them that believe in his promises." Fol. 59. Article.

Read the place:

'Jesus Christ possesseth the kingdom of heaven by double right: first, because he is the Son of God, and very inheritor of his kingdom: secondly, because he hath gotten it by his passion and death. Of his second right he hath no need, and therefore he giveth it to all them that believe and trust in him and his promises.' The doctrine of this article is sound.

XXXI. "If God had promised us heaven for our good works, we should ever be unsure of our salvation." Fol. 59. Article.

XXXII. "Be our sins ever so great, so that it seemeth impossible to us to be saved, yet without any doubt we must believe to be saved." Fol. 59. Article.

The words out of which these two articles be gathered are these:

'If God had promised heaven unto us because of our works, we should ever then be unsure of our salvation: for we should never know how much, nor how long, we should labour to be saved, and should ever be in fear that we had done too little, and so we should never die joyfully. But God would assure us of heaven by his promise, to the intent we should be certain and sure, for he is the truth, and cannot lie; and also to the intent that we should have trust and hope in him. And, notwithstanding that after the greatness and multitude of our sins, it seem to us a thing impossible, yet always we must believe it without any doubt, because of his sure promise: and whosoever doth this, he may joyfully die, and abide the judgment of God, which, else, were intolerable. The doctrine of these articles, as true as the gospel.

Read more hereof before in the eleventh article taken out of "The Wicked Mammon."

(1) Whosoever gathereth heresy of this article must needs show himself to be a heretic.
(2) Isaiah lxiv. (3) 1 Pet. ii. (4) Isaiah liii.

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XXXIII. "If thou love thy wife because she is thy wife, that is no love before God, but thou shalt love her because she is thy sister in God." Fol. 83.

The words be these:

A difference between carnal love and spiritual love; and yet in matrimony both are necessary.

'Our Saviour Christ hath commanded nothing so straitly, as to love one another; yea, to love our enemies also: then how much more should the man and wife love together? But there be but few that know how to love the one the other as they ought to do. If thou love thy wife only because she is thy wife, and because she serveth, and pleaseth thee after the flesh, for beauty, birth, riches, and such-like, this is no love before God. Of such love speaketh not St. Paul, for such love is among harlots, yea, among brute beasts: but thou shalt love her because she is thy sister in the christian faith; and because she is inheritor together with thee in the glory of God; and because ye serve together one God; because ye have received together one baptism, etc. Thou shalt also love her for her virtues, as shamefastness, chastity, and diligence, sadness, patience, temperance, secrecy, obedience, and other godly virtues,' etc.

Article. XXXIV. "It is nothing but all incredulity, to run in pilgrimage, and seek God in one certain place, who is alike mighty in all places." Fol. 62.

The matter of this article is evident to all indifferent and learned judgments, to be void of all doubt of heresy.

Article. XXXV. "Men should see that their children come to church, to hear the sermon."[1] Fol. 89.

The place of this article is this:

'On the festival-days thou shalt bring thy children to the church, to hear the sermon; and when thou shalt come home, thou shalt ask them what they have kept in memory of the sermon. Thou shalt teach them the christian faith. Thou shalt admonish them to live well, and to put all their hope and trust in God, and rather to die, than to do any thing that is against the will of God; and, principally, thou shalt learn them the contents of the prayer of our Saviour Christ, called the Pater-noster; that is to say, how they have another Father in heaven, of whom they must look for all goodness, and without whom they can have no good thing; and how that they may seek nothing in all their works, and in all their intents, but the honour of their heavenly Father: and how they must desire that this Father would govern all that they do or desire: and how that they must submit all to His holy will, who cannot be but good, etc. Thou shalt buy them wholesome books, as the holy gospel, the epistles of the holy apostles, yea, both the New and the Old Testament, that they may understand and drink of the sweet fountain and waters of life.'

Article. XXXVI. "Thou shalt not vex or grieve, by justice or otherwise, the poor that oweth unto thee: for thou mayest not do it without sin." Fol. 97.

The place is this:

'Thou shalt not vex or grieve by justice, etc., as Christ saith, Resist not evil, but whosoever striketh thee on the right cheek, turn to him the other also,[2] etc. St. Paul saith, Render not evil for evil; and, if it be possible, and as much as is in you, live in peace with all men, not revenging yourselves, my well-beloved, but give place to wrath: for it is written, To me be the vengeance, and I will render it, saith the Lord God.'[3]

Article. XXXVII. "Some text of canon law suffereth war, but the teaching of Christ forbiddeth all wars. Nevertheless, when a city is

(1) What mean these men, trow you, to make this doctrine a heresy? (2) Matt. v
(3) Rom. xii.; Heb. x.

besieged, or a country invaded, the lord of the country is bound to put his life in jeopardy for his subjects." Fol. 119. *Henry VIII.*

XXXVIII. " So a lord may use horrible war charitably and christianly." A.D. 1546.

As touching war, to be moved or stirred first of our parts against any people or country upon any rash cause, as ambition, malice, or revenge, the gospel of Christ giveth us no such sword to fight withal. Notwithstanding, for defence of country and subjects, the magistrate, being invaded or provoked by others, may lawfully, and is bound to do his best: as the city of Marburg did well in defending itself against the emperor, etc. How Christians may war lawfully.

XXXIX. " The gospel maketh all true christian men servants to all the world." Fol. 79. Article.

He that compiled this article, to make the matter to appear more heinous, craftily leaveth out the latter part which should expound the other, that is, " by the rule of charity;" for that the author addeth withal. By which rule of charity, and not of office and duty, every christian man is bound one to help another; as Christ himself, being lord of all, yet, of charity, was a servant to every man to do him good. Read the place of the Sum of the Scripture, in the page as in the article it is assigned. Crafty cogging in this article.

XL. " The gospel is written for persons of all estates, prince, duke, pope, emperor." Fol. 112. Article.

They that noted this article for a heresy, I suppose could little tell either what God, or what the Scripture meaneth.

XLI. " When judges have hope that an evil doer will amend, they must be always merciful, as Christ was to the woman taken in advoutry. The temporal law must obey the gospel; and them that we may amend by warning, we shall not correct by justice." Fol. 113. Article.

The purpose of the book whence this article is wrested, being well understood, intendeth not to bind temporal judges and magistrates from due execution of good laws, but putteth both them, and especially spiritual judges, in remembrance, by the example of Christ, to discern who be penitent offenders, and who be otherwise; and where they see evident hope of earnest repentance and amendment, if they be ecclesiastical judges, to spare them; if they be civil magistrates, yet to temper the rigour of the law as much as conveniently they may, with merciful moderation, which the Greeks do call ἐπιείκεια.

And thus much hitherto of these heresies and articles collected by the bishops, and inserted in their own registers out of the books above specified. The names of the bishops and collectors were these, sir Thomas More, lord chancellor; William Warham, archbishop of Canterbury; Tonstall, bishop of London; Stephen Gardiner, bishop of Winchester; Richard Sampson, dean of the chapel; Richard Woolman, master of the requests; John Bell, Dr. Wilson, with a great number more, as in the registers doth appear.[1]

I shall not need, I trust, gentle reader, further here to tarry with reciting more places, when these already rehearsed may suffice for a taste and a trial for thee, sufficient to note and consider how falsely, and most slanderously, these catholics have depraved and misreported Truth maliciously slandered by the papists.

(1) Ex Regist. Cant. et Lond.

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the books and writings of good men, who might almost gather heresies as well of St. John's gospel, and St. Paul's epistles, as out of these places. Thus may we see, what cannot malice do, being set on mischief? or what cannot the spirit of spite and cavilling find out, being inflamed with hatred, and blown with the bellows of ambition and iniquity? And as they have done with these, the like parts they have and do practise still against all others, whosoever, in defence of truth, dare touch ever so little either the pope's crown, or the bellies of his clergy: for these two sores in no case they can abide to be touched.

The pope's crown and the monks' bellies, two perilous things to be touched.

And hereof only cometh all this crying out, Heresy, Heresy; Blasphemy, Error, and Schism. Although the doctrine be ever so sound and perfect after the Scripture, yet if the writer be not such, in all points (especially in these two above touched), as will sing after their tune, and dance after their pipe, he is by and by a heretic, by virtue of their inquisition. So did they with the articles of the learned earl Johannes Picus Mirandula. So did they also with John Reveline or Capnion. So did they also with good John Colet here in England. Also, with the like spirit of lying and cavilling, the catholic faculties of Louvain, Spain, and Paris, condemned the works and writings of Erasmus, and many more. So full they are of censures, articles, suspicions, offences, inquisitions. So captious they be in taking, so rash in judging, so slanderous of report, so practised in depraving, misconstruing, and wresting, true meanings into wrong purposes. Briefly, so pregnant they be in finding heresies where none are, that either a man must say nothing, or serve their devotion, or else he shall procure their displeasure, that is, shall be deemed for a heretic. Yea, and though no just cause of any heresy be ministered, yet where they once take disliking, they will not stick sometimes, with false accusations, to press him with matter which he never spake nor thought. If Luther had not stirred against the pope's pardons and authority, he had remained still a white son of the mother catholic church, and all had been well done, whatsoever he did. But, because he adventured to touch once the triple crown, what floods of heresies, blasphemies, and articles were cast out against him, enough to drown a whole world! what lies and forged crimes were invented against him!

His church upholden with lying and cavilling.

Here now cometh Staphylus[1] and furious Surius,[2] with their fraternity, and say, that he learned his divinity of the devil. Then followeth another certain chronographer,[3] who, in his lying story reporteth most falsely, that Luther died of drunkenness. With like malice the said chronographer writeth also of Master Bucer, falsely affirming upon his information, that he should deny at his death Christ our Messias to be come; when not only Dr. Redman, who preached at his burial, but also all Englishmen who knew the name of Bucer, did know it to be contrary.

Impudent lies upon Luther.

Bucer most shamefully slandered.

So was it laid against one Singleton, chaplain some time to queen Anne Bullen, that he was the murderer of Packington, and afterwards, that he was a stirrer up of sedition and commotion; who, also

(1) Staphilus's Theologiæ Lutheranæ trimembris Epitome, p. 18 to 26. 8vo. Antwerp, 1562.—Ed.
(2) Surius's Commentarius rerum in orbe gestarum. ab anno 1500 ad 1574, page 74. Cologne, 1574.—Ed.
(3) The work alluded to is 'Genebardi Theol. Paris. chronographiæ libri quatuor.' Lugduni, 1599, pp. 725—729. The First Edition appeared sufficiently early for Foxe to consult it. A list of Genebarde's writings, appears in 'Possuevini apparatus sacer.' Col. Agrip. 1608. p. 640.—Ed.

suffered as a traitor for the same. Whereas, in very deed, the true cause was for nothing else, but for preaching the gospel unto the people; whose purpose was ever so far from stirring sedition, that he never once dreamed of any such matter, as he himself declared and protested to one Richard Lant his scholar, who is yet alive, and can testify the truth hereof. But this is no new practice amongst the Romish bishops; whereof enough hath been said before in the story of sir John Oldcastle, and sir Roger Acton, etc. *Henry VIII.* A. D. 1546.

Another like practice of such malicious slander we find also in one Merial a bricklayer, whose name, with his abjuration, remaineth yet in the registers of the bishop of London. Merial belied.

The story is this, and not unworthy to be remembered. In the year of our Lord 1534, which was about the first beginning of queen Anne Bullen, at what time purgatory and such trumpery began to grow in contempt, Stokesley, bishop of London, made a sermon in the Shrouds, upon the Sunday before May-day; where he, preaching in the commendation of the virtue of masses, declared to the people, that, for a little cost, if they procured masses to be said, wives might deliver their husbands, and husbands their wives out of the bitter pains of purgatory. At this sermon, besides many others, was Thomas Merial, a zealous favourer of God's word; who, being in the watch on May-even, made relation of these words of the bishop unto the company about him, amongst whom then was one John Twyford, a furious papist, and who had the same time the setting-up of the stakes in Smithfield, whereat the good saints of God were burned. Bishop Stokesley's sermon in the Shrouds. Twyford the common tormentor of the martyrs that suffered in Smithfield.

This Twyford, who then kept a tavern, and had an old grudge against the said Merial for striking his boy, hearing these words, allured home to his house certain lewd persons, to the number of ten, whose names were these: Blackwell, Laurence, Wilson, Thomas Clark, John Duffield, William Kenningham, Thomas Hosier, Worme a cutler, Allen Ryse, with another that was the tenth. Besides these he procured also secretly Master Chambers's clerk, whose name was Bright. And when he had craftily overcome them with wine, and made them to report what words he listed, and which they knew not themselves, the clerk by and by received the same in writing. Whereupon this article was gathered against Merial, that he should hold and affirm, that the passion of Christ doth not help them that came after him, but only them that were in limbo before: and also that he should say, that his wife was as good as our Lady. Upon this writing of the notary, he was immediately brought to bishop Stokesley, and there, by the deposition of these ten false witnesses, wrongfully accused, and also for the same should have been condemned, had not Dr. Barret the same time bid him speak one word (which he knew not) as the sentence was in reading, whereby the condemnation was stayed, and he put to do open penance, and to bear a faggot. Notwithstanding the said Merial sware before the bishop that he never spake nor meant any such word as there was said unto him, but only recited the words of the bishop's sermon, reporting the same in the person of the bishop, and not his own; which also was testified to be true, by the oaths of three others, to wit, William Tompson, Gregory Newman, and William Wit, who, False accusation. Merial wrongfully accused and put to penance.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1546.

being in the aforesaid watch the same time, did take upon their oath before the bishop, that his words were no other, but as is above declared. These three witnesses, at the second edition hereof,[1] were also living, with the wife of the aforesaid Merial, who would then also be sworn that the same was true: whereas, contrary, the other ten persons, * false perjured witnesses,* be all gone, and none of them all remaining. Of whom, moreover, the most of all the said ten came to a miserable end; whereas the other three who testified the truth with Merial, being living at the second edition hereof, did see the end of all the others. And as for Twyford, who was the executioner of Frith, Bayfield, Bainham, Tewkesbury, Lambert, and other good men, he died rotting above the ground, so that none could abide him, and thus came to a wretched end.[2]

God's just punishment upon a cruel persecutor.

Examples of false accusations.

Of this malicious and perverse dealing of these men contrary to all truth and honesty, in defaming them for heretics who indeed are none, and with opprobrious railing to slander their cause, which is nothing else but the simple truth of Christ's gospel, whoso listeth to search further (if these examples hitherto recited do not suffice), let him read the story of Merindol and Angrogne.[3] Let him consider the furious bull of pope Martin,[4] the like slanderous bull also of pope Leo X.[5] with the edict of Charles the emperor against Luther. Also let him survey the railing stories of Surius the monk of Cologne, the book of Hosius;[6] of Lindanus;[7] the chronography of Genebarde,[8] the story of Cochleus against the Hussites and the Lutherans,[9] with the preface of Conradus Brunus the lawyer prefixed before the same, wherein he, most falsely and untruly railing against these protestants, whom he calleth heretics, chargeth them to be blasphemers of God, contemners of God and men, church-robbers, cruel, false liars, crafty deceivers, unfaithful, promise-breakers, disturbers of public peace and tranquillity, corrupters and subverters of commonweals, and all else that naught is.

In much like sort was Socrates accused of his countrymen for a corrupter of the youth, whom Plato notwithstanding defendeth. Aristides the just lacked not his unjust accusers. Was it not objected unto St. Paul, that he was a subverter of the law of Moses, and that we might do evil that good might come thereof?[10] How was it laid to the christian martyrs in the primitive church, for worshipping of an ass's head, and for sacrificing of infants. And, to come more near to these our latter days, you heard likewise how falsely the christian congregation of the Frenchmen, gathered together in the night at Paris, to celebrate the holy communion, were accused of

(1) The Second Edition (where the words in asterisks occur, line 6), was published in 1570.—Ed.
(2) Ex testim. uxoris, Meriali, W. Tomson, Gregorii Newman, W. Wit, &c.
(3) See vol. iv. p. 474.—Ed.
(4) This was the bull of pope Martin III., alias V., against Wickliff, Huss, Jerome, and their adherents (see vol. iii. p. 557); concerning whom it was commanded 'Ecclesiastica careant sepultura, nec oblationes fiant, aut recipiantur pro iisdem.' See 'Magnum Bullarium Romanum,' &c. vol. i. p. 288. Edit. Luxemburgi. 1727.—Ed.
(5) This bull is given at a subsequent page with a translation.—Ed.
(6) Hieronymus Hosius's 'Res gesta Ducum Austriæ et Cæsarum Romanorum, a Rodolpho primo ad præsentem annum, &c. Prajæ et Francofordiæ.' 4to. Viteberg, 1563.—Ed.
(7) Wilhelmus Lindanus 'Tabulæ grassantium passim hæresecon anasceuasticæ Lutheranæ,' etc. 8vo. Antwerp, 1562.—Ed.
(8) Genebarde's 'Chronographia.' Fol. Paris, 1567.—Ed.
(9) Basil. fol. 1549, very rare. Another Edition of this work is in the British Museum: fol. 'Apud St. Victorem prope Mogmtiam, ex officinâ Francisci Behem. Typog. 1549.' See also by the same author, 'Libri sex de Hæreticis in genere, &c. fol. ap. S. Vict. prope Mogunt. 1549; and 'De Gratia Sacramentorum liber unus, adversus assertionem Martini Lutheri. Argent. 1522.'—Ed.
(10) Acts xxi.; Rom. iii.

filthy commixion of men and women together, and the king the same time (Henry II.) was made to believe that beds with pillows and mats were found there on the floor where they lay together; whereupon the same time divers were condemned to the fire, and burned. Finally, what innocency is so pure, or truth so perfect, which can be void of these slanders and criminations, when also our Saviour Christ himself was noted for a wine drinker, and a common haunter of the publicans, etc.

Henry VIII. A. D. 1546.

No truth safe from false detraction.

Even so, likewise, it pleaseth our Lord and Saviour Christ to keep and to exercise his church under the like kind of adversaries now reigning in the church, who, under the name of the church, will needs maintain a portly state and kingdom in this world; and because they cannot uphold their cause by plain Scripture and the word of God, they bear it out with facing, railing, and slandering; making princes and the simple people believe, that all be heretics, schismatics, blasphemers, rebels, and subverters of all authority and commonweals, whosoever dare reply with any Scripture against their doings.

It is written of Nero, that when he himself had burned the city of Rome six days and seven nights, he made open proclamations that the innocent Christians had set the city on fire, to stir the people against them, whereby he might burn and destroy them as rebels and traitors.[1]

Papists accuse the protestants of heresy, and they be the heretics themselves

Not much unlike seemeth the dealing of these religious catholics, who, when they be the true heretics themselves, and have burned and destroyed the church of Christ, make out their exclamations, bulls, briefs, articles, books, censures, letters, and edicts against the poor Lutherans, to make the people believe, that they be the heretics, schismatics, disturbers of the whole world; who, if they could prove them, as they *re*prove them to be heretics, they were worthy to be heard. But now they cry out upon them heretics, and can prove no heresy; they accuse them of error, and can prove no error. They call them schismatics, and what church since the world stood, hath been the mother of so many schisms as the mother church of Rome? They charge them with dissension and rebellion; and what dissension can be greater than to dissent from the Scripture and word of God? or what is so like rebellion, as to rebel against the Son of God, and against the will of his eternal Testament? They are disturbers, they say, of peace and public authority; which is as true, as that the Christians set the city of Rome on fire. What doctrine did ever attribute so much to public authority of magistrates, as do the protestants? or who ever attributed less to magistrates, or deposed more dukes, kings, and emperors, than the papists? He that saith that the bishop of Rome is no more than the bishop of Rome, and ought to wear no crown, is not by and by a rebel against his king and magistrates, but rather a maintainer of their authority; which, indeed, the bishop of Rome cannot abide. Briefly, wilt thou see whether be the greater heretics, the protestants or the papists? Let us try it by a measure, and let this measure be the glory only of the Son of God, which cannot fail. Now judge, I beseech thee, whosoever knowest the doctrine of them both, whether of these two do

(1) Suetonius in Nerone. [Edit. 1596. Lugduni Bativorum, p. 226.—Ed.]

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ascribe more or less to the majesty of Christ Jesus our King and Lord; the protestants, who admit no other head of the church, nor justifier of our souls, nor forgiver of our sins, nor advocate to his Father, but him alone; or else the papists, who can abide none of these articles, but condemn the same for heresy? This being so (as they themselves will not deny), now judge, good reader, who hath set the city of Rome on fire—Nero, or the Christians.

Comparison between the doctrines of papists and protestants.

But to return again to the purpose of our former matter, which was to show forth the proclamation of the bishops for the abolishing of English books above rehearsed as being corrupt and full of heresy, which, notwithstanding, we have declared to contain no heresy, but sound and wholesome doctrine, according to the perfect word and scripture of God.

God's merciful help in time of need.

Here now, when the prelates of the pope's side had procured this edict and proclamation aforesaid, for the condemnation of all such English books, printed or unprinted, which made against their advantage, they triumphed not a little, weening they had made a great hand against the gospel's ever rising again, and that they had established their kingdom for ever; as indeed, to all men's thinking, it might seem no less. For who would have thought, after so strait, so precise, and so solemn a proclamation, set forth and armed with the king's terrible authority; also after the cruel execution of Anne Askew, Lacels, and the rest: item, after the busy search moreover, and names-taking of many others, of whom some were chased away, some apprehended and laid up, divers in present peril, and expectation of their attachment, who would have thought it (I say) otherwise possible, but that the gospel must needs have an overthrow, seeing what sure work the papists here had made, in setting up their side, and throwing down the contrary?

God's power worketh against man's presumption.

But it is no new thing with the Lord, to show his power against man's presumption, that when man counteth himself most sure, then is he furthest off, and when he supposeth to have done all, then is he anew to begin again. So was it in the primitive church before Constantine's time, that when Nero, Domitian, Maxentius, Decius, and other emperors, impugning the gospel and profession of Christ, did not only constitute laws and proclamations against the Christians, but also did engrave the same laws in tables of brass, minding to make all things firm for ever and a day; yet we see how, with a little turning of God's hand, all their puissant devices and brazen laws turned all to wind and dust: so little doth it avail for man to wrestle against the Lord and his proceedings! Howsoever man's building is mortal and ruinous, of brittle brick, and mouldering stones, yet that which the Lord taketh in hand to build, neither can time waste, nor man pluck down. What God setteth up, there is neither power nor striving to the contrary. What he intendeth, standeth; what he blesseth, that prevaileth. And yet man's unquiet presumption will not cease still to erect up towers of Babel against the Lord, which, the higher they are builded up, fall with the greater ruin: for what can stand, that standeth not with the Lord? Which thing, as in example of all ages it is to be seen, so, in this late proclamation devised by the bishops, is it in like manner exemplified; which proclamation, though it was sore and terrible for the time, yet, not

Towers of Babel against the Lord.

long after, by reason of the king's death (whom the Lord shortly thereupon took to his mercy), it made at length but a castle come down. So that where the prelates thought to make their jubilee, it turned them to the "threnes" of Jeremy.[1] Such be the admirable workings of the Lord of hosts, whose name be sanctified for ever! *Henry VIII.* A. D. 1546. Man's device against the Lord overthrown.

This I do not infer for any other purpose, but only for the works of the Lord to be seen; premonishing thee, good reader, withal, that as touching the king (who in this proclamation had nothing but the name only), here is nothing spoken but to his laud and praise; who, of his own nature and disposition, was so inclinable and forward in all things virtuous and commendable, that the like enterprise of redress of religion hath not lightly been seen in any other prince christened: as in abolishing the stout and almost invincible authority of the pope, in suppressing monasteries, in repressing custom of idolatry and pilgrimage, etc.; which enterprises, as never king of England did accomplish (though some began to attempt them) before him, so, yet to this day, we see but few in other realms dare follow the same. If princes have always their council about them, that is but a common thing. If sometimes they have evil counsel ministered, that I take to be the fault rather of such as are about them, than of princes themselves. So long as queen Anne, Thomas Cromwell, archbishop Cranmer, Master Denny, Doctor Butts, with such like were about him, and could prevail with him, what organ of Christ's glory did more good in the church than he? as is apparent by such monuments, instruments, and acts set forth by him, in setting up the Bible in the church, in exploding the pope with his vile pardons, in removing divers superstitious ceremonies, in bringing into order the inordinate orders of friars and sects, in putting chantry priests to their pensions, in permitting white meat in Lent, in destroying pilgrimage-worship, in abrogating idle and superfluous holy-days, both by act public, and also by private letters sent to Bonner tending to this effect. The praise of king Henry. Much superstition purged by him.

A private Letter of the King to Bishop Bonner.

Right reverend father in God, right trusty and well beloved, we greet you well! And whereas, considering the manifold inconveniences which have ensued, and daily do ensue to our subjects, by the great superfluity of holy-days, we have, by the assents and consents of all you the bishops and other notable personages of the clergy of this our realm, in full congregation and assembly had for that purpose, abrogated and abolished such as be neither canonical, nor meet to be suffered in a commonwealth, for the manifold inconveniences which do ensue of the same, as is rehearsed. And to the intent our determination therein may be duly observed and accomplished, we have thought convenient to command you immediately upon the receipt hereof, to address your commandments, in our name, to all the curates, religious houses, and colleges within your diocese, with a copy of the act made for the abrogation of the holy-days aforesaid, a transumpt whereof ye shall receive herewith; commanding them and every of them, in no wise, either in the church or otherwise, to indict or speak of any of the said days and feasts abolished, whereby the people might take occasion either to murmur at, or to contemn the order taken therein, and to continue in their accustomed idleness, the same notwithstanding; but to pass over the same with such secret silence, as they may have like abrogation by disuse, as they have already by our authority in convocation. And forasmuch as the time of harvest now approacheth, our pleasure is ye Abrogation of holy-days.

(1) 'The Threnes of Jeremy;' the Lamentations, from θρηνοι, the Greek word for lamentations.—Ed.

Henry VIII. A.D. 1546. shall, with such diligence and dexterity, put this matter in execution, as that it may immediately take place for the benefit of our subjects at this time accordingly, without failing, as ye will answer unto us for the contrary.

Given under our signet, at our monastery of Chertsey, the eleventh day of August.

King Henry, according as his counsel was about him, so was he led.

Thus, while good counsel was about him, and could be heard, the king did much good. So again, when sinister and wicked counsel, under subtle and crafty pretences, had gotten once the foot in, thrusting truth and verity out of the prince's ears, how much religion and all good things went prosperously forward before, so much, on the contrary side, all revolted backward again. Whereupon proceeded this proclamation above mentioned, concerning the abolishing and burning of English books: which proclamation, bearing the name of the king's majesty, but being the very deed of the popish bishops, no doubt had done much hurt in the church among the godly sort, bringing them either into great danger, or else keeping them in much blindness, had not the shortness of the king's days stopped the malignant purposes of the aforesaid prelates, causing the king to leave that by death unto the people, which by his life he would not grant. For, within four months after, the proclamation coming out in August, he deceased in the beginning of January,[1] in the thirty-eighth year of his reign, A. D. 1547; leaving behind him three children, who succeeded him in his kingdom, king Edward, queen Mary, and queen Elizabeth: of whom it remaineth now to prosecute (by the permission and sufferance of Christ our high Lord and Prince) in the process of this history, according as the order of their succession, and acts done by them in the church, shall require; after that, first, I shall have prosecuted certain other matters by the way, according to my promise here to be inserted.

The death of king Henry. A.D. 1547.

Scottish History. The History touching the Persecution in Scotland,

A.D. 1540 to 1558.

WITH THE NAMES AND CAUSES OF SUCH BLESSED MARTYRS, AS IN THAT COUNTRY SUFFERED FOR THE TRUTH, AFTER THE TIME OF PATRICK HAMELTON.

Thus, having finished the time and race of king Henry VIII., it remaineth now, according to my promise made before, here to place and adjoin so much as doth come to our hands, touching the persecution of Scotland, and of the blessed martyrs of Christ, who in that country, likewise, suffered for the true religion of Christ, and the testimony of their faith.

Sir John Borthwike, knight, cited and condemned of heresy: being absent, his picture is burned.

To proceed therefore in the history of these Scottish matters, next after the mention of David Stratton and Master Nicholas Gurlay, with whom we ended before, the order of time would require next to infer the memory of sir John Borthwike, knight, commonly called captain Borthwike; who, being accused of heresy, as the papists call it, and cited there-for A.D. 1540, and not appearing, and escaping out into other countries, was condemned for the same being absent, by the sentence of David Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrew's, and other prelates of Scotland; and all his goods confiscated, and his

(1) Henry VIII. died on Friday the 28th of January.—Ed.

picture at last burned in the open market-place. His story, with his articles objected against him, and his confutations of the same, here ensueth in process under expressed, as followeth.

Scottish History. A.D. 1540 to 1558.

THE ACT OR PROCESS, OR CERTAIN ARTICLES AGAINST SIR JOHN BORTHWIKE, KNIGHT, IN SCOTLAND;[1]

With the Answer and Confutation of the said Borthwike; whose Preface to the Reader here followeth.

By the help of a certain friend of mine, there came certain articles unto my hand, for which the Scottish cardinal, and such others of his sect and affinity, did condemn me as a heretic. And forasmuch as this condemnation should not lack his cloak or defence, they gathered together a great number of witnesses, whereas, besides the bare names of the witnesses, they alleged none other proof at all. Wherefore I thought good to bestow some labour in refelling those articles, which they could not prove, partly that I might take away from all true Christians the occasion of all evil suspicion, as though that I, being vanquished or overthrown by their threatenings, would deny Christ; and, partly, that their errors being thereby made manifest, they should even for very shame repent, or else, hereafter, the less abuse the furor or madness of such witnesses to shed blood. Therefore I will first confirm, by evident testimonies of the Scriptures, those things which in times past I have taught; and afterwards I will refel their vain sophistication, whereby they go about to subvert the truth of God.

The Act or Process, &c.

Sir John Borthwike knight, commonly called captain Borthwike, being accused, suspected, slandered, and convicted by witnesses, without all doubt of greater estimation than he himself, in the year of our Lord 1540, the twenty-eighth day of May, in the cloister of St. Andrew's, in the presence of the most reverend fathers, Gawine archbishop of Glasgow, chancellor of Scotland; William bishop of Aberdeen, Henry bishop of Candicatia,[2] John bishop of Brechin, and William, bishop of Dunblane; Andrew of Melrose, George of Dunfermline, John of Paslet,[3] John of Londrose,[4] Robert of Rillos[5] and William of Rulrose,[6] abbots; Mancolme of Quiterne[7] and John of Petinuaim,[8] priors; Master Alexander Balfour, vicar of Ritman,[9] rector of law, official of St. Andrew's; John Winryme, subprior; John Annand and Thomas Cunningham, canons of St. Andrew's; John Thompson of the university of St. Andrew's; and Master John Mairr and Peter Capel, bachelors of divinity and doctors; Martin Balfour, bachelor of divinity, and of the law, and official principal of St. Andrew's; John Tulildaffe, warden of the friars minors,[10] and John Patterson of the same covent: and also in the presence of the most noble, mighty, and right wor-

(1) See Hall's Chronicle. London, 1809, pp. 844—846.—Ed.

(2) 'Candicatia,' rather Candida Casa, the Latin name of Quhit-tern or Whitehorn, a bishop's see of Galloway. Fergus lord of Galloway, who flourished in the reign of king David I., founded here a priory. Morice, prior of this convent, swore fealty to Edward Longshanks, king of England A.D. 1296. This church was famous for the great resort of pilgrims, who flocked thither from all parts to St. Ninian's sepulchre. There were two famous priors of this place, the one Gavin Dunbar A.D. 1540, afterwards archbishop of Glasgow; the other James Beaton a son of the family of Belfour in Fife, first archbishop of Glasgow, and then of St. Andrew's, and chancellor of Scotland.—Ed.

(3) 'John of Paslet' or Paisley, in the shire of Renfrew, formerly a priory, and afterwards changed into an abbey of Black Monks, brought from Wenlock in England.—Ed.

(4) 'Londrose,' Lundores, in the shire of Fife, was a rich abbey, founded by David earl of Huntingdon (brother to king William), upon his return from the Holy Land, about the year 1178. This abbey was erected into a temporal lordship by James VI. the 25th December, 1600, in favour of Patric Lesly, son to Andrew earl of Roshes.—Ed.

(5) 'Rillos.' This word has been originally 'Killos,' in the Latin edition, page 166; as such it occurs in the following passage: 'Kinloss, or rather Keanloch, in Moray, was a famous abbey.' 'Dempster, following the old and popular tradition, calls it Killoss, and gives us the following account of it, and the reason of its foundation,' &c. See Keith's Historical Catalogue of Scottish Bishops, &c. 8vo. Edinb. 1824, p 418.—Ed.

(6) A similar suggestion is offered respecting this word. It has probably been written Kulrose. 'Culross or Kyllenross situated upon the Frith of Forth,' &c. 'an abbey founded in the year 1217.' See Keith, page 422.—Ed.

(7) 'Quiterne' or Quhit-hern; Whitehorn or Candida Casa.—Ed.

(8) 'Petinuaim,' Pittenween, in the shire of Fife.—Ed.

(9) Hall says 'Kylmane:' probably Kilmany, as spelt by Macpherson.—Ed.

(10) Hall says, 'The grey friars of St. Andrew's.'—Ed.

Scottish History. A. D. 1540 to 1558.

shipful lords, George earl of Huntelo,[1] James earl of Arran, William earl marshall, William earl of Montrose; Malcolm lord Fleming, chamberlain of Scotland; John lord Lindsey, John lord Erskine, George lord Seton, sir James Hamelton of Finwart,[2] Walter lord of the knights of St. John, of Forfichen; Master James Foules of Collington, clerk to the king's register; with divers other lords, barons, and honest persons, being called and required together for witnesses, that he did hold, publish and openly teach, these errors following:[3]

THE FIRST ARTICLE:

'That our most holy father the pope, the vicar of Jesu Christ, hath not, neither can exercise, greater authority over Christians here on earth, than any other bishop or prelate.'

Sir John Borthwike's Answer.

These holy ones do magnify their Lord by like title as common thieves and robbers are accustomed to prefer the captains and ringleaders of their robberies and mischiefs, calling them in every place the most honest and good men, whereas likewise it is evident that in the whole world there is no man more given to riot, who more greedily doth seek after all kind of delicateness and wantonness, and finally aboundeth with all kind of vice, as treason, murder, rapine, and all kind of such evils.

Furthermore, whereas they affirm him to be the vicar of Christ here on earth, it shall be easily convinced, when it shall be made manifest, that he neither hath, nor can exercise, more power or authority over Christians, than any other bishop or prelate. For unto that office of being vicar they refer that great authority which they do so greatly boast and brag of, which being taken away, the office of vicar doth also fall and decay. But now, to attempt the matter, I will first demand of the maintainers of this pre-eminency and authority, whereupon they will ground the same? I know that they will answer unto me, that Peter had power and authority over the other apostles, and consequently over the universal church, which power, by succession, is translated unto the bishops of Rome. But how unshamefastly do they lie herein, any may easily perceive who hath but any small spark of judgment in him, when he shall hear the testimonies of the Scriptures, which we will allege to confirm this our opinion. For Peter, in Acts xv., in the council, doth declare what is to be done, and admonisheth us what of necessity we ought to do. And he there did also hear others speak, and did not only give them place to say their minds, but also permit and receive their judgment; and whereas they decreed, he followed and obeyed the same. Is this then to have power over others?

Furthermore, whereas in his first epistle he writeth unto bishops and pastors, he doth not command them as a superior or head over them, by power and authority, but maketh them his fellow-companions, and gently exhorteth them as is accustomed to be done between equals of degree; for these are his words: 'I beseech and desire the bishops and pastors which are amongst you, forasmuch as I myself am also a bishop, and a witness of the afflictions of Christ, and also a partaker of the glory which shall be revealed, that they do diligently feed the flock of Christ, which is committed unto them.' Why then do they so challenge unto them the authority of Peter, which he never acknowledged in himself? Truly, I do not doubt but that if Peter were here present, he would, with like severity, rebuke their folly and madness, as Moses, in times past, did unto Joshua, who burned with too earnest a zeal towards him.

I doubt not but that many, in this feigned authority of Peter, do seek out more vain helps to maintain and uphold the tyranny of popes, rather than to make him ruler and governor over all others. For whereas in Acts viii. he is commanded by his fellows to go with John into Samaria, he did not refuse so to do. Insomuch then as the apostles do send him, they declare thereby, that

(1) 'Huntelo,' Huntly, a castle of the Gordons in Berwickshire.—Ed.

(2) 'Finwart,' Finnart, or Finlater, a castle of the Sinclairs and Ogilvys, to whom it has given the title of earl.—Ed.

(3) There has been some difference in the statements of this preamble as given by Hall and by Foxe; by the aid of the former several of the proper names have been corrected, while others are explained in the notes, on the authority of Keith and others. Neither Knox in his 'History of the Reformation,' nor Spotswood in his 'History of the Church of Scotland,' nor Hall in his 'Chronicle,' have preserved those interesting answers which Foxe has given us.—Ed.

they do not count him as their head and superior, and in that he doth obey them, and taketh upon him the office or ministry committed unto him, he confesseth thereby that he hath a society and fellowship with them, but no rule or empery over them, as he writeth in his epistle.

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But if none of these examples were evident or manifest, the only Epistle to the Galatians were sufficient to put us out of all doubt; where St. Paul, almost throughout two whole chapters, doth nothing else but declare and affirm himself to be equal unto Peter, in the honour or dignity of the apostleship. For, first of all, he rehearseth how he went up to Jerusalem unto Peter, not to the intent to profess any homage and subjection unto him, but only to witness, with a common consent and agreement, unto all men the doctrine which they taught; and that Peter did require no such things at his hand, but gave unto him the right side or upper hand of the fellowship, that they might jointly together labour in the vineyard of the Lord. Moreover, that he had no less favour and grace among the Gentiles, than Peter had amongst the Jews; and finally, when Peter did not faithfully execute his office and ministry, he was by him rebuked, and Peter became obedient unto his correction.

Peter had society with the apostles, but no rule over them.

All these things do evidently prove, that there was equality between Paul and Peter, and also that Peter had no more power over the residue of the apostles, than he had over Paul: which thing St. Paul even of purpose doth treat of, lest any man should prefer Peter or John before him in the office of apostleship, who were but his companions, and not lords over one another. Whereupon these places of Scripture work this effect, that I cannot acknowledge Peter to be superior or head over other apostles, neither the pope over other bishops: but I acknowledge and confess Christ to be the only head of the church, the foundation and high priest thereof, who, with one only oblation, hath made perfect for evermore all those who are sanctified. And I boldly do affirm and say with St. Gregory, that whosoever calleth himself, or desireth to be named or called, the head or universal priest or bishop, in that his pride he is the fore-rider or predecessor of Antichrist; forasmuch as, through his pride, he doth exalt himself above all others.

Paul equal with Peter.

Christ the only head of the church.

Universal bishop spoken against by Gregory.

Furthermore, whereas they allege, out of the old law, the high priesthood and the supreme judgment which God did institute and ordain at Jerusalem; I answer thereunto, that Christ was that high bishop, unto whom the right and title of priesthood is now transported and referred. Neither is there any man so impudent, which will take upon him to succeed in the place or degree of his honour; forasmuch as this priesthood doth not consist only in learning, but in the propitiation and mercy of God, which Christ hath fulfilled by his death, and in the intercession, by which he doth now entreat for us unto his Father.

The old law doth not prove Peter's or the pope's supremacy.

Whereas also they do allege out of Matt. xvi.; 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock,' etc. if they do think that this was particularly spoken unto Peter, St. Cyprian and St. Augustine shall sufficiently answer them, that Christ did it not for this purpose, to prefer one man above all the residue, but that thereby he might commend and set forth the unity of the church; for so saith St. Cyprian: 'In the person of one man God gave unto them all the keys, that he might thereby signify the unity of them all. For even as Peter was, even the very same were all the residue, being endued with like fellowship of honour and dignity. But it was convenient that it should take his original of one, that the church of God might be manifested to be one only.' St. Augustine's words are these:[1] 'If the mystery of the church were not in Peter, the Lord would not have said unto him, I will give unto thee the keys of the kingdom of heaven. If this were spoken unto Peter, the church hath them not. If the church have them, then Peter, when he received the keys, did figurate the whole church. Again, when they were all demanded and asked, only Peter answered, Thou art Christ. Then was it said unto him, I will give unto thee the keys, as though he alone had received the power of binding and loosing; for, like as he alone spake that for them all, so he, as it were, bearing the person of that unity, received the same with them all. Therefore, one for them all, because he is united unto them all.'

Another argument they do gather upon the words which Christ spake unto Peter, 'Thou art Peter, and upon this rock will I build my church:' which words are not found to be spoken unto any other of the apostles. This argu-

(1) Augustine, Tractatus in Johannem, 1; fol. 12.—Ed.

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ment shall easily be dissolved, if we do understand and know why Christ did give Peter that name, which otherwise was called Simon. In the first chapter of John, Christ speaketh thus unto him: 'Thou shalt be called Cephas;' which, by intepretation, signifieth Peter: in that point having respect unto the constant confession of Christ, which he had made, like as God changed the name of Abraham, who at first was called Abram, because he should be a father of many nations. Then, even as Abraham took his name of the multitude, which should come forth of his seed, so likewise Peter took his name of the constant confession of Christ, who indeed is the true rock whereupon the church is builded, and not Peter himself; no otherwise than Abraham, who was not the multitude itself, whereof he took his name. Besides this, the church should be stayed, or builded upon an over weak foundation, if it should have Peter for the ground or foundation thereof, who, being amazed and overcome with the words of a little wench, did so constantly deny Christ.

Now, therefore, I think there is no man but that doth understand how these Romish builders do wrest the Scriptures hither and thither, and, like unto the rule or square, do apply them according to their wills, to what end and use they themselves think good.

Another objection papistical solved.

Furthermore, in that they do allege, out of John xx., 'Feed my sheep,' it is an over-childish argument; for to feed, is not to bear rule and dominion over the whole church. Besides all this, as Peter had received commandment of the Lord, so doth he exhort all other bishops to feed their flock, in his first epistle and fifth chapter. Hereby a man may gather by these words of Christ, that either there was no authority given unto Peter more than unto others, or else that Peter did equally communicate that right and authority, which he had received, unto others, and did not reserve it unto himself after his death, to be transported unto the bishops of Rome.

As for such reasons as they do allege, which are not gathered or taken out of Holy Scriptures, I pass them over, lest I might seem to contend with shadows.

THE SECOND ARTICLE.

'That indulgences and pardons, granted by our supreme head the pope, are of no force, strength, or effect; but tend only to the abusion of the people, and to the deceiving of their souls.'

Sir John Borthwike's Answer.

Indulgences of no effect.

It shall be evidently declared, that indulgences and pardons are of none effect, after that I have, first of all, taught what they do call indulgences or pardons. They say, they are the treasure of the church, that is to say, the merits of Christ, of the saints, apostles and martyrs, whom they impudently affirm to have performed and merited more at God's hand, at the time of their death, than was necessary or needful for them; and that of the abundance of their merits there did so much superabound, as was not only sufficient for themselves, but also might redound to the help of others. And, because so great a goodness should not be superfluous or in vain, they affirm and teach, that their blood was mixed and joined with the blood of Christ; and of them both, the treasure of the church was compound, and made for the remission and satisfaction of sins. How cunning and notable cooks these are, who can make a confection of so many sundry herbs!

The treasure of the church as pope-holders take it.

Papists hold the pope to be lord treasurer of the church.

Furthermore, they do feign the custody and keeping of this treasure to be committed wholly unto the bishop of Rome, in whose power consisteth the dispensation of so great treasures, that either by himself he may give or grant, or otherwise give power unto others to give the same. And hereupon rise the plenary indulgences and pardons granted by the pope, for certain years; by cardinals, for a hundred days; by bishops, for forty days. This is the judgment and opinion which they hold of the indulgences. But I pray you, who taught those saints to work or deserve for others, but only Satan, who would utterly have the merits of Christ extinguished and blotted out, which he knoweth to be the only remedy of salvation? For, if the Scripture doth teach us that no man of himself can deserve or work his salvation, how did the saints then work or merit for others? It is manifest that Christ saith, in Luke xvii.,

No man can work his own salvation.

'When ye have done all that which is commanded you to do, yet,' saith he, 'ye are unprofitable servants.' Besides this, all that which may be deserved or merited in the righteousness of man, is, in Isaiah xxxiv., compared unto the garment menstruous and defiled, to be cast out.

There are almost infinite places in the Scripture, wherein man's power is so extenuated, and the corruption and frowardness of our nature so made manifest, that even in the best and most perfect works there lacketh not imperfection. Notwithstanding the parable of the ten virgins, written in Matthew xxv., ought to put us out of all controversy and doubt. There Christ describeth two kinds of men, the one kind of holy men, who observe and keep the inward righteousness of the heart, as the oil of faith; the other sort is of such as, having no mind of their oil, are answered by them that are wise, 'No! lest that there be not sufficient for you and for us; but go you rather to them which do sell, and buy for yourselves:' in which place it is manifestly declared how vainly the second sort of men do fly to the patronage of the elect, by whose merits they think to be saved.

The parable of the ten virgins expounded.

Now let us weigh and consider upon what places of Scripture they build or establish their feigned invention of pardons. They allege the saying of St. Paul to the Colossians, 'I supply or fulfil the afflictions of Christ, which were wanting in my flesh, for his body which is the church.' But Paul, in this place, doth not refer that defect or supplement to any work of redemption, expiation, or satisfaction; but to those afflictions, by which the members of Christ, that is to say, all the faithful, should be afflicted, so long as they live in the flesh: wherefore he saith, that this doth yet remain of the passion of Christ, that those afflictions which once he suffered in his own body, he now daily suffereth in his members. For Christ hath vouchsafed to honour us with this honour, that he doth impute and call our afflictions to be his.

And whereas St. Paul doth add this word 'for the church,' he doth not understand thereby for the redemption, reconciliation, satisfaction, or expiation of the church, but for the edifying and the profiting of the same, as in the second epistle to Timothy, he saith, that 'for the elect's sake he suffered all these things, that they might obtain salvation.' But, to the intent that no man should think that salvation to depend upon those things which he himself had suffered, he added further, 'The which is in Christ Jesu.'

Another objection dissolved.

As touching the reason, that the blood of the martyrs is not shed in vain, without fruit or profit; and, therefore, ought to be conferred to the common utility and profit of the church; I answer, that the profit and fruit thereof is abundant: to glorify God by their death, to subscribe and bear witness unto the truth by their blood, and, by the contempt of this present life, to witness that they do seek after a better life; by their constancy and steadfastness, to confirm and establish the faith of the church, and subdue and vanquish the enemy.

The blood of martyrs, whereto it profiteth.

THE THIRD ARTICLE.

'That the pope is an open user of simony, daily selling the gifts of the spiritualties: and that it is lawful for all bishops to be coupled and joined in matrimony.'

Sir John Borthwike's Answer.

This article hath its several parts, for those things which we have spoken or answered unto the article before-written, do sufficiently declare, that the pope is not only a user of simony, but also a notable deceiver, who selleth such kind of merchandise as can in no place help or prevail; forasmuch as his pardons are nothing less than such as he feigneth them to be. Doth he not then show himself a manifest deceiver, when he maketh fairs and markets of them?

But, to the intent I will not seem in this behalf vainly to labour or travail, I will pass unto the second part, where I do say, that it is not only done against the word of God, but also against equity and justice, to forbid priests to marry, forasmuch as it is not lawful for any man, by any means, to forbid that thing which the Lord hath left at liberty. For St. Paul, in Hebrews xiii., declareth that matrimony is lawful for all men, saying, that 'marriage, and the undefiled

Priests marriage lawful.

Scottish History. A.D. 1540 to 1558

bed [or chamber], is honourable amongst all men.' And in 1 Cor. vii., he saith, 'For avoiding of whoredom, let every man have a wife of his own.' But I know what these obstinate and stiff-necked will answer unto me, that the same is spoken and meant of others, and not of priests. But what will they answer unto me, as touching that which is written in 1 Tim. iii. 1., 'A bishop ought to be without rebuke, the husband of one wife?' and, by and by after, he saith, 'Deacons ought to be the husbands of one wife, the which should rule and govern their children and family uprightly.' Unto these Paul affirmeth matrimony to be meet and necessary, let them say what they can to the contrary.

What could be more vehemently spoken against their wicked tyranny, than that which by the Holy Ghost he declareth, in the fourth chapter of the same epistle, that in the latter days 'there should come wicked men, which should forbid matrimony?' and he calleth them not only 'deceivers,' but also 'wicked spirits;' attending unto the doctrine of wicked spirits. But these men think that they have very well escaped, when they wrest this sentence to those old ancient heretics the Tatianists.[1] 'They,' say these men, 'did condemn matrimony: we do not condemn it, but only forbid churchmen to marry; unto whom we think matrimony is not convenient.' As though that albeit this prophecy were first of all complete and fulfilled in the Tatianists, that it did not also redound unto them; or as though this their subtle sophistication were worthy to be regarded, that they do not deny or prohibit matrimony, because they do not forbid it unto all men generally! Like as if a tyrant would contend and affirm his law to be good, by the extremity and violence whereof only one part of the city is oppressed.

But now, let us hear the reasons of the contrary part: 'It behoveth,' say they, 'a priest to differ from the common sort of the people by some notable mark or token.' But read St. Paul, where he describeth the perfect image of a good bishop: did he not reckon and account marriage amongst the other good gifts which he required to be in them? But I know very well how these men interpret Paul: verily, that a bishop ought not to be chosen, who hath married his *second* wife. But also it appeareth openly by the text, that this interpretation is false, forasmuch as he doth, by and by, declare and show what manner of women the wives of bishops and deacons ought to be. Wherefore St. Paul numbereth matrimony amongst the principal virtues pertaining unto a bishop: and these men do teach it to be an intolerable vice amongst the orders of the church, and not being content with that general reproach or slander, they call it in the canons, 'the uncleanliness, polluting, and defiling of the flesh.'

Now let every man consider with himself out of what shop this stuff is taken. God instituted matrimony: Christ sanctified it with his presence, by turning water into wine: and vouchsafed so to honour it, that he would have it the image or figure of his love and friendship with the church. What can be more famous or notably spoken to the commendation and praise of wedlock? But these unshamefaced faces do call it 'a filthy and unclean thing,' alleging the levitical priests, who, as often as they came unto the office of ministration, were bound to lie apart from their wives, whereby they, being clean and undefiled, might handle the holy things:[2] and our sacraments, forasmuch as they are much more noble and excellent than theirs, and daily used, it would be a very uncomely thing that they should be handled by married men! As though the office of the ministry of the gospel were all one with the levitical priesthood. For they, as figures, did represent Christ, who, being mediator between God and man, by his singular and absolute purity and cleanness, should reconcile the Father unto us. For forasmuch as on no part sinners could exhibit or show forth any type or form of his sanctity or holiness, yet, to the intent they might shadow him out with certain similitudes or lineaments, they were commanded that whensoever they should come unto the sanctuary or holy place, they should purify themselves above all men's order or fashion: for then did they most near and properly figurate Christ, who appeared in the tabernacle as peace-maker, to reconcile the people unto God. This image or personage, forasmuch as our ecclesiastical pastors at this day do not take upon them to execute, in vain are they compared unto them. Wherefore the apostle, without

A popish objection against priests' marriage, refuted.

(1) For the opinions of Tatian, who was a disciple of Justin Martyr, see Clemens Alexandrinus, Stromat. lib. ii. p. 460, also Origen, de Oratione, cap. xiii.—En.

(2) Levitical priests in the time of their ministration, abstained from their wives: ergo, christian priests must have no wives. I do deny the argument.

all exception, upon a sure and good ground doth pronounce and say, that 'marriage is honourable amongst all men,' and that 'whoremongers and adulterers do abide the judgment of God.'

Besides all this, the apostles themselves, by their examples, do prove that matrimony is not unworthy of any office or function, be it ever so excellent; for St. Paul himself is witness, that they did not only keep their wives, but also carried them about with them.

THE FOURTH ARTICLE.

'That all those heresies commonly called the heresies of England, or at least, the greater or most part of them, are to be now presently understood and known by the Englishmen, to be of themselves good and just, and to be observed of all faithful Christians as most true and conformable unto the law of God; and that he had persuaded many persons to embrace the said heresies.'

Sir John Borthwike's Answer.

St. John, in his eleventh chapter, declareth how Caiaphas, high bishop of Jerusalem, did prophesy that Jesus should die for the people; which thing he spake, being utterly ignorant. The like image of blindness we have now presently in our luxurious cardinal of St. Andrews, and his adherents, who accused religion of heresy, which, in the year of our Lord 1540, was had in estimation in England, at which time they proclaimed me an arch-heretic, although they esteem the same religion for most christian; for what religion at the time was used in England, the like the whole realm of Scotland did embrace: in this point only the Englishmen differed from the Scots, that they had cast off the yoke of Antichrist; the others not. Idols were worshipped by both nations; the profaning of the Supper and Baptism was alike unto them both; wicked superstition reigned on both parts, and true worship was deformed and defaced with detestable hypocrisy.

The state of religion in England. A.D. 1540.

Truly it is most false which they do affirm and say, that I had subscribed unto such kind of heresies, as though they had been conformable unto the law of God, whereas nothing is more adverse or repugnant thereunto: for even now of late, God of his goodness and mercy had opened my dazzling eyes, and had drawn me out of the filthy slough of idolatry and superstition, in which, amongst others, I have so long time wallowed and tumbled. Neither is it any less absurd, that they affirm me to have allured many to embrace the same; except peradventure they do understand that I have oftentimes wished that the yoke of Antichrist should be shaken and cast off from the necks of the Scots, as it is from the English men; which thing, with sincere and upright heart, and with an earnest mind, I do now also wish and desire.

THE FIFTH ARTICLE.

'That the Scottish nation and their clergy be altogether blinded; of whom he did also say and affirm, that they had not the true catholic faith. And this he did openly teach and preached also, that his faith was much better and more excellent, than the faith of all the clergy in the realm of Scotland.'

Sir John Borthwike's Answer.

No man will deny that people to be blinded, which neither hear Christ nor his apostles. Such are the people of Scotland; I speak of those unto whom the verity and truth of Christ hath not yet opened or manifested itself. There is no cause, therefore, why they should accuse me of heresy. Furthermore, how far off the nation and the people of Scotland be from the hearing of Christ (albeit the premises do sufficiently declare), in that they do challenge unto the Romish Antichrist the authority which Christ and his apostles do declare Christ himself to be endued withal, and that, contrary to the word of God, they forbid priests to marry, I will add something more unto it, whereby the matter may be more evident. Christ calleth himself the door whereby all men ought to enter in: see John x. Contrariwise, the Scots do say and affirm, that we must enter in by

Antithesis; or comparison between the religion of the Scots, and the religion of Christ.

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the Virgin Mary and St. Peter. Christ, in John iv., saith, 'The time shall come, when the true worshippers shall worship the Father in spirit and truth:' the Scots build themselves high temples and chapels for idols, in which, even as Israel in times past, they commit fornication. Paul, in his epistle to the Hebrews, chap. x., saith that Christ, 'by one only oblation, hath made perfect all those for evermore, which are sanctified:' which saying confirmeth also the words of Christ hanging upon the cross, saying, 'It is finished;' signifying that by his death there was a final end set to all sacrifices, which are offered up for sins. But the Scottish churchmen, as they are blasphemers indeed, so do they brag and boast, that they daily offer up Christ for the sins both of the quick and of the dead! God commandeth us that we shall not worship any graven image: the Scots do not only fall down flat before images, but also offer up incense unto them! St. Paul teacheth us that Christ is made our wisdom, righteousness, sanctification, and redemption: the Scots, being wise men in their own conceits, prefer and embrace traditions feigned and invented out by man's head, before the law of God; they stablish righteousness in their own works; sanctification in holy water and other external things; redemption in pieces of lead, which they do buy of their great Antichrist. Who then will quarrel with me, that I do allege that the people of Scotland are blind, and that my faith, which doth only behold the word of God, is much better and more excellent than theirs?

THE SIXTH ARTICLE.

'Agreeably to the ancient errors of John Wickliff and John Huss, archheretics condemned in the council of Constance, he hath affirmed and preached, that the clergy ought not to possess or have any temporal possessions; neither to have any jurisdiction or authority in temporalties, even over their own subjects; but that all these things ought to be taken from them, as it is at this present in England.'

Sir John Borthwike's Answer.

Civil dominion differing from ecclesiastical.

The Lord, in the book of Numbers, chap. xviii., said thus unto Aaron, 'Thou shalt possess nothing in their land; neither shalt thou have any portion amongst them: I am thy portion and inheritance amongst the children of Israel. For unto the sons of Levi I have given all the tithes of Israel, that they should possess them for their ministry which they do execute in the tent of ordinaries.' Albeit I do not doubt but that the order of the Levites, and of our clergy, is far different and variable: for the administration of their sacred and holy things, after their death, passed unto their posterity as it were by right of inheritance; which happeneth not unto the posterity of our clergy in these days.[1]

Furthermore, if any heritage be provided or gotten for them, I do not gainsay but that they shall possess it: but still I do affirm, that all temporal jurisdiction should be taken from them. For when twice there rose a contention amongst the disciples, which of them should be thought the greatest, Christ answered, 'The kings of nations have dominion over them, and such as have power over them are called beneficial: you shall not do so; for he which is greatest amongst you shall be made equal unto the youngest or least; and he which is the prince or ruler amongst you, shall be made equal unto him that doth minister:' minding thereby, and willing utterly to debar the ministers of his word from all terrene and civil dominion and empire. For by these points he doth not only declare that the office of a pastor is distinct and divided from the office of a prince and ruler, but that they are in effect so much different and separate, that they cannot agree or join together in one man. Neither is it to be thought that Christ did set or ordain a harder law than he himself before did take upon him: forasmuch as in Luke xii. certain of the company said unto him, 'Master, command my brother that he divide his inheritance with me:' he answered; 'Man, who made me a judge or divider amongst you?' We see therefore that Christ even simply did reject and refuse the office of a judge; which thing he would not have done, if it had been agreeable unto his

Christ refuseth the office of a civil judge.

(1) The Levitical law is no necessary rule now binding. But he meaneth here of excessive land-possessions, of abbeys, and religious houses addicted to them; but the princes may diminish or convert them otherwise, upon considerations.

office or duty. The like thing also he did in John viii., when he refused to give judgment upon the woman taken in adultery, who was brought before him. *Scottish History.* A. D. 1540 to 1558.

Whereas they do allege that Moses did supply both offices at once, I answer, that it was done by a rare miracle. Furthermore, that it continued but for a time, until things were brought unto a better state. Besides that, there was a certain form and rule prescribed him of the Lord, when he took upon him the civil governance; and the priesthood he was commanded to resign unto his brother; and that not without good cause, for it is against nature, that one man should suffice both charges: wherefore it was diligently foreseen and provided for in all ages; neither was there any bishop, so long as any true face or show of the church did continue, who once thought to usurp the right and title of the sword. Whereupon, in the time of St. Ambrose this proverb took its original, 'that emperors did rather wish or desire the office of priesthood, than priests any empire.' For it was all men's opinion at that time, that sumptuous palaces did pertain unto emperors, and churches unto priests. St. Bernard, also, writeth many things which are agreeable unto this our opinion; as is this his saying: 'Peter could not give that which he had not, but he gave unto his successors that which he had, that is to say, carefulness over the congregation; for when the Lord and Master saith, that He is not constitute or ordained judge between two, the servant or disciple ought not to take it scornfully if that he may not judge all men.' And, lest that he might seem in that place to speak of the spiritual judgment, he straightway annexeth, 'Therefore,' saith he, 'your power and authority shall be in offence and transgression; not in possessions. For this purpose, and not for the other, have you received the keys of the kingdom of heaven. Why then do you invade other men's bounds or borders?' The rest I pass over for brevity's sake.

An objection made by the example of Moses answered.

Peter could not give that he had not. Peter had no lordly dominion: ergo Peter could not give lordly dominion to his successors.

THE SEVENTH ARTICLE.

'Falsely, and against the honour, estate, and reverence of the sacred majesty of the king of Scots, he hath said, holden, and affirmed, that our most noble king of Scots, defender of the christian faith, would appropriate unto himself all the possessions, lands, and rents of the church, given and granted by his predecessors, and also by himself, and convert them unto his own private use. And for this end and purpose, as he hath many times written unto him, so hath he with his whole endeavour persuaded our said noble lord and king thereunto.'

Sir John Borthwike's Answer.

It is no marvel though these mad dogs do so bark against me, whom they think to have counselled the king's majesty (I would to God I had also thoroughly persuaded him), that he should take away from these unjust sacrilegious possessors the riches wherewithal they are fatted and engreased like swine. For this is the nature of dogs, that if any man go about to take away the bone out of their mouth, by and by to snatch at him, and tear him with their teeth. It is out of all controversy unto such as have any wit at all, that such were very childish, that is to say, ignorant of all learning and judgment, who did so fat and feed with their possessions these belly-beasts. For who would not judge it more than childish, to bestow the king's victuals or meat upon the bellies of the prophets of Baal and Jezebel? But all they that, at this present, do endue such filthy sinks (I will not call them dens of thieves) with such revenues, they do follow the steps of Jezebel; for what other thing do they, when daily they are bleating and bowing before their images, burning of incense, and falling flat down before their altars, but that which in times past the prophets of Baal did, when they transported the worship of God unto an idol? Wherefore, if Daniel and Elias were spotted with heresy, when they would have destroyed the priests of Baal, I grant that I also must be a heretic.

Comparison between our belly-priests and the priests of Baal.

But forasmuch as he then did nothing but that which was commanded him of the Lord, who was able to kill the prophets that had allured the people to follow strange gods, he could not truly and justly be accused of heresy: so neither can my adversaries spot me therewithal, except, peradventure, they will condemn in me, that whereas Elias dealt more rigorously with the prophets of

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Baal, for he cast them into the brook Kedron, I required or desired no more, but that the riches which were wickedly bestowed upon them, and their possessions, might be taken from them.

THE EIGHTH ARTICLE.

'He willed and desired, and oftentimes with his whole heart prayed, that the church of Scotland might come and be brought to the same point and state, and to like ruin, as the church of England was already come unto.'

Sir John Borthwike's Answer.

If the church of Israel decayed, when in the time of Zerubbabel, Nehemiah, and other holy men, it was released and set at liberty out of Babylon; I grant also, that it was a ruin unto the Englishmen, to have departed and gone away out of Babylon, the mother of all whoredom; upon whose rotten and filthy paps and breasts they have a long time depended and hanged, being made drunk with the wine of her whoredom and unshamefacedness. They [his persecutors] had rather cause to give me thanks, who, with so sincere and good a heart, wished unto them so happy a fall. But these unthankful persons thought it not enough with slander and reproach to tear me asunder, but now also, as blind rage and madness have taken away all sincerity and uprightness of mind and judgment, they lie in wait, and lay snares for my life.

Spiritual Babylon.

THE NINTH ARTICLE.

'He hath openly holden, said and affirmed, preached and taught, that the laws of the church, that is to say, the sacred canons, approved and allowed by the holy catholic and apostolic church, are of no force, strength, or effect; alleging, therefore, and affirming, that they are made and invented contrary to the law of God.'

Sir John Borthwike's Answer.

Apostolic church. God forbid that I should say, that those things which are approved and allowed by the holy catholic church, should be of no effect or value. For well I know, that the holy apostolic church hath never allowed, ordained, or taught any thing which she hath not learned of the Lord. The apostles are witnesses thereof, Peter and Paul, whereof the one of them dareth not freely utter or speak of any of those things which Christ hath not wrought by himself for the obedience of the Gentiles. The other exhorteth, that if any man speak, he should speak the praises of God. But I condemn those laws which the bishops of Rome have made according to their own will and mind, and which they say are spiritual, pertaining unto the soul, and necessary unto everlasting life; forasmuch as the writings of the apostles do evidently declare, that there was no authority known amongst them to make or ordain any ordinances or laws.

The Romish church.

Prelates have no authority by the word, to bind men's consciences with new laws.

Furthermore, the Scriptures do manifestly show the same, how oftentimes, even by the Lord's own mouth, this aforesaid authority is taken from the ministers of the church; so that no excuse for them remaineth, but that they be plain rebels against the word of God, how many soever do presume or take upon them to appoint or set any new laws upon the people of God: which thing is more manifest and evident than the light itself, in many places of the Scripture; for in Joshua xxiii. it is written, 'You shall observe and do all that is written in the law of Moses, neither shall you swerve from that, either to the right hand or to the left hand.' But that which is written in Deuteronomy xii., ought to move them somewhat more. 'Whatsoever I command,' saith the Lord, 'that shall ye observe and do: thereunto you shall add nothing, neither shall you take any thing from it.' The like he had said before in chapter iv. of the same book. And again Moses, in chapter xiii. of the same book, doth witness, that he did put forth life and blessing unto Israel, when he gave them that law which he had received of the Lord. How can they then excuse themselves of perjury, who ordain new laws to live by?

The law of Moses.

But let us proceed further, and see what authority the priests of Levi's stock

had, to make laws. I do not deny but that God, in Deut. xvii., ordained, under a great penalty, that the authority of the priests should not be contemned, but had in reverence. But in Malachi ii. he also declareth under what condition they are to be heard, where he saith, 'He hath made a covenant with Levi, that the law of truth should be in his mouth.' And, by and by after, he addeth, 'The lips of the priest shall keep and maintain wisdom; and the law they shall require at his mouth, who is the messenger of the Lord of hosts.' Therefore it is fit and necessary, if a priest will be heard, that he doth show himself the messenger of God, that is to say, that he faithfully report and declare the commandments which he hath received of the Lord. For where Malachi speaketh of hearing of them, he putteth this specially, that they do answer according to the law of the Lord. Therefore, like as the Levitical priests did break their covenant made with God, if they did teach any other law than that which they had received of him, so, likewise, these men must either acknowledge themselves to be covenant-breakers, or else they may not bind the consciences of men with any new law.

How far the office of priests extendeth. Malachi.

Furthermore, what power the prophets had universally, it is very lively described in Ezekiel, chapter xxxiii. 'Thou son of man,' saith the Lord, 'I have made thee a guide unto the house of Israel: thou shalt hear the word out of mine own mouth, and declare it unto them from me.' He then who is commanded to hear of the mouth of the Lord, is he not forbidden to rehearse or speak any thing of himself? for what other thing is it to speak from the Lord, but so to speak that he may boldly affirm and say, that it is not his word, but the word of the Lord, which he speaketh?

Ezekiel.

Further, God, by his prophet Jeremy, calleth it chaff, whatsoever doth not proceed from himself. Wherefore none of the prophets have opened their mouths at any time to speak, but being premonished before by the word of God. Whereupon it happeneth, that these words are so often pronounced by them, 'The word of the Lord;' 'the charge or burden of the Lord;' 'the vision of the Lord;' 'thus saith the Lord;' 'the mouth of the Lord hath spoken it.'

Jeremy.

Now, that we may also confirm that which is before spoken, by the examples of the apostles, that they have taught nothing but that which they have learned of the Lord, the law which Christ prescribed unto them, when he endowed them with the dignity and honour of the apostleship, is somewhat more profoundly to be repeated. In Matthew xxviii. he commandeth them to go forth and teach, not such things as they themselves did rashly invent or devise, but those things which he had commanded them.

The apostles.

Furthermore, Paul, in 1 Corinthians ii., denieth that he hath any dominion or rule over the faith of the Corinthians, albeit he was ordained by the Lord to be their apostle. If you require and desire a further reason of the moderation of St. Paul, read chap. x. of his Epistle to the Romans, where he teacheth, that faith cometh by hearing. It cometh not by the dreams of the bishop of Rome, or of any other bishop, but only by the word of God.

St. Paul.

Neither ought any man to think it strange, that Christ restrained his apostles by the law, that they should not teach any thing but that which they had learned of the mouth of the Lord: he set the same law upon himself, because it should not be lawful for any man to refuse it. 'My doctrine,' saith Christ, 'is not mine, but his which sent me; my Father's. He who hath been the only and eternal counsellor of the Father, who also is ordained by the Father the Lord and Master over all, yet, for so much as he hath the office and part of a minister, he doth by his example prescribe unto all ministers, what rule and order they ought to follow in teaching. Wherefore the power of the church is not such, that she may, at her own will and discretion, teach new doctrines, or, as they term it, frame new articles of faith, or establish new laws; but is subject unto the word of the Lord, and as it were included in the same.

The church subject to the word of God.

But now let us behold what defence they do bring for their constitutions. The apostles, say they, and the elders of the primitive church, established a decree, besides the commandment of Christ, whereby they did command all people to abstain from all things offered unto idols, suffocation, and blood: If that were lawful for them so to do, why is it not lawful for their successors, as often as necessity shall require, to imitate and to follow them in doing the like?

Reason wherewith they defend their constitutions.

But I deny that the apostles, in that behalf, did make any new decree or

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ordinance, forasmuch as Peter, in the same council, pronounceth God to be tempted, if any yoke be laid upon the necks of the disciples. Even he himself doth subvert and overthrow his own sentence, if they consent to lay any yoke upon them.—But a yoke *is* laid upon them, if the apostles, by their own authority, do decree to prohibit the gentiles not to touch any thing offered unto idols or strangled. But, you will say, they *do* write that they should abstain from those things.—I grant that they do so write: but what doth St. James declare? that the gentiles who are converted unto God, are not to be troubled and vexed in such extern decrees and outward elements as these be. And the apostle sufficiently declareth that he goeth about nothing less, than to restrain the liberty of the gentiles, but only to admonish and warn them, how they should moderate and rule themselves among their brethren, lest they should abuse their liberty to the offence of the others.

Answer. St. Peter. St. James.

Another reason.

They allege furthermore, that which is written in Matthew xxiii., 'The Scribes and Pharisees have sitten in the chair of Moses; therefore, all things whatsoever they command you to observe and keep, the same observe and do; but do you not as they do.'

Answer.

I answer, the Lord in this place doth inveigh against the manners of the Pharisees, simply instructing his hearers whom before he had taught, that albeit they could perceive or see nothing in their life which they should follow, yet, for all that, they should not refuse to do the things which they did teach by the word: I say by the word, and not of their own head.

THE TENTH ARTICLE.

'Divers and many ways he hath said, holden, and also affirmed, and openly taught, that there is no religion to be observed or kept, but simply to be abolished and destroyed, as it is now in England; and, despising all religion, affirming that it is but an abusion of the people, he hath taught that their habits and vestures are deformed and very monstrous, having in them no manner of utility or holiness; inducing and alluring, as much as in him lay, all the adherents of his opinion, that all the religion in the kingdom of Scotland should be subverted and utterly taken away, to the great offence of the catholic church, and the diminishing and detriment of the christian religion.'

Sir John Borthwike's Answer.

The prophet Isaiah, in his fifth chapter, crieth out, saying, 'Wo be unto you which call evil good, and good evil, darkness light, and light darkness, sour sweet, and sweet sour.' And it followeth in the same place, in the said prophet, 'Wo,' saith he, 'to you that be wise and sapient in your own eyes, and prudent in your own estimation.' No man can deny but that the cardinal of Scotland and his adherents be under this most heavy and grievous curse, when they do so generally confound the christian religion and their wicked monkery, that they do entitle them both by one name of holiness. I trust I will make it appear more manifest than the day, that they do it by a sacrilegious audacity or boldness, unto such as, setting apart all preposterous affection, will embrace the truth, when she doth manifestly show herself.

But before I enter into the matter, I will all men to understand, that I do not touch that kind of monkery, which St. Augustine and others do so often make mention of; as in which the monks, being gathered together, utterly contemning and despising the vanities of this world, did lead a most chaste and godly life, living in prayers, reading, and disputations; not puffed up with pride; nor contentious with frowardness, neither full of envy: no man possessed any things of his own; no man was chargeable or burdenous unto others. They wrought with their hands, to get that which might sustain the body, the spirit and mind not let and hindered from God. Whatsoever did superabound more than was necessary for their sustentation (as, by the restraint of their delicious and delicate fare much did redound of the labours of their hands), it was with such diligence distributed unto the poor and needy, as it was not with greater diligence gotten by them that did give the same. For they by no means went about to have abundance lying by them, but sought all means possible, that nothing should remain by them more than sufficient. Besides

this, no man was forced to any extremity, which he could not bear or suffer, no man had any thing laid upon him which he refused, neither was he condemned of the rest, who confessed himself unable to imitate or follow. They had always in their mind how commendable a thing love and charity was; they remembered that all things are clean to them which are clean: therefore they did not refuse or reject any kinds of meat as polluted or defiled; but all their whole industry and labour was applied to subdue lust and concupiscence, and to retain love amongst brethren. Many of them did drink no wine, yet, notwithstanding, they thought not themselves defiled therewithal: for unto such as were sick and diseased, who could not recover the health of their body without the same, they did most gently permit it. And whereas many foolishly refused the same, they brotherly admonished them to take heed that they became not rather the weaker than the holier, through their vain superstition.

Hitherto I have repeated that which St. Augustine writeth of the monks of his time, whereby I would, as it were, paint out in a table, what manner of monkery there was in the old time, that all men might understand how great difference there is between that, and the monkery in these our later days. For he would have all extreme compulsion to be taken away in such things as, by the word of God, are left to us at liberty. But, now-a-days, there is nothing more severely and cruelly exacted: for they say it is a remediless offence if any do, but ever so little, swerve from their prescript order, in colour or kind of garment, or in any kind of meat, or in any other frivolous or vain ceremony.

Precepts of men more cruelly exacted than the precepts of God.

St. Augustine doth straightly affirm, that it is not lawful for monks to live idle upon other men's labour. He plainly denieth that in his time there was any such example of any well-ordered monastery. But our monks do constitute the principal part of holiness in idleness, which they call a contemplative life; wherefore the state or monkery of the old time, and of these our days, is in all points so diverse, that scarce can any thing be more unlike (I will not say, utterly contrary); for our monks, not content with that godliness to the study and desire whereof Christ commandeth all his continually to be attentive, imagine a new kind of godliness, I know not what, by the meditation whereof they are more perfect than all others. But it is a most pestilent error (which all godly men ought to abhor), to feign any other rule of perfection, than that common rule delivered unto the whole universal church, which we suppose to be sufficiently approved in the refutation of the article before passed.

Idleness and pleasure the weapons of the ancient enemy.

Now I also pass over with silence the great blasphemy, whereby they compare their monastical confession unto baptism. I also hold my peace, that they do dissipate and divide the communion of the church, when they do separate themselves from the lawful society and fellowship of the faithful, and claim unto themselves a peculiar ministry and private administration of the sacraments: but, as St. Augustine witnesseth, it was so far off, that the monks, in times past, had any several church or administration of the sacraments from others, that they were a part and portion of the common people, albeit they dwelt asunder.

But if a man may touch the manner of these our monks, what shall I call the cloisters in these our days, otherwise than brothel-houses, swine styes, and dens of discord. Besides that, I will pass over their fairs and markets, which, in these later days they do make of their relics of martyrs, to build up Sodom again. Wherefore, I conclude that this their kind of life which they claim unto themselves, is utterly wicked and naught, the which is not established or grounded upon any certain calling of God, neither allowed by him; wherefore I may be bold to say that it is unlawful, because their conscience hath nothing whereby to sustain itself before God; and whatsoever is not of faith is sin.

And furthermore, so long as they do entangle and bind themselves with so many and so perverse and wicked kinds of worshipping as the monkery now-a-days doth contain in it, I may well say that they are not consecrated unto God, but unto the devil. For why? was it lawful for the prophets to say, that the Israelites did offer their children unto wicked spirits, and not unto God, because they did corrupt and violate the true worshipping of God with profane ceremonies—is it not lawful then to speak the like of our monks, who, together with their cowls, have put on a thousand snares of most wicked superstitions? Let every man now weigh and consider with himself, if I have done wickedly to wish such religions as is this our monkery, to be utterly extinguished and

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rooted out. Moreover, all christian princes should rightly and truly do their office, if, as in times past, Josias pulled down and overthrew the high places which his elders, the kings of Judah, had builded, so they would abolish and drive away this kind of monks.

THE ELEVENTH ARTICLE.

It is plainly manifest by lawful proofs, that the said John Borthwike had, and presently hath, divers books suspected of heresy, condemned as well by the papal, as also regal and ordinary authorities, and prohibited by the law: that is to say, especially the New Testament, commonly printed, in English; Œcolampadius, Melancthon; and divers treatises of Erasmus and other condemned heretics; also a book entitled 'Unio dissidentium,' the which containeth most manifest and great errors and heretical assumptions; and hath read and studied the same as well openly as privately; and hath presented and communicated them unto others; and, also, hath instructed and taught many Christians in the same, to the end and purpose to divert and turn them away from the true christian and catholic faith.

Sir John Borthwike's Answer.

O good God! who can suffer so great a blasphemy? with what a filthy cankered stomach do these Romish swine note the New Testament with heresy! Who would not judge it a most venomous tongue, which dare pronounce and utter such contumelious words against the holy gospel of our Saviour Christ? Truly these men (howsoever they do pronounce me an arch-heretic) do fill up the measure of all other heretics (I will not say blasphemers), as the Jews, who put Christ to death, did of all other murderers. How then shall these serpents and stock of vipers escape and flee the judgment of everlasting fire? I do not greatly stand or stay, that they do suspect Œcolampadius, Melancthon, or Erasmus, neither am I so mad to plead their cause, who, as they are men of singular learning and eloquence, so do their writings manifestly declare, how falsely and wickedly these sycophants impute this crime and slander of heresy unto them.

THE TWELFTH ARTICLE.

It is manifest, that the said John Borthwike was so obstinate in all the aforesaid errors and heresies, and so maintained and taught them, with such an obdurate heart and mind, that he would not by any means be persuaded from them by his friends, and divers other persons who did dearly love and favour him, but chose rather obstinately to persevere in his said errors.

Sir John Borthwike's Answer.

I am willingly contented to be reduced to the catholic faith, but if Satan raise up any storms or tempests against that, those I do something resist. Wherefore they most shamefully lie, who do otherwise jest or talk of me; for I know not by what reason they call them my friends, who so greatly laboured to convert me, neither will more esteem them than the Midianites, who, in times past, called the children of Israel to do sacrifice unto their idols. And furthermore, I desire the most high and mighty God, that he will never suffer me to swerve or turn away from this so holy, godly, and christian obstinacy and stubbornness. 'The man is blest, that hath set his whole hope and confidence upon the Lord, and hath not regarded or looked upon the proud, or those which follow after lies.'

The Sentence of Condemnation against Sir John Borthwike, knight, by the Cardinal, Bishops, and Abbots in Scotland, A.D. 1540.

Of all which the premises and many other errors by him holden, spoken, published, affirmed, preached, and taught, the common fame and report is, that the said sir John Borthwike is holden, reputed, and accounted of very many, as a heretic, and principal heretic, who holdeth evil opinions of the catholic faith.

Wherefore we, David, by the title of St. Stephen in Mount Celo, prelate and

cardinal of the holy church of Rome, archbishop of St. Andrew's, primate of the whole kingdom of Scotland, and born legate of the apostolic see, sitting after the manner of judges in our tribunal seat, the most holy gospels of God being laid before us, that our judgment might proceed from the face of God, and our eyes might behold and look upon equity and justice; having only God, and the verity and truth of the catholic faith before our eyes; his holy name being first called upon; having, as is before said, hereupon holden a council of wise men, as well divines as lawyers, we pronounce, declare, decree, determine, and give sentence, that the said sir John Borthwike, called captain Borthwike, being suspected, infamed, and accused of the errors and heresies before said, and wicked doctrines manifoldly condemned as is aforesaid, and, by lawful proofs against him in every of the premises had, being convict and lawfully cited and called, not appearing, but as a fugitive, runaway, and absent, even as though he were present, to be a heretic, and is, and hath been convict as a heretic; and as a convict heretic and heresiarch to be punished and chastened with due punishment, and afterwards to be delivered and left unto the secular power. Moreover, we confiscate and make forfeit, and by these presents declare and decree to be confiscated and made forfeit, all and singular his goods, movables and unmovables, howsoever and by whatsoever title they be gotten, and in what place or part soever they be, and all his offices, whatsoever he hath hitherto had: reserving, notwithstanding, the dowry, and such part and portion of his goods, as by the law, custom, and right of this realm, unto persons confiscate ought to appertain. Also we decree, that the picture of the said John Borthwike, being formed, made, and painted to his likeness, be carried through this our city to our cathedral church, and afterwards to the market-cross of the same city, and there, in token of malediction and curse, and to the terror and example of others, and for a perpetual remembrance of his obstinacy and condemnation, to be burned. Likewise we declare and decree, that notwithstanding, if the said John Borthwike be hereafter apprehended and taken, he shall suffer such punishment as is due by order of law unto heretics, without any hope of grace or mercy to be obtained in that behalf. Also we plainly admonish and warn, by the tenor of these presents, all and singular faithful Christians, both men and women, of what dignity, state, degree, order, condition, or pre-eminence soever they be, or with whatsoever dignity or honour ecclesiastical or temporal they be honoured withal, that from this day forward they do not receive or harbour the said sir John Borthwike, commonly called captain Borthwike, being accused, convict, and declared a heretic and arch-heretic, into their houses, hospitals, castles, cities, towns, villages, or other cottages, whatsoever they be; or by any manner of means admit him thereunto, either by helping him with meat, drink, or victuals, or any other thing, whatsoever it be; they show unto him any manner of humanity, help, comfort, or solace, under the pain and penalty of greater and further excommunication, confiscation, and forfeitures: and if it happen that they be found culpable or faulty in the premises, that they shall be accused there-for as the favourers, receivers, defenders, maintainers, and abettors of heretics, and shall be punished there-for, according to the order of law, and with such pain and punishment as shall be due unto men in such behalf.

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The picture of Borthwike cursed and condemned.

And now, to prosecute such others as followed, beginning first in order with Thomas Forret and his fellows: their story is this.

The Story of Thomas Forret, Priest, and his Fellows.

Thomas Forret, Priest; Friar John Kelow, Friar Beverage, Duncan Sympson, Priest; Robert Foster a Gentleman, with three or four other men of Stirling; Martyrs.

Their Persecutors: David Beaton, Bishop and Cardinal of Saint Andrews; George Creighton, Bishop of Dunkeld.

Not long after the burning of David Stratton and Master Gurlay above-mentioned, in the days of David Beaton, bishop, and cardinal

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Thomas Forret, priest.

George Creighton bishop of Dunkeld, a persecutor.

of St. Andrews, and George Creighton, bishop of Dunkeld, a canon of St. Colm's Inche,[1] and vicar of Dolor, called dean Thomas Forret, preached every Sunday to his parishioners out of the Epistle or Gospel as it fell for the time; which then was a great novelty in Scotland, to see any man preach, except a black friar or a grey friar: and therefore the friars envied him, and accused him to the bishop of Dunkeld (in whose diocese he remained), as a heretic, and one that showed the mysteries of the Scriptures to the vulgar people in English, to make the clergy detestable in the sight of the people. The bishop of Dunkeld, moved by the friars' instigation, called the said dean Thomas, and said to him, "My joy dean Thomas, I love you well, and therefore I must give you my counsel, how you shall rule and guide yourself." To whom Thomas said, "I thank your lordship heartily." Then the bishop began his counsel after this manner:

Bishop:—'My joy dean Thomas! I am informed that you preach[2] the epistle or gospel every Sunday to your parishioners, and that you take not the cow, nor the uppermost cloth from your parishioners, which thing is very prejudicial to the churchmen; and therefore, my joy dean Thomas, I would you took your cow, and your uppermost cloth, as other churchmen do; or else it is too much to preach every Sunday: for in so doing you may make the people think that we should preach likewise. But it is enough for you, when you find any good epistle, or any good gospel, that setteth forth the liberty of the holy church, to preach that, and let the rest be.'

The Martyr:—Thomas answered, 'My lord, I think that none of my parishioners will complain that I take not the cow, nor the uppermost cloth, but will gladly give me the same, together with any other thing that they have; and I will give and communicate with them any thing that I have; and so, my lord, we agree right well, and there is no discord among us. And whereas your lordship saith, It is too much to preach every Sunday, indeed I think it is too little, and also would wish that your lordship did the like.'

Bishop:—'Nay, nay, dean Thomas,' saith my lord, 'let that be, for we are not ordained to preach.'[3]

Martyr:—Then said Thomas, 'Whereas your lordship biddeth me preach when I find any good epistle, or a good gospel, truly, my lord, I have read the New Testament and the Old, and all the epistles and the gospels, and among them all I could never find an evil epistle, or an evil gospel: but, if your lordship will show me the good epistle and the good gospel, and the evil epistle and the evil gospel, then I shall preach the good, and omit the evil.'

Bishop:—Then spake my lord stoutly and said, 'I thank God that I never knew what the Old and New Testament was; [and of these words rose a proverb which is common in Scotland, Ye are like the bishop of Dunkeldene, that knew neither new nor old law:] therefore, dean Thomas, I will know nothing but my portuese and my pontifical. Go your way, and let be all these fantasies; for if you persevere in these erroneous opinions, ye will repent it, when you may not mend it.'

A proverb in Scotland.

Martyr:—'I trust my cause be just in the presence of God, and therefore I pass not much what do follow thereupon.'

And so my lord and he departed at that time. And soon after a summons was directed from the cardinal of St. Andrews and the said bishop of Dunkeld, upon the said dean Thomas Forret, upon two black friars, one called friar John Kelow, and another called Beverage, and

(1) Insh-Colme or Insh-Mahomo.—Ed.

(2) Forret preacheth, and will take no mortuary nor chrism of his parishioners: ergo, he is a heretic against the pope's catholic church.

(3) It is too much in the pope's church, to preach every Sunday. The bishop of Dunkeld was not ordained to preach!

upon one priest of Stirling, called Duncan Sympson, and one gentleman called Robert Foster in Stirling, with other three or four with them, of the town of Stirling; who, at the day of their appearance after their summoning, were condemned to the death without any place for recantation, because (as was alleged) they were heresiarchs, or chief heretics and teachers of heresies; and, especially, because many of them were at the bridal and marriage of a priest, who was vicar of Tulibothy beside Stirling, and did eat flesh in Lent at the said bridal. And so they were all together burned upon the castle hill at Edinburgh,[1] where they that were first bound to the stake, godly and marvellously did comfort them that came behind.

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The Manner of Persecution used by the Cardinal of Scotland against certain Persons in St. John's-town, or Perth.

Robert Lamb, William Anderson, James Hunter, James Raveleson, James Finlason, Hellen Stirke, his wife; Martyrs.

Persecutor: David Beaton, Bishop and Cardinal of St. Andrews.[2]

First, there was a certain act of parliament made in the government of the lord Hamilton, earl of Arran, and governor of Scotland, giving privilege to all men of the realm of Scotland, to read the Scriptures in their mother tongue and language; secluding nevertheless all reasoning, conference, convocation of people to hear the Scriptures read or expounded. Which liberty of private reading being granted by public proclamation, lacked not its own fruit, so that in sundry parts of Scotland thereby were opened the eyes of the elect of God to see the truth, and abhor the papistical abominations; amongst whom were certain persons in St. John's-town, as after is declared.

Proclamation permitting the private reading of the Scripture.

At this time there was a sermon made by friar Spence, in St. John's-town, otherwise called Perth, affirming prayer made to saints to be so necessary, that without it there could be no hope of salvation to man. This blasphemous doctrine a burgess of the said town, called Robert Lamb, could not abide, but accused him, in open audience, of erroneous doctrine, and adjured him, in God's name, to utter the truth. This the friar, being stricken with fear, promised to do; but the trouble, tumult, and stir of the people increased so, that the friar could have no audience, and yet the said Robert, with great danger of his life, escaped the hands of the multitude, namely, of the women, who, contrary to nature, addressed them to extreme cruelty against him.

Blasphemous doctrine of a papist.

Robert Lamb, martyr.

Lamb in great danger.

At this time, A.D. 1543, the enemies of the truth procured John Charterhouse, who favoured the truth, and was provost of the said city and town of Perth, to be deposed from his office by the said governor's authority, and a papist, called Master Alexander Marbeck, to be chosen in his room, that they might bring the more easily their wicked and ungodly enterprise to an end.

A papist set in office.

(1) The last day of February, 1538-9, according to Keith, upon whose authority, in his history of the Church of Scotland, several of the proper names in this and the following narration have been corrected.—Ed.

(2) In Burnet's History of the Reformation, London, 1820, vol. ii. part 2, page 371, is the bull of pope Paul, constituting cardinal Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrews, legate 'a latere' in the kingdom of Scotland.—Ed.

Scottish History. A.D. 1543 to 1558.

After the deposing of the former provost, and election of the other, in the month of January the year aforesaid, on St. Paul's day, came to St. John's-town, the governor, the cardinal, the earl of Argyle, justice sir John Campbell of Lundie, knight, and justice Defort, the lord Borthwike, the bishops of Dunblane and Orkney, with certain other of the nobility. And although there were many accused for the crime of heresy (as they term it), yet these persons only were apprehended upon the said St. Paul's day: Robert Lamb, William Anderson, James Hunter, James Raveleson, James Finlason, and Hellen Stirke his wife, and were cast that night in the Spay Tower of the said city, the morrow after to abide judgment.

Divers cast into prison.

Upon the morrow, when they appeared and were brought forth to judgment in the town, were laid in general to all their charge, the violating of the act of parliament before expressed, and their conference and assemblies in hearing and expounding of Scripture against the tenor of the said act; Robert Lamb was accused, in special, for interrupting of the friar in the pulpit; which he not only confessed, but also affirmed constantly, that it was the duty of no man, who understood and knew the truth, to hear the same impugned without contradiction; and therefore sundry who were there present in judgment, who hid the knowledge of the truth, should bear the burden in God's presence, for consenting to the same.

Hanging St. Francis in a cord.

The said Robert also, with William Anderson and James Raveleson, were accused for hanging up the image of St. Francis in a cord, nailing of rams' horns to his head, and a cow's rump to his tail, and for eating of a goose on Allhallow-even.

Hunter, for using suspect company.

James Hunter, being a simple man and without learning, and a flesher by occupation, so that he could be charged with no great knowledge in doctrine, yet, because he often used that suspected company of the rest, he was accused.

Hellen Stirke for calling upon Jesus and not our Lady in childbed.

The woman Hellen Stirke was accused, for that in her childbed she was not accustomed to call upon the name of the Virgin Mary, being exhorted thereto by her neighbours, but only upon God for Jesus Christ's sake; and because she said, in like manner, that if she herself had been in the time of the Virgin Mary, God might have looked to her humility and base estate, as he did to the Virgin's, in making her the mother of Christ: thereby meaning, that there were no merits in the Virgin, which procured her that honour, to be made the mother of Christ, and to be preferred before other women, but that only God's free mercy exalted her to that estate: which words were counted most execrable in the face of the clergy, and of the whole multitude.

Raveleson's for setting up a triple crown of St. Peter.

James Raveleson aforesaid, building a house, set upon the round of his fourth stair, the three-crowned diadem of Peter carved out of tree, which the cardinal took as done in mockage of his cardinal's hat; and this procured no favour to the said James, at their hands.

These aforenamed persons, upon the morrow after St. Paul's day, were condemned and judged to death, and that by an assize, for violating (as was alleged) the act of parliament, in reasoning and conferring upon Scripture, for eating flesh upon days forbidden, for interrupting the holy friar in the pulpit, for dishonouring of images, and for blaspheming of the Virgin Mary, as they alleged.

After sentence given, their hands were bound, and the men cruelly treated: which thing the woman beholding, desired likewise to be bound by the sergeants with her husband for Christ's sake. *Scottish History.* A.D. 1543 to 1558.

There was great intercession made by the town in the mean season for the life of these persons aforenamed, to the governor, who of himself was willing so to have done, that they might have been delivered: but the governor was so subject to the appetite of the cruel priests, that he could not do that which he would. Yea, they menaced to assist his enemies and to depose him, except he assisted their cruelty.

There were certain priests in the city, who did eat and drink before in these honest men's houses, to whom the priests were much bounden. These priests were earnestly desired to entreat for their hostess at the cardinal's hands: but they altogether refused, desiring rather their death, than preservation. So cruel are these beasts, from the lowest to the highest.

Then after, they were carried by a great band of armed men (for they feared rebellion in the town except they had their men of war) to the place of execution, which was common to all thieves, and that to make their cause appear more odious to the people. The martyrdom of these good people.

Robert Lamb, at the gallows' foot, made his exhortation to the people, desiring them to fear God, and leave the leaven of papistical abominations, and manifestly there prophesied of the ruin and plague which came upon the cardinal thereafter. So every one comforting another, and assuring themselves that they should sup together in the kingdom of heaven that night, they commended themselves to God, and died constantly in the Lord.

The woman desired earnestly to die with her husband, but she was not suffered; yet, following him to the place of execution, she gave him comfort, exhorting him to perseverance and patience for Christ's sake, and, parting from him with a kiss, said on this manner, "Husband, rejoice, for we have lived together many joyful days; but this day, in which we must die, ought to be most joyful unto us both, because we must have joy for ever; therefore I will not bid you good night, for we shall suddenly meet with joy in the kingdom of heaven." The woman, after that, was taken to a place to be drowned, and albeit she had a child sucking on her breast, yet this moved nothing the unmerciful hearts of the enemies. So, after she had commended her children to the neighbours of the town for God's sake, and the sucking bairn was given to the nurse, she sealed up the truth by her death.[1]

The Condemnation of Master George Wisehart,[2] Gentleman,

WHO SUFFERED MARTYRDOM FOR THE FAITH OF CHRIST JESUS AT ST. ANDREW'S IN SCOTLAND, A.D. 1546, MARCH THE FIRST; WITH THE ARTICLES OBJECTED AGAINST HIM, AND HIS ANSWERS TO THE SAME.

With most tender affection and unfeigned heart consider, gentle reader, the uncharitable manner of the accusation of Master George

(1) Ex Regist. et instrumentis á Scotia missis. [The whole of this account, and the preceding one of sir John Borthwike, are extant in the Latin Edition of Foxe's book published at Basle in 1559, pp. 170 to 179.—Ed.]

(2) Wishart, Wisehard, or Guiscard.—Ed.

Scottish History. A. D. 1543 to 1558.

Wischart, made by the bloody enemies of Christ's faith. Note also the articles whereof he was accused, by order digested, and his meek answers so far as he had leave and leisure to speak. Finally, ponder with no dissembling spirit the furious rage and tragical cruelness of the malignant church, in persecuting of this blessed man of God; and, on the contrary, his humble, patient, and most godly answers made to them suddenly without all fear, not having respect to their glorious menacings and boisterous threats, but charitably and without stop answering, not moving his countenance, nor changing his visage, as in his accusation hereafter following manifestly shall appear.

But before I enter into his articles, I thought it not impertinent somewhat to touch concerning the life and conversation of this godly man, according as of late it came to my hands, and certified in writing by a certain scholar of his, some time named Emery Tylney, whose words of testimonial, as he wrote them to me, here follow.

Emery Tylney's Account of Master George Wischart.

About the year of our Lord 1543, there was, in the university of Cambridge, one Master George Wisehart, commonly called Master George of Benet's college, who was a man of tall stature, polled-headed, and on the same a round French cap of the best; judged to be of melancholy complexion by his physiognomy, black haired, long bearded, comely of personage, well spoken after his country of Scotland, courteous, lowly, lovely, glad to teach, desirous to learn, and was well travelled; having on him for his habit or clothing, never but a mantle or frieze gown to the shoes, a black millian fustian doublet, and plain black hosen, coarse new canvass for his shirts, and white falling bands and cuffs at his hands. All the which apparel he gave to the poor, some weekly, some monthly, some quarterly, as he liked, saving his French cap, which he kept the whole year of my being with him.

He was a man modest, temperate, fearing God, hating covetousness; for his charity had never end, night, noon, nor day; he forbare one meal in three, one day in four for the most part, except something to comfort nature. He lay hard upon a puff of straw and coarse new canvass sheets, which, when he changed, he gave away. He had commonly by his bed-side a tub of water, in the which (his people being in bed, the candle put out and all quiet) he used to bathe himself, as I, being very young, being assured, often heard him, and, in one light night, discerned him. He loved me tenderly, and I him, for my age, as effectually. He taught with great modesty and gravity, so that some of his people thought him severe, and would have slain him; but the Lord was his defence. And he, after due correction for their malice, by good exhortation amended them and went his way. Oh that the Lord had left him to me, his poor boy, that he might have finished that he had begun! for in his religion he was as you see here, in the rest of his life, when he went into Scotland with divers of the nobility, that came for a treaty to king Henry the Eighth. His learning was no less sufficient than his desire; always pressed and ready to do good in that he was able, both in the house privately, and in the school publicly, professing and reading divers authors.

If I should declare his love to me and all men; his charity to the poor, in giving, relieving, caring, helping, providing, yea, infinitely studying how to do good unto all, and hurt to none, I should sooner want words, than just cause to commend him.

All this I testify with my whole heart and truth, of this godly man. He that made all, governeth all, and shall judge all, knoweth that I speak the truth, that the simple may be satisfied, the arrogant confounded, the hypocrite disclosed.

Τέλος.

Emery Tylney.

Dogmata ejusdem Georgii.

Scottish History.

A. D. 1543 to 1558.

Fides sola sine operibus justificat.
Opera ostendunt et ostentant fidem.
Romana ecclesia putative caput mundi.
Lex canonica caput papæ.
Missæ ministerium, mysterium iniquitatis.

Wisehart summoned out of prison to appear.

To the said Master George, being in captivity in the castle of St. Andrews, the dean of the same town was sent by the commandment of the cardinal,[1] and by his wicked counsel, and there summoned the said Master George, that he should, upon the morning following, appear before the judge, then and there to give account of his seditious and heretical doctrine. To whom Master George thus answered:

His answer to the dean that summoned him.

Wisehart: 'What needeth,' said he, 'my lord cardinal to summon me to answer for my doctrine openly before him, under whose power and dominion I am thus straitly bound with irons? May not my lord compel me to answer of his extort power? or believeth he that I am unprovided to render account of my doctrine? To manifest yourselves what men ye are, it is well done that ye keep your old ceremonies and constitutions made by men.'

Wisehart brought again before the bishops.

Upon the next morning, the lord cardinal caused his servants to address themselves in their most warlike array, with jack,[2] knapskal, splent, spear, and axe, more seeming for the war, than for the preaching of the true word of God. And when these armed champions, marching in warlike order, had conveyed the bishops into the abbey church, incontinently they sent for Master George, who was conveyed unto the said church by the captain of the castle, accompanied with a hundred men, addressed in manner aforesaid. Like a lamb led they him to sacrifice. As he entered into the abbey-church door, there was a poor man lying, vexed with great infirmities, asking of his alms, to whom he flung his purse. And when he came before the lord cardinal, by and by the sub-prior of the abbey, called dean John Winryme, stood up in the pulpit, and made a sermon to all the congregation there then assembled, taking his matter out of Matthew xiii.

Casteth his purse to a poor man.

BRIEF ACCOUNT OF THE SERMON OF DEAN JOHN WINRYME.

The sermon was divided into four principal parts. The first part was a brief and short declaration of the evangelist. The second part, of the interpretation of the good seed. And because he called the word of God the good seed, and heresy the evil seed, he declared what heresy was, and how it should be known; which he defined on this manner: Heresy is a false opinion defended with pertinacy, clearly repugning the word of God.

Heresy defined.

The third part of the sermon was, the cause of heresy within that realm, and all other realms. 'The cause of heresy,' quoth he, 'is the ignorance of them that have the cures of men's souls: to whom it necessarily belongeth to have the true understanding of the word of God, that they may be able to win again the false doctors of heresies, with the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God; and not only to win again, but also to overcome them, as saith Paul: A bishop must be faultless, as it becometh the minister of God, not stubborn, nor angry; no drunkard, no fighter, nor given to filthy lucre, but harbourous; one that loveth goodness; sober-minded, righteous, holy, temperate, and such as cleaveth unto the true word of doctrine; that he may be able to exhort with wholesome learning, and to disprove that which they say against him.[3]

The cause of heresy.

(1) Here commences Foxe's reprint of the pamphlet referred to in the note on p. 636.—Ed.
(2) Jack, a leathern vessel for carrying water.—Ed. (3) Tit. i.

Scottish History. A. D. 1543 to 1558.

The fourth part of his sermon was, how heresies should be known. 'Heresy,' quoth he, 'be known after this manner: as the goldsmith knoweth the fine gold from the unperfect, by the touchstone, so likewise may we know heresy by the undoubted touchstone; that is, the true, sincere and undefiled word of God.' At last, he added, that heretics should be put down in this present life: to which proposition the gospel appeared to repugn, which he treated of. 'Let them grow unto the harvest.' The harvest is the end of the world. Nevertheless, he affirmed that they should be put down by the civil magistrate and law.

THE EXAMINATION OF MASTER GEORGE WISEHART.

And when he ended his sermon, incontinently they caused Master George to ascend into the pulpit, there to hear his accusation and articles. And right against him stood up one of the fed flock, a monster, John Lauder, laden full of cursings written in paper. Of these he took out a roll, both long and also full of cursings, threats, maledictions, and words of devilish spite and malice, saying to the innocent Master George so many cruel and abominable words, and hitting him so spitefully with the pope's thunder, that the ignorant people dreaded lest the earth then would have swallowed him up quick. Notwithstanding Master George stood still with great patience, hearing their sayings, not once moving or changing his countenance.

John Lauder accuser.

The way to fear the ignorant.

Fruits of their charity.

When that this fed sow had read throughout all his lying menacings, his face running down with sweat, and frothing at the mouth like a boar, he spit at Master George's face, saying, "What answerest thou to these sayings, thou runnagate! traitor! thief! which we have duly proved by sufficient witness against thee?" Master George, hearing this, kneeled down upon his knees in the pulpit, making his prayer to God. When he had ended his prayer, sweetly and christianly he answered to them all in this manner:

Master George Wisehart: 'Many and horrible sayings unto me a christian man, many words abominable to hear, ye have spoken here this day, which not only to receive, but also once to think, I thought ever great abomination. Wherefore I pray your discretions quietly to hear me, that ye may know what were my sayings and the manner of my doctrine.

Three causes why Wisehart desired to be heard.

'This my petition, my lords, I desire to be heard for three causes. The first is, because, through preaching of the word of God, his glory is made manifest. It is reasonable therefore, for the advancing of the glory of God, that ye hear me, teaching truly the pure word of God, without any dissimulation.

'The second reason is, because that your health springeth of the word of God; for he worketh all things by his word. It were, therefore, an unrighteous thing, if ye should stop your ears from me, teaching truly the word of God.

'The third reason is, because your doctrine uttereth many blasphemous and abominable words, not coming of the inspiration of God, but of the devil, with no less peril than of my life. It is just, therefore, and reasonable, that your discretions should know what my words and doctrine are, and what I have ever taught in my time in this realm, that I perish not unjustly, to the great peril of your souls. Wherefore, both for the glory and honour of God, your own health, and safeguard of my life, I beseech your discretions to hear me; and, in the mean time, I shall recite my doctrine without any colour.

Wisehart's doctrine.

'First and chiefly, since the time I came into this realm I taught nothing but the ten Commandments of God, the twelve Articles of the Faith, and the Prayer of the Lord in the mother tongue. Moreover in Dundee, I taught the Epistle of St. Paul to the Romans. And I shall show your discretions faithfully, what fashion and manner I used when I taught, without any human dread, so that your discretions give me your ears benevolent and attent.'

Suddenly then, with a high voice cried the accuser, the fed sow, 'Thou heretic, runnagate, traitor, and thief! it was not lawful for thee to preach. Thou hast taken the power at thine own hand, without any authority of the church. We forethink that thou hast been a preacher too long.' *Scottish History.* A.D. 1543 to 1558.

Then all the whole congregation of the prelates, with their complices, said these words; "If we give him license to preach, he is so crafty, and in the holy Scriptures so exercised, that he will persuade the people to his opinion, and raise them against us." The cry of the scribes and pharisees.

Master George, seeing their malicious and wicked intent, appealed from the lord cardinal to the lord governor, as to an indifferent and equal judge. To whom the accuser, John Lauder aforesaid, with hoggish voice answered, "Is not my lord cardinal the second person within this realm, chancellor of Scotland, archbishop of St. Andrews, bishop of Mirepois,[1] commendator of Aberbroshok,[2] legatus natus, legatus à latere?" And so, reciting as many titles of his unworthy honours as would have laden a ship, much sooner an ass, "Is not he," quoth John Lauder, "an equal judge apparently unto thee? Whom else desirest thou to be thy judge?" Wisehart appealeth to the governor. The style and titles of the archbishop of St. Andrews.

To whom this humble man, answering, said thus:

Wisehart: 'I refuse not my lord cardinal, but I desire the word of God to be my judge, and the temporal estate, with some of your lordships mine auditors, because I am here my lord governor's prisoner.'

Hereupon the prideful and scornful people that stood by mocked him, saying, "Such man, such judge!" speaking seditious and reproachful words against the governor and other the nobles; meaning them, also, to be heretics. And incontinent, without all delay, they would have given sentence upon Master George, and that without further process, had not certain men there counselled the cardinal to read again the articles, and to hear his answers thereupon, that the people might not complain of his wrongful condemnation. The words of the people against the governor.

And shortly to declare, these were the articles following, with his answers, as far as they would give him leave to speak: for when he intended to mitigate their leasings, and to show the manner of his doctrine, by and by they stopped his mouth with another article.

First Article. 'Thou false heretic, runnagate, traitor, and thief, deceiver of the people! thou despisest the holy church's, and in like case contemnest my lord governor's authority. And this we know for surety, that when thou preachedst in Dundee, and wast charged by my lord governor's authority to desist, nevertheless thou wouldst not obey, but perseveredst in the same; and therefore the bishop of Brechin cursed thee, and delivered thee into the devil's hands, and gave thee in commandment that thou shouldst preach no more. Yet notwithstanding thou didst continue obstinately.' Article.

Wischart: 'My lords! I have read in the Acts of the Apostles, that it is not lawful to desist from the preaching of the gospel for the threats and menaces of men. Therefore it is written, We shall rather obey God than man.[3] I have also read in Malachi, I shall curse your blessings, and bless your cursings, saith the Lord:[4] believing firmly, that he will turn your cursings into blessings.' Answer.

(1) 'Mirepoix in the province of Languedoc, to which he was consecrated on the 5th of December, 1537; and so I find him styled at home here, 'Administratoris Episcopatus Mirapicen, in Gallia.' See Keith's Scottish Bishops, p. 23.—ED.

(2) 'Aberbroshok,' now Arbroath.—ED. (3) Acts v. (4) Mal. ii.

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II. 'Thou, false heretic! didst say, that the priest, standing at the altar, saying mass, was like a fox wagging his tail in July.'

Wisehart: 'My lords! I said not so. These were my sayings: The moving of the body outward, without the inward moving of the heart, is nought else but the playing of an ape, and not the true serving of God. For God is a secret searcher of men's hearts: therefore, who will truly adore and honour God, he must in spirit and verity honour him.'

Then the accuser stopped his mouth with another article.

Article. III. 'Thou, false heretic! preachedst against the sacraments, saying, that there were not seven sacraments.'

Answer. Of the seven sacraments. *Wisehart:* 'My lords! if it be your pleasures, I never taught of the number of the sacraments, whether they were seven or eleven. So many as are instituted by Christ, and are showed to us by the evangely, I profess openly. Except it be the word of God, I dare affirm nothing.'

Article. IV. 'Thou, false heretic! hast openly taught, that auricular confession is not a blessed sacrament. And thou sayest, that we should only confess us to God, and to no priest.'

Answer. Confession, what it is, and to whom made. *Wisehart:* 'My lords! I say, that auricular confession, seeing that it hath no promise of the evangely, therefore it cannot be a sacrament. Of the confession to be made to God, there are many testimonies in Scripture, as when David saith, I thought I would acknowledge mine iniquity against myself unto the Lord, and he forgave the punishment of my sin.[1] Here confession signifieth the secret acknowledging of our sins before God. When I exhorted the people in this manner, I reproved no manner of confession. And further St. James saith, Acknowledge your faults one to another, and pray one for another, that you may be healed.'[2]

When he had said these words, the bishops and their complices cried, and grinned with their teeth, saying, "See ye not what colours he hath in his speaking, that he may beguile us and seduce us to his opinion?"

Article. V. 'Thou heretic didst say openly, that it was necessary to every man to know and understand his baptism, and what it was: contrary to general councils and the estate of the holy church.'

Answer. Baptism how necessary it is to be known of all men. *Wisehart:* 'My lords! I believe there be none so unwise here, that will make merchandise with a Frenchman, or any other unknown stranger, except he know and understand first the condition or promise made by the Frenchman or stranger. So likewise I would that we understood what thing we promise in the name of the infant unto God in baptism. For this cause I believe ye have confirmation.'

Then said Master Blecter, chaplain, that he had the devil within him, and the spirit of error. Then answered him a child,[3] saying, "The devil cannot speak such words as yonder man doth speak."

Article. VI. 'Thou heretic, traitor, and thief! thou saidst, that the sacrament of the altar was but a piece of bread baked upon the ashes, and no other thing else; and that all that is there done, is but a superstitious rite, against the commandment of God.'

Answer. The papists reproved for liars and misreporters. *Wisehart:* 'O Lord God! so manifest lies and blasphemies the Scripture doth not teach you. As concerning the sacrament of the altar, my lords! I never taught any thing against the Scripture; which I shall, by God's grace, make manifest this day, I being therefore ready to suffer death.

'The lawful use of the sacrament is most acceptable unto God; but the great abuse of it is very detestable unto him. But what occasion they have to say such words of me, I shall shortly show your lordships. I once chanced to meet with a Jew, when I was sailing on the water of Rhine. I did inquire of

(1) Psalm xxxii. (2) James v. (3) 'Ex ore infantium.'

him what was the cause of his pertinacity, that he did not believe that the true Messias was come, considering that they had seen all the prophecies which were spoken of him to be fulfilled. Moreover, by the prophecies taken away, and the sceptre of Judah, and by many other testimonies of the Scripture, I vanquished him, and proved that Messias was come, whom they called Jesus of Nazareth. This Jew answered again unto me, When Messias cometh, he shall restore all things; and he shall not abrogate the law, which was given to our forefathers, as ye do. For why? we see the poor almost perish through hunger amongst you; yet you are not moved with pity toward them: but, amongst us Jews, though we be poor, there are no beggars found.' The story of a Jew.

'Secondly, it is forbidden by the law to feign any kind of imagery of things in heaven above, or in the earth beneath, or in the sea under the earth; but one God only is to be honoured: but your sanctuaries and churches are full of idols.' Images.

'Thirdly, a piece of bread baken upon the ashes ye adore and worship, and say, that it is your God.—I have rehearsed here but the sayings of the Jew, which I never affirmed to be true.' Then the bishops shook their heads, and spitted on the earth, and what I meant further in this matter they would not hear. The sacrament of the altar.

VII. 'Thou, false heretic! didst say, that extreme unction was not a sacrament.' Article.

Wisehart: 'My lords! forsooth, I never taught any thing of extreme unction in my doctrine, whether it were a sacrament or no.' Answer.

VIII. 'Thou, false heretic! saidst, that holy water is not so good as wash, and such like. Thou condemnest conjuring, and saidst, holy church's cursings avail not.' Article.

Wisehart: 'My lords! as for holy water what strength it is of, I taught never in my doctrine. Conjurings, and exorcisms, if they were conformable to the word of God I would commend them; but, insomuch as they are not conformable to the commandment and word of God, I reprove them.' Answer.

IX. 'Thou, false heretic and runnagate! hast said, that every layman is a priest, and such like. Thou saidst, that the pope hath no more power, than any other man.' Article.

Wisehart: 'My lords! I taught nothing but the word of God. I remember that I have read in some places in St. John and St. Peter, of the which the one saith, He hath made us kings and priests; the other saith, He hath made us a kingly priesthood.[1] Wherefore I have affirmed, that any man, being cunning in the word of God, and the true faith of Jesu Christ, hath his power given him of God, and not by the power or violence of men, but by the virtue of the word of God, which word is called, the power of God, as witnesseth St. Paul evidently enough.[2] And again I say, that any unlearned man, and not exercised in the word of God, nor yet constant in his faith, whatsoever estate or order he be of, I say, he hath no power to bind or loose, seeing he wanteth the instrument, by which he bindeth or looseth; that is to say, the word of God.' Answer. The instrument to bind and loose.

After he had said these words, all the bishops laughed, and mocked him. When that he beheld their laughing, "Laugh ye," saith he, "my lords? Though that these sayings appear scornful, and worthy of derision to your lordships, nevertheless they are very weighty to me, and of a great value, because they stand not only upon my life, but also the honour and glory of God." In the mean time many godly men, beholding the madness and great cruelty of the bishops, and the invincible patience of Master George, did greatly mourn and lament.

X. 'Thou, false heretic! saidst, that a man hath no free will, but is like to the Stoics, who say, that it is not in man's will to do any thing, but that all concupiscence and desire cometh of God, of whatsoever kind it be.' Article.

(1) Apoc. i. & v.; 1 Pet. ii. (2) Rom. i.

Scottish History. A. D. 1543 to 1558.

Wisehart: 'My lords! I said not so, truly. I say, that as many as believe in Christ firmly, unto them is given liberty, conformably to the saying of St. John, If the Son make you free, then shall ye verily be free.[1] On the contrary, as many as believe not in Christ Jesus, they are bondservants of sin: He that sinneth, is bound to sin.'

Article. XI. 'Thou, false heretic! saidst, it is as lawful to eat flesh upon the Friday, as on Sunday.'

Answer. Eating of meats. The creature doth not sanctify without the word.

Wisehart: 'Pleaseth it your lordships, I have read in the epistles of St. Paul, that who is clean, unto him all things are clean. On the contrary, to the filthy man all things are unclean. A faithful man, clean and holy, sanctifieth by the word the creature of God: but the creature maketh no man acceptable unto God. So that a creature may not sanctify any impure and unfaithful man: but to the faithful man all things are sanctified by the word of God and prayer.'[2]

After these sayings of Master George, then said all the bishops with their complices, "What needeth us any witness against him? hath he not here openly spoken blasphemy?"

Article. XII. 'Thou, false heretic! didst say, that we should not pray to saints, but to God only. Say whether thou hast said this, or no; say shortly!'

Answer. To honour one God is certain.

Wisehart: 'For the weakness and infirmity of the hearers,' he said, 'without doubt plainly—saints should not be honoured. My lords,' said he, 'there are two things worthy of note. The one is certain, the other uncertain. It is found plain and certain in Scripture, that we should worship and honour one God, according to the saying of the first commandment, Thou shalt only worship and honour thy Lord God, with all thy heart.[3] But, as for praying to and honouring of saints, there is great doubt among many, whether they hear, or not, invocation made unto them: therefore I exhorted all men equally in my doctrine, that they should leave the unsure way, and follow that way which was taught us by our master Christ. He is our only mediator, and maketh intercession for us to God his Father. He is the door by which we must enter in. He that entereth not in by this door, but climbeth another way, is a thief and a murderer. He [Christ] is the verity and life. He that goeth out of this way, there is no doubt but he shall fall into the mire; yea verily, is fallen into it already. This is the fashion of my doctrine, the which I have ever followed. Verily, that which I have heard and read in the word of God, I taught openly, and in no corners. And now ye shall witness the same, if your lordships will hear me. Except it stand by the word of God, I dare not be so bold to affirm any thing.'

The sure way is to be followed.

These sayings he rehearsed divers times.

Article. XIII. 'Thou, false heretic! hast preached plainly, saying that there is no purgatory, and that it is a feigned thing, for any man after this life to be punished in purgatory.'

Answer. Purgatory not once named in Scripture.

Wisehart: 'My lords! as I have oftentimes said heretofore, without express witness and testimony of the Scripture I dare affirm nothing. I have oft and divers times read over the Bible, and yet such a term found I never, nor yet any place of Scripture applicable thereunto. Therefore I was ashamed ever to teach of that thing which I could not find in the Scripture.'

Then said he to Master John Lauder his accuser, "If you have any testimony of the Scripture, by which you may prove any such place, show it now before this auditory." But this dolt had not a word to say for himself, but was as dumb as a beetle in that matter.

Article. XIV. 'Thou, false heretic! hast taught plainly against the vows of monks, friars, nuns, and priests; saying, that whosoever was bound to such like vows, they vowed themselves to the estate of damnation. Moreover, that it was lawful for priests to marry wives, and not to live sole.'

(1) John viii. (2) 1 Tim. iv. (3) Matt. iv.

Wisehart: 'Of sooth, my lords, I have read in the evangely, that there are three kinds of chaste men; some are eunuchs from their mothers' womb; some are made such by men; and some have made themselves such for the kingdom of heaven's sake.[1] Verily, I say, these men are blessed by the Scripture of God. But as many as have not the gift of chastity, nor yet for the evangely have overcome the concupiscence of the flesh, and have vowed chastity; ye have experience, although I should hold my peace, to what inconvenience they have vowed themselves.' *Scottish History.* A.D. 1543 to 1558. Answer.

When he had said these words, they were all dumb, thinking better to have ten concubines, than one wife.

XV. 'Thou, false heretic and runnagate! sayest, thou wilt not obey our general nor provincial councils.' Article.

Wisehart: 'My lords! what your general councils are, I know not; I was never exercised in them: but to the pure word of God I gave my labours. Read here your general councils, or else give me a book wherein they are contained, that I may read them. If they agree with the word of God, I will not disagree.' Answer.

Then the ravening wolves turned unto madness and said, "Wherefore do we let him speak any further? Read forth the rest of the articles, and stay not upon them." Among these cruel tigers there was one false hypocrite, a seducer of the people, called John 'Grey-fiend' Scot, standing behind John Lauder's back, hastening him to read the rest of the articles, and not to tarry upon his witty and godly answers: "For we may not abide them," quoth he, "no more than the devil may abide the sign of the cross, when it is named." They run apace to shed blood. A hasty butcher to his slaughter.

XVI. 'Thou heretic sayest, that it is vain to build to the honour of God costly churches, seeing that God remaineth not in churches made with men's hands, nor yet can God be in so little space as betwixt the priest's hands.' Article.

Wisehart: 'My lords! Solomon saith, If that the heaven of heavens cannot comprehend thee, how much less this house that I have builded?[2] And Job consenteth to the same sentence: Seeing that he is higher than the heavens, therefore what canst thou build unto him? He is deeper than hell, then how shalt thou know him? He is longer than the earth, and broader than the sea.[3] So that God cannot be comprehended into one place, because that he is infinite. These sayings notwithstanding, I never said that churches should be destroyed, but, on the contrary, I affirm ever, that churches should be sustained and upholden; that the people should be congregated into them, there to hear of God. And moreover, wheresoever is true preaching of the word of God, and the lawful use of the sacraments, undoubtedly there is God himself; so that both these sayings are true together: God cannot be comprehended in any place; and, Wheresoever two or three are gathered together in his name, there is he present in the midst of them.' Answer. Wherefore unto churches should serve.

Then said he to his accuser, "If you think any otherwise than I say, show forth your reasons before this auditory." Then he, without all reason being dumb, and not answering one word, proceeded forth in his articles.

XVII. 'Thou, false heretic! contemnest fasting, and sayest, Thou shouldst not fast.' Article.

Wisehart: 'My lords! I find that fasting is commended in the Scripture; therefore I were a slanderer of the gospel, if I contemned fasting. And not so only, but I have learned by experience, that fasting is good for the health of the body: but God knoweth who fasteth the true fast.' Answer.

(1) Matt. xiii. (2) 1 Kings viii. (3) Job xi.

Scottish History. A. D. 1543 to 1558.

XVIII. 'Thou, false heretic! hast preached openly, saying, that the soul of man shall sleep till the latter day of judgment, and shall not obtain life immortal until that day.'

Wisehart: 'God, full of mercy and goodness, forgive them that say such things of me! I wot and know surely by the word of God, that he who hath begun to have the faith of Jesus Christ, and believeth firmly in him, I know surely that the soul of that man shall never sleep, but ever shall live an immortal life: which life from day to day is renewed in grace and augmented: nor yet shall ever perish or have an end, but shall live ever immortal with Christ.' To the which life all that believe in him shall come, and rest in eternal glory. Amen.

Answer. The faithful soul shall never sleep.

When the bishops with their complices had accused this innocent man in manner and form aforesaid, incontinently they condemned him to be burned as a heretic, not having respect to his godly answers and true reasons which he alleged, nor yet to their own consciences, thinking verily that they should do to God good sacrifice, conformably to the saying of Christ, "They shall excommunicate you: yea, and the time shall come, that he which killeth you, shall think that he hath done to God good service."[1]

The Prayer of Master George Wisehart, for the Congregation of God.

'O Immortal God! how long shalt thou suffer the madness and great crudelity of the ungodly to exercise their fury upon thy servants which do further thy word in this world, seeing they desire to do the contrary, that is, to choke and destroy the true doctrine and verity, by the which thou hast showed thyself unto the world, which was all drowned in blindness and misknowledge of thy name. O Lord! we know surely that thy true servants must needs suffer, for thy name's sake, persecution, affliction and troubles in this present life, which is but a shadow, as thou hast showed to us by thy prophets and apostles. But yet we desire thee heartily, that thou conserve, defend, and help thy congregation, which thou hast chosen before the beginning of the world, and give them thy grace to hear thy word, and to be thy true servants in this present life.'

Then, by and by, they caused the common people to void away, whose desire was always to hear that innocent man to speak. Then the sons of darkness pronounced their sentence definitive, not having respect to the judgment of God. And when all this was done and said, the cardinal caused his warders to pass again with the meek lamb into the castle, until such time as the fire was made ready. When he was come unto the castle, then there came two grey fiends, friar Scot and his mate, saying, "Sir, ye must make your confession unto us." He answered and said, "I will make no confession unto you. Go fetch me yonder man that preached this day, and I will make my confession unto him." Then they sent for the sub-prior of the abbey, who came to him with all diligence." But what he said in this confession, I cannot show.

When the fire was made ready, and the gallows, at the west part of the castle near to the priory, the lord cardinal, dreading that Master George should have been taken away by his friends, commanded to bend all the ordnance of the castle right against that part, and commanded all his gunners to be ready and stand beside their guns, until such time as he were burned. All this being done, they bound Master George's hands behind his back, and led him forth

(1) John xvi.

with their soldiers from the castle, to the place of their wicked execution. As he came forth of the castle-gate, there met him certain beggars, asking his alms for God's sake. To whom he answered, "I want my hands, wherewith I should give you alms; but the merciful Lord, of his benignity and abundance of grace, that feedeth all men, vouchsafe to give you necessaries, both unto your bodies and souls." Then afterwards met him two false fiends, I should say friars, saying, "Master George, pray to our Lady, that she may be mediatrix for you to her Son." To whom he answered meekly, "Cease, tempt me not, my brethren!" After this he was led to the fire with a rope about his neck, and a chain of iron about his middle.

Wisehart prayeth for the poor, and answereth the friars.

When he came to the fire, he sat down upon his knees, and rose again, and thrice he said these words, "O thou Saviour of the world! have mercy on me. Father of heaven! I commend my spirit into thy holy hands." When he had made this prayer, he turned him to the people, and said these words:

The Exhortation of Wisehart to the People, at his Death.

'I beseech you, christian brethren and sisters! that ye be not offended in the word of God, for the affliction and torments, which ye see already prepared for me: but I exhort you, that you love the word of God, and suffer patiently and with a comfortable heart, for the word's sake, which is your undoubted salvation, and everlasting comfort.

'Moreover, I pray you, show my brethren and sisters, which have heard me oft before, that they cease not, nor leave off the word of God which I taught unto them after the grace given to me, for any persecutions or troubles in this world, which lasteth not; and show unto them, that my doctrine was no old wives' fable, after the constitutions made by men. And if I had taught men's doctrine, I had gotten great thanks by men: but, for the word's sake and true evangely, which was given to me by the grace of God, I suffer this day by men, not sorrowfully, but with a glad heart and mind. For this cause I was consent, that I should suffer this fire, for Christ's sake. Consider and behold my visage, ye shall not see me change my colour. This grim fire I fear not. And so I pray you to do, if that any persecution come unto you for the word's sake; and not to fear them that slay the body, and afterwards have no power to slay the soul. Some have said of me, that I taught, that the soul of man should sleep until the last day. But I know surely, and my faith is such, that my soul shall sup with my Saviour Christ this night (ere it be six hours), for whom I suffer this.'

The constant patience of this good man.

Then he prayed for them that accused him, saying:

'I beseech thee, Father of heaven! to forgive them that have of any ignorance, or else have, of any evil mind, forged any lies upon me: I forgive them with all my heart. I beseech Christ to forgive them that have condemned me to death this day ignorantly.'

Wisehart prayeth for his enemies.

And last of all he said to the people on this manner:

'I beseech you, brethren and sisters, to exhort your prelates to the learning of the word of God, that they at the last may be ashamed to do evil, and learn to do good. And if they will not convert themselves from their wicked error, there shall hastily come upon them the wrath of God, which they shall not eschew.'

Wisehart prophesieth of the death of Beaton.

Many faithful words said he in the mean time, taking no heed or care of the cruel torments, which were then prepared for him. And, at last of all, the hangman, that was his tormentor, sat down upon

Scottish History. A. D. 1546 to 1558.

his knees, and said, "Sir, I pray you forgive me, for I am not guilty of your death." To whom he answered, "Come hither to me." When he was come to him, he kissed his cheek, and said, "Lo! here is a token that I forgive thee. My heart, do thine office." And by and by he was put upon the gibbet and hanged, and there burned to powder. When the people beheld the great tormenting, they might not withhold from piteous mourning and complaining of this innocent lamb's slaughter.[1]

A NOTE OF THE JUST PUNISHMENT OF GOD UPON THE CRUEL CARDINAL ARCHBISHOP OF ST. ANDREWS, NAMED DAVID BEATON.

It was not long after the martyrdom of the blessed man of God, Master George Wisehart aforesaid, who was put to death by David Beaton, the bloody archbishop and cardinal of Scotland, as is above specified, A.D. 1546, the first day of March, but the said David Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrews, by the just revenge of God's mighty judgment, was slain within his own castle of St. Andrew's, by the hands of one Leslie and other gentlemen, who, by the Lord stirred up, brake in suddenly into his castle upon him, and in his bed murdered him the said year, the last day of May, crying out, "Alas! alas! slay me not! I am a priest!" And so, like a butcher he lived, and like a butcher he died, and lay seven months and more unburied, and at last like a carrion was buried in a dunghill, A.D. 1546, the last day of May.

The death of David Beaton, archbishop of St. Andrews.

Hamilton archbishop of St. Andrews, a persecutor.

After this David Beaton succeeded John Hamilton, archbishop of St. Andrews, A.D. 1549, who, to the intent that he might in no ways appear inferior to his predecessor, in augmenting the number of the holy martyrs of God, in the next year following called a certain poor man to judgment, whose name was Adam Wallace. The order and manner of whose story here followeth.

The Story and Martyrdom of Adam Wallace in Scotland.

There was set, upon a scaffold made hard to the chancelary wall of the Black-friars' church in Edinburgh, on seats made thereupon, the lord governor. Above him, at his back, sat Master Gawin Hamilton, dean of Glasgow, representing the metropolitan pastor thereof. Upon a seat on his right hand sat the archbishop of St. Andrews. At his back, and aside somewhat, stood the official of Lothian. Next to the bishop of St. Andrews, the bishop of Dunblane, the bishop of Moray, the abbot of Dunfermline, the abbot of Glenluce, with other churchmen of lower estimation, as the official of St. Andrews,

(1) 'Ex Historia impressâ.' [This alludes to a small pamphlet published about the time of cardinal Beaton's death, the general title of which is '*The tragical death of David Beatō Bishoppe of Sainct Andrewes in Scotland: wherunto is joyned the martyrdom of Maister Wyseharte, &c.; imprinted at London, by John Day, and William Seres.*' The book is in eights, and the tragedy of Beaton is printed in small, and Wishart's trial in large black letter. The date of printing is not mentioned, but it is probable that it was printed soon after Beaton's death. Foxe has embodied the whole in his Acts and Monuments. It is remarkable that this pamphlet had become so scarce in Scotland, even in the time of John Knox, a contemporary of Foxe, that the former, in his history of the Reformation, speaks of it, as accessible to the public in Foxe's work alone; and prefaces his own reprint of the trial with these words: 'The manner of his (Wishart's) accusation, proofs, and answers following, as we have received the same from The Book of Martyrs, which, word by word, we have here inserted; and that, because the said book, for the price thereof, is rare to be had.' Maitland, also, in his 'Antiquities of Scotland,' (fol. Edinb. 1757), quotes largely from 'The Book of Martyrs,' for his account of this trial. See vol. ii. p. 824.—Also M'Crie's Life of Knox (notes), vol. i. p. 368. Edit. 1813.—ED.]

and other doctors of that nest and city; and, at the other end of the seat sat Master Uchiltry. On his left hand sat the earl of Argyle, justice, with his deputy sir John Campbell of Lundie under his feet. Next him the earl of Huntley. Then the earl of Angus, the bishop of Galloway, the prior of St. Andrews, the bishop of Orkney, the lord Forbes, dean John Winryme sub-prior of St. Andrews; and behind the seats stood the whole senate, the clerk of the register,[1] &c. *Scottish History.* A. D. 1549 to 1558.

At the further end of the chancelary wall, in the pulpit, was placed Master John Lauder, parson of Marbotle, accuser, clad in a surplice and red hood, and a great congregation of the whole people, in the body of the church, standing on the ground.

After that, sir John Ker, prebendary of St. Giles's church, was accused, convicted, and condemned, for the false making and giving forth of a sentence of divorce (whereby he falsely divorced and parted a man and his lawful wife), in the name of the dean of Restalrig, and certain other judges appointed by the holy father the pope. He granted the falsehood, and that never any such thing was done indeed, nor yet meant or moved by the aforesaid judges, and was agreed to be banished the realms of Scotland and England for his lifetime, and to lose his right hand, if he were found or apprehended therein after, and in the mean time to leave his benefices for ever, and they to be vacant. Barabbas let go; poor Christ taken and crucified.

After that was brought in Adam Wallace, a simple poor man in appearance, conveyed by John of Cumnock, servant to the bishop of St. Andrews, and set in the midst of the scaffold, who was commanded to look to the accuser, who asked him what was his name. He answered, "Adam Wallace." The accuser said, he had another name, which he granted, and said he was commonly called Fean. Then asked he where he was born? "Within two miles of Fayle," said he, "in Kyle."[2] Then said the accuser, "I repent that ever such a poor man as you should put these noble lords to so great incumbrance this day by your vain speaking." "And I must speak," said he, "as God giveth me grace, and I believe I have said no evil to hurt any body." "Would God," said the accuser, "ye had never spoken; but you are brought forth for such horrible crimes of heresy, as never were imagined in this country before, and that shall be sufficiently proved, that ye cannot deny it; and I forethink that it should be heard for hurting of weak consciences. Now I will yea thee no more, and thou shalt hear the points that thou art accused of." Wallace brought in before the scribes and pharisees.

Accuser: 'Adam Wallace, alias Fean: thou art openly delated and accused for preaching, saying, and teaching of the blasphemies and abominable heresies under written. In the first, thou hast said and taught that the bread and wine on the altar, after the words of consecration, are not the body and blood of Jesus Christ.' First article.

He turned to the lord governor, and lords aforesaid, saying thus:

Wallace: 'I never said, nor taught any thing but that I found in this book, and writ (having there a Bible at his belt in French, Dutch, and English), which is the word of God: and if you will be content that the Lord God and Answer.

(1) Convenerunt scribæ et pharisæi adversus Dominum, et adversus Christum ejus.
(2) 'Kyle,' one of the subdivisions of Airshire.—Ed.

Scottish History. A. D. 1549 to 1558.

his word be judge to me, and this his holy writ, here it is; and where I have said wrong, I shall take that punishment you shall put to me: for I never said any thing concerning this that I am accused of, but that which I found in this writ.'

"What didst thou say?" said the accuser:

Wallace: 'I said that after our Lord Jesus Christ had eaten the paschal lamb in his latter supper with his apostles, and fulfilled the ceremonies of the old law, he instituted a new sacrament in remembrance of his death then to come. He took bread, he blessed, and brake it, and gave it to his disciples, and said, Take ye, eat ye: this is my body which shall be broken and given for you. And likewise the cup he blessed, and bade them drink all thereof, for that was the cup of the New Testament which should be shed for the forgiving of many. How oft ye do this, do it in my remembrance."[1]

Then said the bishop of St. Andrews and the official of Lothian, with the dean of Glasgow, and many other prelates, "We know this well enough." The earl of Huntley said, "Thou answerest not to that which is laid to thee; say either nay or yea thereto."

Wallace: 'If ye will admit God and his word spoken by the mouth of his blessed Son Jesus Christ, our Lord and Saviour, ye will admit that which I have said: for I have said and taught nothing but what the word, which is the trial and touchstone, saith; which ought to be judge to me, and to all the world.'

"Why," quoth the earl of Huntley, "hast thou not a judge good enough? and trowest thou that we know not God and his word? Answer to that is spoken to thee." And then they made the accuser speak the same thing over again. "Thou sayest," quoth the accuser, "and hast taught, that the bread and the wine in the sacrament of the altar, after the words of the consecration, are not the body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ."

Wallace: 'I never said more than the writ saith, nor yet more than I have said before. For I know well by St. Paul, when he saith, Whosoever eateth this bread, and drinketh of this cup unworthily, receiveth to himself damnation. And therefore, when I taught (which was but seldom, and to them only who required and desired me), I said, that if the sacrament of the altar were truly ministered, and used as the Son of the living God did institute it, where that was done, there was God himself by his divine power, by the which he is over all.'

The bishop of Orkney asked him, "Believest thou not," said he, "that the bread and wine in the sacrament of the altar, after the words of the consecration, is the very body of God? flesh, blood, and bone?"

Wallace answereth by his creed.

Wallace: 'I wot not what that word consecration meaneth. I have not much Latin, but I believe that the Son of God was conceived of the Holy Ghost, and born of the Virgin Mary, and hath a natural body, with hands, feet, and other members; and in the same body he walked up and down in the world, preached and taught, he suffered death under Pontius Pilate; was crucified, dead, and buried; and that by his godly power he raised that same body again the third day: and the same body ascended into heaven, and sitteth at the right hand of the Father, which shall come again to judge both the quick and the dead.

(1) Matt. xxvi.

'And that this body is a natural body with hands and feet, and cannot be in two places at once, he showeth well himself; for which everlasting thanks be to him that maketh this matter clear. When the woman brake that ointment on him, answering to some of his disciples who grudged thereat, he said, The poor shall you always have with you, but me ye shall not have always:[1] meaning of his natural body. And likewise at his ascension, said he to the same disciples that were fleshly, and would ever have had him remaining with them corporally, It is needful for you that I pass away, for if I pass not away, the Comforter the Holy Ghost shall not come to you[2] (meaning that his natural body behoved to be taken away from them): but be stout and be of good cheer, for I am with you unto the world's end.[3]

'And that the eating of his very flesh profiteth not, may well be known by his words which he spake in John vi., where, after he had said, Except ye eat my flesh and drink my blood, ye shall not have life in you;[4] they murmuring thereat, he reproved them for their gross and fleshly taking of his words, and said, What will ye think when ye see the Son of man ascend to the place that he came from? It is the Spirit that quickeneth, the flesh profiteth nothing (to be eaten as they took it, and even so take ye it).'

The eating of the very flesh of Christ profiteth nothing.

"It is a horrible heresy," said the bishop of Orkney. When Wallace began to speak again, and bade the lord governor judge if he had right by the writ, the accuser cried, "Ad secundam." "Nunc ad secundam," answered the archbishop of St. Andrews.

Then was he bidden to hear the accuser, who propounded the second article, and said, "Thou saidst likewise, and openly didst teach, that the mass is very idolatry, and abominable in the sight of God."

The second article.

Wallace: 'I have read the Bible and word of God in three tongues, and have understood them so far as God gave me grace, and yet never read I that word mass in it all: but I found,' said he, 'that the thing that was highest and most in estimation amongst men, and not in the word of God, was idolatry, and abominable in the sight of God. And I say, the mass is holden greatly in estimation, and high amongst men, and is not founded in the word; therefore, I said, it was idolatry, and abominable in the sight of God. But if any man will find it in the Scripture, and prove it by God's word, I will grant mine error, and that I have failed: otherwise not. And in that case I will submit me to all lawful correction and punishment.'

Answer.

The mass not found in Scripture argument.

"Ad tertiam," said the archbishop. Then said the accuser, "Thou hast said and openly taught, that the God which we worship, is but bread sown of corn, growing of the earth, baked of men's hands, and nothing else."

The third article.

Wallace: 'I worship the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, three persons in one Godhead, who made and fashioned the heaven and earth, and all that is therein of nought: but I know not which God you worship; and if you will show me whom you worship, I will show you what he is, as I can, by my judgment.'

Answer.

The pope's God.

"Believest thou not," said the accuser, "that the sacrament of the altar, after the words of the consecration, betwixt the priest's hands, is the very body and blood of the Son of God, and God himself?"

Wallace: 'What the body of God is, and what kind of body he hath, I have showed you, so far as I have found in the Scripture.'

Answer.

(1) Matt. xxvi. (2) John xvi (3) Matt. xxviii. (4) John vi.

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Then said the accuser, "Thou hast preached, said, and openly taught, divers and sundry other great errors and abominable heresies against all the seven sacraments, which, for shortness of time, I pretermit and overpass. Whether dost thou grant thy aforesaid articles that thou art accused of, or no? and thou shalt hear them shortly." And then repeated the accuser the three articles aforesaid shortly over, and asked him whether he granted or denied them?

Wallace answered that which before he had said of his answers, and that he said nothing but agreeing to the holy word as he understood; so God judge him, and his own conscience accuse him: and thereby would he abide unto the time he were better instructed by Scripture, and the contrary proved, even to the death. And he said thus to the lord governor and other lords:

The words of Wallace to the lord governor and the lords.

Wallace. "If you condemn me for holding by God's word, my innocent blood shall be required at your hands, when ye shall be brought before the judgment-seat of Christ, who is mighty to defend my innocent cause; before whom ye shall not deny it, nor yet be able to resist his wrath; to whom I refer the vengeance as it is written, Vengeance is mine and I will reward."[1]

Sentence of condemnation given against Wallace.

Then gave they forth sentence, and condemned him by the laws, and so left him to the secular power, in the hands of sir John Campbell, justice-deputy, who delivered him to the provost of Edinburgh to be burned on the Castle Hill, who incontinent made him to be put in the uppermost house in the town, with irons about his legs and neck, and gave charge to sir Hugh Terry to keep the key of the said house, an ignorant minister and imp of Satan and of the bishops, who, by direction, sent to the poor man two grey friars to instruct him, with whom he would enter into no communing. Soon after that were sent in two black friars, an English friar, and another subtle sophister, called Arbuthnot, with the which English friar he would have reasoned and declared his faith by the Scriptures; who answered, he had no commission to enter into disputation with him: and so departed and left him.

Sir Hugh Terry an imp of Satan.

Friars sent to instruct Wallace.

The dean of Restalrig sent to Wallace.

Then was sent to him a worldly wise man, and not ungodly in the understanding of the truth, the dean of Restalrig, who gave him christian consolation, among the which he exhorted him to believe the reality of the sacrament after the consecration. But he would consent to nothing that had not evidence in the holy Scripture, and so passed over that night in singing, and lauding God, to the ears of divers hearers, having learned the Psalter of David without book, to his consolation: for they had before spoiled him of his Bible, which always, till after he was condemned, was with him wherever he went. After sir Hugh Terry knew that he had certain books to read and comfort his spirit, he came in a rage, and took the same from him, leaving him desolate (to his power) of all consolation, and gave divers ungodly and injurious provocations by his devilish venom, to have perverted him, a poor innocent, from the patience and hope he had in Christ his Saviour: but God suffered him not to be moved therewith, as plainly appeared to the hearers and seers for the time.

The books of the good man taken from him.

So all the next morning abode this poor man in irons, and provision was commanded to be made for his burning against the next

(1) Heb. x.

day; which day the lord governor, and all the principal both spiritual and temporal lords, departed from Edinburgh to their other business.

A.D. 1550 to 1558.

After they were departed, came the dean of Restalrig to him again, and reasoned with him after his wit; who answered as before, He would say nothing concerning his faith, but as the Scripture testifieth, yea, though an angel came from heaven to persuade him to the same; saying that he confessed himself to have received good consolation of the said dean in other behalf, as becometh a Christian.

Then after came in sir Hugh Terry again, and examined him after his old manner, and said he would garr devils to come forth of him ere even. To whom he answered, "You should rather be a godly man to give me consolation in my case. When I knew you were come, I prayed God I might resist your temptations; which, I thank him, he hath made me able to do: therefore I pray you, let me alone in peace." Then he asked of one of the officers that stood by, "Is your fire making ready?" Who told him, it was. He answered, "As it pleaseth God; I am ready soon or late, as it shall please him." And then he spake to one faithful in that company, and bade him commend him to all the faithful, being sure to meet together with them in heaven. From that time, to his forthcoming to the fire, spake no man with him.

The provost of Edinburgh forbiddeth Wallace to speak.

At his forthcoming, the provost, with great menacing words, forbade him to speak to any man, or any to him; as belike, he had commandment of his superiors. Coming from the town to the Castle Hill, the common people said, "God have mercy upon him." "And on you too," said he. Being beside the fire, he lifted up his eyes to heaven twice or thrice, and said to the people, "Let it not offend you that I suffer death this day for the truth's sake; for the disciple is not greater than his master." Then was the provost angry that he spake. Then looked he to heaven again, and said, "They will not let me speak." The cord being about his neck, the fire was lighted, and so departed he to God constantly, and with good countenance, to our sights.[1]

The words of Wallace to the people.

The Schism that arose in Scotland for the Pater-Noster.

A schism in Scotland by a black-friar, preaching that the Pater-noster should not be said to saints

After that Richard Marshall, doctor of divinity, and prior of the Black Friars at Newcastle in England, had declared in his preaching at St. Andrews in Scotland, that the Lord's Prayer (commonly called the Pater-noster) should be done only to God, and not to saints, neither to any other creature; the doctors of the university of St. Andrews, together with the grey friars, who had long ago taught the people to pray the Pater-noster to saints, had great indignation that their old doctrine should be repugned, and stirred up a grey friar, called friar Tottis, to preach again to the people, that they should and might pray the Pater-noster to saints; who, finding no part of the Scripture to found his purpose upon, yet came to the pulpit the 1st of November, being the feast of All-hallows, A.D. 1551, and took the text of the gospel for that day read in their mass, written in Matthew v., containing these words; "Blessed are the poor in spirit, for to them pertaineth the kingdom of heaven."

(1) Ex testimoniis et literis è Scotia petitis, A.D. 1550. [Knox gives a different public examination, and concludes by saying that 'Wallace patiently sustained the fire, the same day at afternoon.'—Ed.]

Scottish History. A.D. 1551 to 1558.

This feeble foundation being laid, the friar began to reason most impertinently, that the Lord's Prayer might be offered to saints, because every petition thereof appertaineth to them. "For if we meet an old man in the street," said he, "we will say to him, 'Good-day, father!' and therefore much more may we call the saints our fathers; and because we grant also that they be in heaven, we may say to every one of them, 'Our Father which art in heaven:' farther, God hath made their names holy, and therefore ought we, as followers of God, to hold their names holy; and so we may say to any of the saints, 'Our Father which art in heaven, hallowed be thy name.' And for the same cause," said the friar, "as they are in the kingdom of heaven, so that kingdom is theirs by possession; and so, praying for the kingdom of heaven, we may say to them, and every one of them, 'Thy kingdom come.' And except their will had been the very will of God, they had never come to that kingdom. And therefore, seeing their will is God's will, we may say with every one of them, 'Thy will be done.'"

The doctrine of the papists holdeth, that the Pater-noster may be said to saints, and why.

Blasphemous doctrine against the glory of God.

But when the friar came to the fourth petition, touching our daily bread, he began to be astonished and ashamed, so that he did sweat abundantly, partly because his sophistry began to fail him (not finding such a colour for that part, as for the other which went before), and partly because he spake against his own knowledge and conscience; and so he was compelled to confess that it was not in the saints' power to give us our daily bread, but that they should pray to God for us, "that we," said he, "may obtain our daily bread by their intercession:" and so glossed he the rest to the end. Not standing yet content with this detestable doctrine, he affirmed, most blasphemously, that St. Paul's napkin, and St. Peter's shadow, did miracles, and that the virtue of Elijah's cloak divided the waters; attributing nothing to the power of God: with many other errors of the papists, horrible to be heard.

A friarly glossing upon the Pater-noster.

The friar's sophistry here faileth him.

Upon this followed, incontinent, a dangerous schism in the church of Scotland: for not only the clergy, but the whole people were divided among themselves, one defending the truth, and another the papistry; in such sort that there rose a proverb, "To whom say you your Pater-noster?" And although the papists had the upper hand as then, whose words were almost holden for law (so great was the blindness of that age), yet God so inspired the hearts of the common people, that so many as could get the understanding of the bare words of the Lord's Prayer in English (which was then said in Latin), utterly detested that opinion, holding that it should in no wise be said to saints: so that the craftsmen and their servants in their booths, when the friar came, exploded him with shame enough, crying, "Friar Pater-Noster!" "Friar Pater-Noster!" who at the last being convicted in his own conscience, and ashamed of his former sermon, was compelled to leave the town of St. Andrews.

A Scottish proverb.

Friar Pater-noster driven out of St. Andrews.

In the mean time of this bruit, there were two pasquils set on the Abbey Church, the one in Latin, bearing these words:

'Doctores nostri de collegio
Concludunt idem cum Lucifero,
Quod sancti sunt similes altissimo;
Et se tuuntur gravatorio

De mandato officialis,
Ad instantiam fiscalis—
Gaw et Harvey[1], non varii
In præmissis connotarii.'

The other in English, bearing these words:

'Doctors of Theology, of fourscore of years,
And old jolly Lupoys, the bald Grey-friars;
They would be called Rabbi and Magister noster!
And wot not to whom they say their Pater noster!'

Disputation in Scotland to whom they should say their Pater-noster.

Shortly, the Christians were so hotly offended, and the Papists on the other side so proud and wilful, that necessary it was, to eschew greater inconveniences, that the clergy, at least, should be assembled to dispute and conclude the whole matter, that the lay people might be put out of doubt. This being done, and the university agreed, whosoever had been present might have heard much subtle sophistry; for some of the popish doctors affirmed that it should be said to God "formalitèr," and to saints "materialitèr." Others, "ultimatè, et non ultimatè." Others said it should be said to God "principalitèr," and to saints "minus principalitèr." Others that it should be said to God "primariè," and to saints "secundariè." Others that it should be said to God "capiendo strictè," and to saints "capiendo largè."[2] These vain distinctions being heard and considered by the people, they that were simple, remained in greater doubtfulness than they were in before; so that a well aged man, and a servant to the sub-prior of St. Andrews, called the sub-prior's Thome, being demanded to whom he said his Pater-noster, answered, "To God only." Then they asked again, "What should be said to the saints?" He answered, "Give them aves and creeds enough in the devil's name, for that may suffice them well enough, albeit they do spoil God of his right." Others, making their vaunts of the doctors, said, that because Christ (who made the Pater-noster) never came into the isle of Britain, and so understood not the English tongue, therefore it was that the doctors concluded it should be said in Latin.

The answer of an old man.

A doctorly reason why the Pater-noster should be said in Latin.

This perturbation and open slander yet depending, it was thought good to call a provincial council to decide the matter; which being assembled at Edinburgh, the papists, being destitute of reason, defended their parts with lies, alleging that the university of Paris had concluded, that the Lord's Prayer should be said to saints. But, because that could not be proved, and that they could not prevail by reason, they used their will in place of reason, and sometimes despiteful, and injurious talk: as friar Scot, being asked of one to whom he should say the Pater-noster, he answered, saying, "Say it to the devil, knave." So the council, perceiving they could profit nothing by reasoning, were compelled to pass to voting.[3]

The council of Edinburgh could not agree to whom they should say their Pater-noster.

But then, incontinent, they that were called churchmen were found divided and repugnant among themselves: for some bishops, with the doctors and friars, consented that the Pater-noster should be said

The friars and prelates could not

(1) Master D. Gaw and Master Thomas Harvey were two procurators.
(2) Pater-noster to be said to God 'formalitèr,' and to saints 'materialitèr.' 'Ultimatè,' to God, 'non ultimatè,' to saints. 'Principalitèr,' to God, 'minus principalitèr,' to saints. 'Primariè,' to God, 'secundariè,' to saints. 'Strictè,' to God, 'largè,' to saints.
(3) That is, to the numbering of voices.

Scottish History. A.D. 1551 to 1558.

to saints; but the bishops of St. Andrews, Caithness and Athens, with other learned men, refused utterly to subscribe to the same. Finally, with consent of both the parties, commission was given by the holy church to dean John Winryme,[1] then sub-prior of St. Andrews, to declare to the people how, and after what manner, they should pray the Lord's Prayer: who, accepting of the commission, declared that it should be said to God; with some other restrictions, which are not necessary to be put in memory. And so, by little and little, the bruit and tumult ceased.[2]

agree about saying the Paternoster.

The Martyrdom of the blessed Servant of God, Walter Mille.

A.D. 1558.

Among the rest of the martyrs of Scotland, the marvellous constancy of Walter Mille is not to be passed over with silence; out of whose ashes sprang thousands of his opinion and religion in Scotland, who altogether chose rather to die, than to be any longer overtrodden by the tyranny of the aforesaid cruel, ignorant, and brutal bishops, abbots, monks, and friars. And so began the congregation of Scotland to debate the true religion of Christ against the Frenchmen and papists, who sought always to depress and keep down the same; for it began soon after the martyrdom of Walter Mille, of which the form hereafter followeth.

In the year of our Lord, 1558, in the time of Mary duchess of Longueville, queen regent of Scotland, and the said John Hamilton being bishop of St. Andrews, and primate of Scotland, this Walter Mille (who in his youth had been a papist), after he had been in Almain, and had heard the doctrine of the gospel, returned again into Scotland; and, setting aside all papistry and compelled chastity, married a wife; which thing made him unto the bishops of Scotland to be suspected of heresy: and, after long watching of him he was taken by two popish priests, one called sir George Strachen, and the other, sir Hugh Terry, servants to the said bishop for the time, within the town of Dysart in Fife, and brought to St. Andrews and imprisoned in the castle thereof. He, being in prison, the papists earnestly travailed and laboured to have seduced him, and threatened him with death and corporal torments, to the intent they might cause him to recant and forsake the truth. But seeing they could profit nothing thereby, and that he remained still firm and constant, they laboured to persuade him by fair promises, and offered unto him a monk's portion, for all the days of his life, in the abbey of Dunfermling, so that he would deny the things he had taught, and grant that they were heresy; but he, continuing in the truth even unto the end, despised their threatenings and fair promises.

Mille, contrary to his popish vow, married.

Taken by two popish priests.

Then assembled together the bishops of St. Andrews, Moray, Brechin, Caithness, and Athens,[3] the abbots of Dunfermling, Lindores, Balindrinot,[4] and Cowpers,[5] with doctors of theology of St.

Concilium malignantium.

(1) This Winram is now become a godly minister in the church of God, and a married man.

(2) Ex testim. è Scotia allato.

(3) 'Athens.' The pope had conferred on Alexander Gordon the empty title of archbishop of Athens, accompanied by a promise of the next vacant see, in consequence of Gordon's nomination to the see of Glasgow having been over-ruled by the court of Rome, about the year 1547. Gordon was made bishop of the Isles in 1553, and translated from thence to Galloway about the year 1558; but 'he always retained the title of archbishop of Athens.'—See Keith's Scottish Bishops (4to Edin. 1755), p. 175; also p. 166.—Ed.

(4) 'Balindrinot.' Balmerino.

(5) 'Cowpers.' Coupar or Cupar.—Ed.

Andrews; as John Grison, black friar, and dean John Winryme, sub-prior of St. Andrews, William Cranston, provost of the old college, with divers others, as sundry friars black and grey. These being assembled, and having consulted together, he was taken out of prison, and brought to the metropolitan church, where he was put in a pulpit before the bishops to be accused, April the 20th. Being brought into the church, and climbing up into the pulpit, they, seeing him so weak and feeble of person, partly by age and travail, and partly by evil entreatment, that without help he could not climb up, they were out of hope to have heard him, for weakness of voice. But when he began to speak, he made the church to ring and sound again with so great courage and stoutness, that the Christians who were present were no less rejoiced, than the adversaries were confounded and ashamed. He, being in the pulpit, and on his knees at prayer, sir Andrew Oliphant, one of the archbishop's priests, commanded him to arise, and to answer to his articles, saying on this manner, "Sir Walter Mille, arise, and answer to the articles; for you hold my lord here over-long." To whom Walter, after he had finished his prayer, answered, saying, "We ought to obey God more than men: I serve one more mighty, even the Omnipotent Lord. And whereas ye call me sir Walter, call me Walter, and not *sir* Walter; I have been over-long one of the pope's knights. Now say what thou hast to say."

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Mille, for age, could scarce climb to the pulpit.

God giveth strength contrary to man's expectation.

Andrew Oliphant the archbishop's chaplain.

The Articles whereof Walter Mille was accused, with his Answers.

Oliphant:—'What think you of priest's marriage?'

Mille:—'I hold it a blessed bond; for Christ himself maintained it, and approved the same, and also made it free to all men. But you think it not free to you; ye abhor it, and in the mean time take other men's wives and daughters; and will not keep the band that God hath made. Ye vow chastity, and break the same. St. Paul had rather marry than burn; the which I have done, for God never forbade marriage to any man, of what state or degree soever he were.'

Oliphant:—'Thou sayest there be not seven sacraments.'

Mille:—'Give me the Lord's supper and baptism, and take you the rest, and part them among you. For if there be seven, why have you omitted one of them, to wit, marriage, and give yourselves to slanderous and ungodly whoredom?'

Oliphant:—'Thou art against the blessed sacrament of the altar, and sayest, that the mass is wrong, and is idolatry.'

Mille:—'A lord or a king sendeth and calleth many to a dinner; and when the dinner is in readiness, he causeth to ring the bell, and the men come to the hall, and sit down to be partakers of the dinner; but the Lord, turning his back unto them, eateth all himself, and mocketh them:—so do ye.'

A similitude aptly applied.

Oliphant:—'Thou deniest the sacrament of the altar to be the very body of Christ really in flesh and blood.'

Mille:—'The Scripture of God is not to be taken carnally, but spiritually, and standeth in faith only. And as for the mass, it is wrong, for Christ was once offered on the cross for man's trespass, and will never be offered again, for then he ended all sacrifice.'

The sacrifice of the mass.

Oliphant:—'Thou deniest the office of a bishop.'

Mille:—'I affirm that they whom ye call bishops, do no bishop's works, nor use the office of bishops, as Paul biddeth, writing to Timothy, but live after their own sensual pleasure, and take no care of the flock; nor yet regard they the word of God, but desire to be honoured, and called 'my lords.''

Bishops, no bishops.

Oliphant:—'Thou speakest against pilgrimage, and callest it a pilgrimage to whoredom.'

Mille:—'I affirm and say, that it is not commanded in the Scripture; and

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that there is no greater whoredom in any place, than at your pilgrimages, except it be in common brothels.'

Oliphant:—'Thou preachedst secretly and privately in houses, and openly in the fields.'

Mille:—'Yea man, and on the sea also, sailing in a ship.'

Oliphant:—'Wilt thou not recant thy erroneous opinions? And if thou wilt not, I will pronounce sentence against thee.'

Mille constant in the truth.

Mille:—'I am accused of my life; I know I must die once, and therefore, as Christ said to Judas, Quod facis, fac citius. Ye shall know that I will not recant the truth, for I am corn, I am no chaff: I will not be blown away with the wind, nor burst with the flail; but I will abide both.'

Sentence pronounced against him.

These things rehearsed they of purpose, with other light trifles, to augment their final accusation; and then sir Andrew Oliphant pronounced sentence against him, that he should be delivered to the temporal judge, and punished as a heretic; which was, to be burned. Notwithstanding, his boldness and constancy moved so the hearts of many, that the bishop's steward of his regality, provost of the town, called Patrick Lermond, refused to be his temporal judge; to whom it appertained, if the cause had been just: also the bishop's chamberlain, being therewith charged, would in no wise take upon him so ungodly an office. Yea, the whole town was so offended with his unjust condemnation, that the bishop's servants could not get for their money so much as one cord to tie him to the stake, or a tar-barrel to burn him; but were constrained to cut the cords of their master's own pavilion, to serve their turn.

No cord in all the town could be bought to tie him to the stake.

Nevertheless, one servant of the bishop's, more ignorant and cruel than the rest, called Alexander Somervaile, enterprising the office of a temporal judge in that part, conveyed him to the fire, where, against all natural reason of man, his boldness and hardiness did more and more increase, so that the Spirit of God, working miraculously in him, made it manifest to the people, that his cause and articles were most just, and he innocently put down.

The miraculous working of God in Walter Mille.

Now when all things were ready for his death, and he conveyed with armed men to the fire, Oliphant bade him pass to the stake. And he said, "Nay! wilt thou put me up with thy hand, and take part of my death? thou shalt see me pass up gladly: for by the law of God I am forbidden to put hands upon myself." Then Oliphant put him up with his hand, and he ascended gladly, saying, "Introibo ad altare Dei;" and desired that he might have space to speak to the people, which Oliphant and other of the burners denied, saying, that he had spoken over much; for the bishops were altogether offended that the matter was so long continued. Then some of the young men committed both the burners, and the bishops their masters, to the devil, saying, that they believed they should lament that day; and desired the said Walter to speak what he pleased.

Mille denied by the bishops to speak, is permitted by the young men.

And so after he made his humble supplication to God on his knees, he arose, and standing upon the coals, said on this wise:

His words to the people. His constant hardness.

'Dear friends! the cause why I suffer this day is not for any crime laid to my charge (albeit I be a miserable sinner before God), but only for the defence of the faith of Jesus Christ, set forth in the New and Old Testament unto us; for which as the faithful martyrs have offered themselves gladly before, being assured, after the death of their bodies, of eternal felicity, so this day I praise God, that he hath called me of his mercy, among the rest of his servants, to seal

up his truth with my life: which, as I have received it of him, so willingly I offer it to his glory. Therefore, as you will escape the eternal death, be no more seduced with the lies of priests, monks, friars, priors, abbots, bishops, and the rest of the sect of Antichrist; but depend only upon Jesus Christ and his mercy, that ye may be delivered from condemnation.' *Henry VIII.* A.D. 1558.

All that while there was great mourning and lamentation of the multitude; for they, perceiving his patience, stoutness and boldness, constancy and hardiness, were not only moved and stirred up, but their hearts also were so inflamed, that he was the last martyr that died in Scotland for the religion. After his prayer, he was hoisted up upon the stake, and being in the fire, he said, "Lord, have mercy on me! Pray, people, while there is time!" and so he constantly departed. Walter Mille, the last martyr in Scotland.

Epitaphium.

'Non nostra impietas, aut actæ crimina vitæ
Armarunt hostes in mea fata truces:
Sola fides Christi, sacris signata libellis,
Quæ vitæ causa est, est mihi causa necis.'

After this, by the just judgment of God, in the same place where Walter Mille was burnt, the images of the great church of the abbey, which passed both in number and costliness, were burned in the time of reformation.[1]

And thus much concerning such matters as happened, and such martyrs as suffered, in the realm of Scotland, for the faith of Jesus Christ, and testimony of his truth.

Persecution in Kent.

In revolving the registers of William Warham, archbishop of Canterbury, I find, moreover, besides these above comprehended, in the time and reign of king Henry; the names of divers others, whereof some suffered martyrdom for the like testimony of God's word, and some recanted; who, albeit here they do come a little out of order, and should have been placed before, in the beginning of king Henry's reign, yet rather than they should utterly be omitted, I thought here to give them a place, though somewhat out of time, yet not altogether, I trust, without fruit unto the reader; being no less worthy to be registered and preserved from oblivion, than others of their fellows before them. A.D. 1511 to 1539.

A Table of certain true Servants of God and Martyrs omitted,

WHO WERE BURNED IN THE DIOCESE OF CANTERBURY, UNDER WILLIAM WARHAM, ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY; WITH THE NAMES OF THEIR PERSECUTORS AND ACCUSERS. A.D. 1511.

Martyrs:—William Carder, of Tenterden, weaver. Agnes Grebil of Tenterden, wife of John Grebil the elder, and mother to John

(1) Ex fideli testimonio è Scotia misso. [By this and the foregoing references of the same character, it may be inferred that these documents were sent from Scotland to John Foxe when at Basil, compiling his Ecclesiastical History. Spotswood avails himself of this account of Mille, but without acknowledgment—correcting the proper names, and making a few other slight alterations. The venerable martyr himself stated, that he was eighty-two years old. See Petrie's History of the Catholic Church (fol. Hague, 1662, pp. 189—191). Petrie quotes a manuscript written by Lindsay, and preserved in the library of the college of Edinburgh.—Ed.]

Henry VIII. A.D. 1511 to 1539.

and Christopher Grebil, who, with her own husband, accused her to death, being threescore years of age; Robert Harrison, of Halden, of the age of sixty years; John Browne, of Ashford; Edward Walker, of Maidstone, cutler.

Accusers and Witnesses:—William Rich, of Benenden; Agnes Ive, of Canterbury; Robert Hills, of Tenterden; Stephen Castelin, of Tenterden; John Grebil, of Tenterden, husband to Agnes Grebil the martyr; Christopher Grebil, the natural son of Agnes Grebil the martyr; John Grebil the younger, the natural son[1] of Agnes Grebil the martyr; William Olbert, of Godmersham; Lawrence Chyterden; Thomas Harwood, of Rolvenden; Joan Harwood, his wife; Philip Harwood; William Baker of Cranbrook; Edward Walker; Robert Reynold, of Benenden.

Persecutors and Judges:—W. Warham, archbishop of Canterbury; Dr. Cuthbert Tonstal, doctor of both laws, and chancellor of the archbishop; Dr. Sylvester, lawyer; Dr. Wells; Dr. Clement; Dr. Brown; Dr. John Collet, dean of Paul's; Dr. Wodington.

The Articles whereupon these five blessed Martyrs were accused and condemned by the aforesaid Judges and Witnesses, were these:[2]

Articles.

First, For holding that the sacrament of the altar was not the true and very body of Christ, but only material bread in substance.

II. That auricular confession was not to be made to a priest.

III. That no power is given of God to priests, of ministering sacraments, saying mass, or other divine service, more than to laymen.[3]

IV. That the solemnization of matrimony is not necessary to salvation of soul, neither was instituted of God.[4]

V. That the sacrament of extreme unction is not available, nor necessary to soul's health.

VI. That the images of the cross, of the crucifix, of the blessed Virgin, and other saints, are not to be worshipped; and that those who worship them do commit idolatry.

VII. That pilgrimages to holy places, and holy relics, be not necessary, nor meritorious to soul's health.

VIII. That invocation is not to be made to saints, but only to God, and that he only heareth their prayers.

IX. That holy bread and holy water have no more virtue after their consecration, than before.

X. That they have believed, taught, and holden all and every of the same damnable opinions before; as they did at that present.

XI. That whereas they now have confessed their errors, they would not have so done, but only for fear of manifest proofs brought against them, or else but for fear to be convicted by them: they would never have confessed the same of their own accord.

XII. That they have communed and talked of the said damnable errors heretofore, with divers other persons, and have had books concerning the same.

THE ORDER AND FORM OF PROCESS USED AGAINST THESE MARTYRS AFORESAID: AND FIRST OF WILLIAM CARDER, A.D. 1511.

William Carder, being convented before William Warham, archbishop, and his chancellor Cuthbert Tonstal, Doctors Sylvester,

(1) Natural son, as distinguished from son-in-law.—Ed. (2) Ex Regist. W. Warh.
(3) Their meaning was this, that priests can claim no more virtue or high estate by their order than can a layman.
(4) For a sacrament, they meant.

Wells, Clement, Brown, with others more, the notaries being William Potking, and David Cooper, the articles and interrogatories above specified were laid unto him. Which articles he there and then denied, affirming that he never did nor doth hold any such opinions, otherwise than becometh that every christian man should do, ready to conform himself in all points to their doctrine; and therefore, to clear himself the better against those interrogatories objected against him, he stood in denial of the same. The like also did every of the other four martyrs after him.

The strait dealing of Warham, archbishop of Canterbury.

All which notwithstanding, the uncharitable archbishop, seeking all advantages against him that he might, and more than right law would give, brought in against him such witnesses as before were abjured, who, he knew, for fear of relapse, durst do none other but disclose whatsoever they knew; to wit, Christopher Grebil, William Rich, Agnes Ive, John Grebil, Robert Hills, and Stephen Castelin: whose depositions being taken, and the said Carder being asked what he could say for himself, he had nothing, he said, to produce against their attestations, but submitted him unto their mercy: saying, moreover, that if he had ever any misbelief of the sacraments of the church, contrary to the common holding of the catholics, he now was sorry and repented him thereof. This being done, the archbishop, this his submission notwithstanding, and notwithstanding that the register maketh no mention of any relapse, contrary to good law, at least contrary to all christian charity, proceeded to the reading of his blind sentence; and so condemned him, who neither stood stubbornly to that which he did hold, neither yet did hold any thing contrary to the mind of holy Scripture, to the execution of burning.

Then after him was called forth Agnes Grebil, and examined of the said twelve articles above recited, which she, in like manner, denied, as the other had done before, putting her adversaries to their proof. Then the archbishop, calling for John Grebil her husband, and Christopher and John Grebil her two sons (who before had been abjured), caused them, upon their oath, to depose against their own natural mother; and so they did.

First John Grebil the elder, her husband, examined, by virtue of his oath, to say how Agnes, his wife, hath and doth believe of the sacrament of the altar, of going in pilgrimage, offerings and worshipping of saints, images, &c., and how long she hath thus holden, deposed thus:

The catholic clergy of the papists set the husband against the wife, and the children to accuse their own mother.

'That first, about the end of king Edward the Fourth's days, in his house, by the teaching of John Ive, she [Agnes, his wife] was brought to that belief; and so forth from thence daily, until the time of detection, she hath continued.'

'And besides that,' said he, 'when my children Christopher and John, being about seven years of age, were then taught of me in my house the said error of the sacrament of the altar, and by the said Agnes my wife divers times, she was always of one mind in the said misbelief against the sacrament of the altar, that it was not Christ's body, flesh and blood, but only bread.' Furthermore, being examined how he knew that she was steadfast in the said error, he said, 'that she always without contradiction affirmed this teaching, and said, the said opinion was good, and was well contented that her children aforesaid were of the same opinions against the sacrament of the altar,' etc.[1]

(1) Ex verbis Registri.

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The bishop with his catholic doctors, not yet contented with this, to set the husband against the wife, proceeding further in their catholic zeal, caused her two children, Christopher and John, to be produced, one of the age of two-and-twenty, the other of nineteen, against their own natural mother; who likewise, being pressed with their oath, witnessed and said:

Christopher and John Grebil witnesses against their mother.

'That the aforesaid Agnes, their mother, held, believed, taught, and defended, that the sacrament of the altar was but bread, and not the very body of Christ's flesh and blood: that baptism was no better in the font, than out of the font: that confirmation was of no effect: that the solemnization of matrimony was no sacrament: that confession to God alone was sufficient: also that going in pilgrimage and worshipping of saints and images was of none effect, etc.

'Item, That their father and the said Agnes their mother, held, taught, and communed of the said errors within their house divers times, by the space of those three years past, as well on holy-days, as working days, affirming and teaching that the said opinions were good and lawful, and to be holden and maintained; and agreement was made amongst them, that none of them should discover or bewray either of these beliefs in any wise.

'Finally, That they never heard their said father and mother holding or teaching any other opinions, than be the said errors against the sacrament of the altar, and pilgrimages, offerings, worshipping of saints and images, as far as they could remember,' etc.[1]

Example of an unnatural husband and of unnatural children.

Great impiety of the husband toward the wife.

Greater impiety in the children against the mother.

Greatest impiety of all in the clergymen, the authors hereof.

Here hast thou, christian reader, before thine eyes a horrible spectacle of a singular, yea of a double impiety; first of an unnatural husband, witnessing against his own wife; and of as unnatural children, accusing and witnessing against their own natural mother: which although they had so done, the cause being of itself just and true (as it was not), yet had they done more than nature would have led them to do. Now the case being such as which, by God's word, standeth firm, sound, and perfect, what impiety were it for men to accuse a poor innocent in case of heresy, which is no heresy? Now, besides all this, the husband to come in against his own wife, and the children to bring the knife wherewith to cut the throat of their own natural mother that bare them, that nourished them, that brought them up, what is this, but impiety upon impiety, prodigious and horrible for all christian ears to hear? And yet the greatest impiety of all resteth in these pretensed catholics and clergymen, who were the authors and causers of all this mischief.

The cause why this good woman so stood, as she did, in the denial of these aforesaid articles objected, was this; for that she never thought that her husband and her own children, who only were privy to her religion, would testify against her. Whom notwithstanding after she perceived to come in, and to depose thus against her, denying still (as she did, before) that she did ever hold such manner of errors, and being now destitute of all friends and comfort, burst out in these words openly (as the register reporteth),[2] "that she repented the time that ever she bare those children of her body."

Agnes Grebil condemned by the sentence of the archbishop.

And thus the archbishop with his doctors having now the thing that they sought for, albeit she was ready to deny all errors, and to conform herself to their religion, yet notwithstanding, they, refusing her readiness and conformity, proceeded to their sentence, and so condemned her to death.

(1) Ex verbis Registri. (2) Ex Regist. W. Warham, fol. 177.

After whose condemnation, next was brought to examination Robert Harrison, whom, in like manner, because he stood in his denial, contrary witnesses against him were produced, to wit, Christopher Grebil, William Rich, William Olbert, Agnes Ive, who, a little before, had been abjured, and therefore were so much the more apt and appliable to serve the bishop's humour, for danger of relapse. After the deposition and conviction of which witnesses, although he submitted himself to repentance and conformity, yet, notwithstanding, it would not be received, but sentence was read, and he condemned with the other two aforesaid to the fire.

Three martyrs burned.

And thus these three were condemned and burned, and certificate given up of them together to the king, from Warham the archbishop, upon the same, A.D. 1511, May 2.[1]

Witnesses against two other martyrs.

Over and besides these three godly martyrs above recited, I find in the aforesaid registers of William Warham, two other like godly martyrs also in the same year, and for the same twelve articles above specified, to be condemned upon the depositions of certain witnesses brought in against them, to wit, Thomas Harwood, Philip Harwood, Stephen Castelin, William Baker, Robert Reynold, John Bampton, Robert Bright, William Rich, etc.; whereupon they were adjudged likewise for heretics to be burned, the year aforesaid, 1511. The names of these two martyrs were John Brown and Edward Walker.[2]

Now, as you have heard the names of these blessed martyrs, with their articles recited, let us also hear the tenor of the bishop's sentence, by which they were condemned one after another. Their sentence containeth one uniform manner of words, in form as hereunder may be seen.[3]

Moreover, besides these five blessed saints of God, whom they so cruelly by their sentence did condemn to death, we find also, in the same registers of William Warham, a great number of others whom they, for the same doctrine and like articles, caused to be apprehended

(1) Ex Regist. Cantuariensis. Arch. (2) Ex Regist. W. Warh. fol. 179.

(3) *The Tenor of the Sentence.*—In nomine Dei, Amen: Willielmus permissione divina Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, totius Angliæ primas et apostolicæ sedis legatus, in quodam negotio hæreticæ pravitatis contra te Willielmum Carder de Tenderden nostr. Cantuar. dioceseos laicum ac nostro imperio notorie subditum et subjectum, coram nobis in judicio personaliter comparentem, nobis super hæretica pravitate hujusmodi detectum et delatum, ac per nostram diocesim Cantuariæ antedictæ notorie et publice in ea parte apud bonos et graves diffamatum, ex officio mero ritè et canonicè procedentes, auditis et intellectis, visis et cognitis, rimatisque ac matura deliberatione discussis et ponderatis dicti negotii meritis, servatisque in omnibus et per omnia in eodem negotio de jure servandis ac quomodolibet requisitis, pro tribunali sedentes, Christi nomine invocato, et solum Deum præ oculis habentes: quia per acta, actitata, deducta, probata, et exhibita coram nobis in eodem negotio invenimus te per probationes legitimas coram nobis in hac parte judicialiter factas nonnullos et varios errores, hæreses, et damnatas opiniones, juri divino, et ecclesiastico obviantes, contrarios, et repugnantes, contra fidem orthodoxam, determinatam, et observatam, tenuisse, credidisse, affirmasse, prædicasse, et dogmatizasse, et præsertim contra sacramenta altaris, seu eucharistiæ, pœnitentiæ, ordinis, et alia sacramenta et sanctæ matris ecclesiæ dogmata: et quamvis nos Christi vestigiis inhærendo, qui non vult mortem peccatoris, sed magis ut convertatur et vivat, sæpenumerò conati fuimus te corrigere, ac viis et modis licitis, et canonicis, quibus potuimus aut scivimus, ad fidem orthodoxam per universalem catholicam et apostolicam ecclesiam determinatam et observatam, ac ad unitatem ejusdem sanctæ matris ecclesiæ reducere, tamen invenimus te adeo duræ cervicis, quòd tuos errores et hæreses hujusmodi nolueris sponte et incontinenti confiteri, nec ad fidem catholicam et unitatem sanctæ matris ecclesiæ antedictæ debitè reverti et redire, sed tanquam iniquitatis et tenebrarum filius in tantum indurasti cor tuum, ut non velis intelligere vocem tui pastoris tibi paterno compatientis affectu, nec velis piis et paternis monitionibus allici, nec salubribus reduci blanditiis: nos verò nolentes quòd tu qui iniquus es fias nequior, et gregem dominicum in futurum tuæ hæreticæ pravitatis labe (de quo plurimum timemus) inficias, idcirco de consilio jurisperitorum nobis in hac parte assistentium cum quibus communicavimus, te Willielmum Carder prædictum, demeritis atque culpis per tuam damnabilem pertinaciam aggravatis, de et super hujusmodi detestabili hæreticæ pravitatis reatu convictum, et ad ecclesiæ unitatem pœnitentialiter redire nolentem, hæreticum hæreticisque credentem, ac eorum fautorem et receptatorem, prætextu præmissorum fuisse et esse cum dolore et amaritudine cordis judicamus et declaramus finaliter et diffinitivè in his scriptis, relinquentes te ex nunc tanquam hæreticum judicio sive curiæ seculari, teque Willielmum Carder prædictum (ut præfertur) hæreticum nihilominus in majoris excommunicationis sententiam occasione præmissorum incidisse et incurrisse, necnon excommunicatum fuisse et esse pronuntiamus, decernimus, et declaramus etiam in his scriptis.

Henry VIII. and put to open recantation; the names of which persons in the catalogue here following be these.

A. D. 1511 to 1539. A Table containing the names of them that were abjured in the Diocese of Canterbury, at the same time, under William Warham, Archbishop.

A. D. 1511.—John Grebil the elder; also Christopher Grebil and John Grebil, sons of John Grebil the elder; all of Benenden. William Rich of Benenden. W. Olbert the elder, of Godmersham. Agnes Ive, and Agnes Chytenden, both of Canterbury. Thomas Manning of Benenden. Joan Colin; Robert Hills; and Alice Hills his wife; all of Tenterden. Thomas Harwood, Joan Harwood his wife, and Philip Harwood, all of Rolvenden. Stephen Castelin of Tenterden. W. Baker of Cranbrook; Margaret Baker his wife. William Olbert the younger, and Robert Reynold; both of Godmersham. Agnes Reynold of Cranbrook. Thomas Field of Bexley. Joan Olbert, wife to W. Olbert the elder, of Godmersham. Elizabeth White of Canterbury. Thomas Church of Great Chart. Vincent Lynch of Halden. John Rich of Wittersham. Joan Lynch of Tenterden. Thomas Browne of Cranbrook. John Frank of Tenterden. Joyce Bampton, wife of John Bampton, of Berstead. Richard Bampton of Bexley. Robert Bright of Maidstone. William Lorkin of East Farleigh.

A. D. 1512.—John Bannes of Bexley. John Buckherst of Staplehurst. Joan Dod, wife of John Dod. John Benet of Staplehurst; Rebecca Benet his wife. Joan Lowes, wife of Thomas Lowes of Cranbrook. Julian Hills, wife of Robert Hills of Tenterden. Robert Franke of Tenterden.

The articles laid to these abjurers appear in the registers to be the same which before were objected to the other five martyrs aforesaid. The charges were for believing and defending,

Articles. First, That the sacrament of the altar was not the very body of Christ, but material bread.

II. That confession of sins ought not to be made to a priest.

III. That there is no more power given of God to a priest, than to a layman.

IV. That the solemnization of matrimony is not necessary for the weal of man's soul.

V. That the sacrament of extreme unction, called anoiling, is not profitable nor necessary for man's soul.

VI. That pilgrimages to holy and devout places, be not necessary nor meritorious for man's soul.

VII. That images of saints, or of the crucifix, or of our Lady, are not to be worshipped.

VIII. That a man should pray to no saint, but only to God.

IX. That holy water, and holy bread, are not better after the benediction made by the priest.[1]

The gospel in England before Luther's time. By these articles and abjurations of the before-named persons, thou hast to understand, christian reader, what doctrine of religion was here stirring in this our realm of England, before the time that the name of Martin Luther was ever heard of here amongst us.

THREE DIVERS SORTS OF JUDGMENTS AMONGST THE PAPISTS, AGAINST HERETICS AS THEY CALL THEM.

As touching the penance and penalty enjoined to these aforesaid, as also to all other such like, first here is to be noted, that the

(1) Ex verbis Regist. W. Warham, fol. 176. A. D. 1511.

catholic fathers, in their processes of heretical pravity, have three divers and distinct kinds of judgments and proceedings. For some they judge to be burned, to the intent that others being brought into terror by them, they might therefore more quietly hold up their kingdom, and reign as they list. And thus condemned they these five aforesaid; and notwithstanding they were willing to submit themselves to the bosom of the mother church, yet could they not be received; as by the words of the register, and by the tenor of their sentence above specified, may well appear.

And this sort of persons, thus by them condemned, consisteth either of such as have been before abjured, and have fallen again into relapse; or else such as stand constantly in their doctrine, and refuse to abjure; or else such as they intend to make a terror and example to all others, notwithstanding that they be willing and ready to submit themselves, and yet cannot be received: and of this last sort were these five martyrs last named. So was also John Lambert, who, submitting himself to the king, could not be accepted. So was likewise Richard Mekins the silly lad, and the three women of Guernsey, whose submission would not serve to save their lives; with many others in like case. Against this sort of persons, the process which the papists use is this. First, after they begin once to be suspected by some promoter, they are denounced and cited; then, by virtue of inquisition they are taken and clapped fast in irons in prison; from thence they are brought forth at last to examination, if they be not before killed by famine, cold, or straitness of the prison. Then be articles drawn, or rather wrested out of their writings or preachings, and they put to their oath, to answer truly to every point and circumstance articulated against them: which articles if they seem to deny, or to salve by true expounding, then are witnesses called in and admitted, what witnesses soever they are, be they never so much infamous; usurers, ribalds, women, yea, and common harlots. Or, if no other witnesses can be found, then is the husband brought in, and forced to swear against the wife, or the wife against the husband, or the children against the natural mother, as in this example of Agnes Grebil. Or, if no such witness at all can be found, then are they strained upon the rack, or by other bitter torments forced to confess their knowledge, and to impeach others. Neither must any be suffered to come to them, what need soever they have; neither must any public or quiet audience be given them to speak for themselves, till at last sentence be read against them, to give them up to the secular arm, or to degrade them, if they be priests, and so to burn them.[1]

The use and manner how the papists draw out articles of books after the authors be condemned.

And yet the malignity of these adversaries doth not here cease; for after the fire hath consumed their bodies, then they fall upon their books, and condemn them, in like manner, to be burned; and no man must be so hardy as to read them, or keep them, under pain of heresy. But before they have abolished these books, first they gather articles out of them, such as they list themselves, and so perversely wrest and wring them after their own purpose, falsely, and contrary to the right meaning of the author; as may seem, after their

(1) Ex hist. Cochlæi, contra Hussitas. [Basil, 1549. fol.: a scarce and valuable work, in twelve books.—Ed.]

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putting down, to be most heretical and execrable. This being done, and the books then abolished, that no man may confer them with their articles, to espy their falsehood; then they divulge and set abroad those articles, in such sort as princes and people may see what heretics they were. And this is the rigour of their process and proceeding against these persons whom thus they purpose to condemn and burn.

The punishment of those whom the papists condemn to perpetual prison after their submission.

To the second order belong that sort of heretics whom these papists do not condemn to death, but assign them unto monasteries, there to continue, and to fast all their life, "in pane doloris, et aqua angustiæ;" that is, with bread of sorrow, and water of affliction: and that they should not remove one mile out of the precinct of the said monastery so long as they live, without they were otherwise, by the archbishop himself or his successors, dispensed withal. Albeit many times the said persons were so dispensed withal, that their penance of bread and water was turned for them to go to woolward[1] Wednesdays and Fridays every week, or some other like punishment, &c.

The punishment of them which be enjoined penance after their recantation.

The third kind of heretics were those whom these prelates did not judge to perpetual prison, but only enjoined them penance, either to stand before the preacher, or else to bear a faggot about the market, or in procession, or else to wear the picture of a faggot bordered on their left sleeves, without any cloak or gown upon the same; or else to kneel at the saying of certain masses; or to say so many pater-nosters, aves, and creeds, to such or such a saint; or to go in pilgrimage to such or such a place; or else to bear a faggot to the burning of some heretic; or else to fast certain Fridays bread and water; or, if it were a woman, to wear no smock on Fridays, but to go woolward, etc., as appeareth in the register.[2]

And thus much by the way out of the register of William Warham aforesaid; like as also out of other bishops' registers many more such like matters and examples might be collected, if either leisure would serve me to search, or if the largeness of these volumes would suffer all to be inserted that might be found. Howbeit, amongst many other things omitted, the story and martyrdom of Launcelot and his fellows is not to be forgotten; the story of whom (with their names) is this:

The Martyrdom of Launcelot one of the King's Guard, John a Painter, and Giles Germane.

About the year of our Lord 1539, one John a painter, and Giles Germane were accused of heresy; and while they were in examination at London before the bishop and other judges, by chance there came in one of the king's servants named Launcelot, a very tall man, and of no less godly mind and disposition, than strong and tall of body.

This man, standing by, seemed by his countenance and gesture to favour both the cause, and the poor men his friends; whereupon he, being apprehended, was examined and condemned together with them. And the next day, at five o'clock in the morning, was carried with them into St. Giles in the fields, and there burned; there being but a small concourse or company of people at their death.

(1) 'Go to woolward,' going in wool.—Ed. (2) Fol. 159.

The Story of one Stile, a Martyr, burned in Smithfield, with the Apocalypse.

A. D. 1511 to 1539.

In the company and fellowship of these blessed saints and martyrs of Christ, who innocently suffered within the time of king Henry's reign for the testimony of God's word and truth, another good man also cometh to my mind, not to be excluded out of this number, who was with like cruelty oppressed, and was burned in Smithfield about the latter end of the time of Cuthbert Tonstall, bishop of London. His name was called Stile, as is credibly reported unto us by a worthy and ancient knight, named sir Robert Outred, who was the same time present himself at his burning, and witness of the same. With him there was burned also a book of the Apocalypse, which belike he was wont to read upon. This book when he saw fastened unto the stake, to be burned with him, lifting up his voice, "O blessed Apocalypse," said he, "how happy am I, that shall be burned with thee!" And so this good man, and the blessed Apocalypse, were both together in the fire consumed.[1]

A.D.1547. And thus, through the gracious supportation of Christ our Lord, we have run over these seven-and-thirty laborious years of king Henry's reign; under whose time and governance, such acts and records, troubles, persecutions, recantations, practices, alterations, and reformations as then happened in the church, we have here discoursed, with such statutes, injunctions, and proclamations, as by him were set forth in causes and matters to the said church appertaining: albeit not comprehending all things so fully as might be, yet pretermitting so few things as we could, of such matters as came to our hands; save only that certain instruments, with a few other occurrents somewhat pertaining to the course of this king's history, have past our hands, as the false lying bull of pope Leo X., against Martin Luther, with the form also of the said Martin Luther's appeal from the pope unto a general council. All which, with other matters more besides omitted, we have deferred by themselves hereafter to be exhibited and declared in the sequel of this present story, as in his due place shall appear.

Pope Leo's bull against Luther. Luther's appeal from the pope to a general council.

In the mean season, amongst other omissions here overpast, forasmuch as a certain instrument of the pope's sentence definitive against king Henry's first divorce with lady Katharine dowager, hath of late come to our hands, containing matter neither impertinent nor unmeet to be committed to history, I thought here presently to place the same, to the intent that the reader, seeing the arrogant and impudent presumption of the pope in the said sentence, going about by force and authority so to constrain and compel kings and princes against their wills, and against right and Scripture to apply to his imperious purpose, may the better understand thereby, what was the true cause and ground why the king first began to take stomach against the pope, and to send him clean packing out of this realm. But before I shall produce this aforesaid sentence definitive of the

The sentence definitive of pope Clement VII., against the divorce of king Henry.

(l) Ex testimon. D. Rob. Outredi.

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pope, to make the matter more plain to the reader, it shall not be amiss, first, to decipher and rip up the original of such occasions as shall induce the reader to the better understanding of this falling out between the king and the pope.

For so I find by the letters of Dr. Stephen Gardiner,[1] written to cardinal Wolsey from Rome (at what time he and Foxe were sent ambassadors by the king to pope Clement VII., about the expedition of the king's divorce, A.D. 1532), that the said pope Clement, with the counsel of the cardinal Sanctorum Quatuor and other cardinals, at first was well willing, and very inclinable, to the accomplishment and satisfaction of the king's desire in that behalf, and that for divers respects.

The causes moving the pope at the first to favour the cause of the king's divorce.

As first, for the great benefits received, and the singular devotion of the king toward the see apostolic, in taking war for the church's cause; in surceasing war at the pope's desire; and, especially, in procuring the pope's deliverance, whereby the pope then thought himself with his whole see much obliged to the king, in all respects, to pass by his authority whatsoever reasonably might be granted in gratifying the king's so ample merits and deserts.

Secondly, for the evident reasons and substantial arguments in the king's book contained,[2] which seemed well to satisfy the pope's liking, and to remove away all scruples.

Thirdly, for the good opinion and confidence that the pope had in the excellent wisdom, profound learning, and mature judgment of the king, which the pope (as he said in formal words) would sooner lean unto, than unto any other learned man's mind or sentence, so that the king's reasons, he said, must needs be of great efficacy and strength of themselves to order and direct this matter.

The fourth cause moving the pope to favour the king's request, was, for the quiet and tranquillity of his conscience, which, otherwise, in that unlawful marriage with his brother's wife, could not be settled.

The fifth cause was, for the consideration of the perils and dangers, which otherwise might happen to the realm, by the pretensed titles of the king of Scots, and others, without any heir male to establish the king's succession: for the avoiding of which perils, and also for the other causes above rehearsed, the pope showed himself at that time propense and forward to promote and set forward the king's desired purpose in that behalf.

Double dealing of the pope with king Henry. The pope false, double, and contrary to himself.

And thus much touching this by-matter I thought here to suggest and repeat to the reader, albeit the same is also sufficiently expressed before: to the end that the studious reader, pondering these first proceedings of the pope, and comparing them with this sentence definitive which under followeth, may the better understand what inconstant levity, what false dealing, what crafty packing, and what contrariety in itself, are in this pope's holy see of Rome, as by this case of the pope may well appear; who, in short time after all this, was so clean altered from what he was, that whereas before, he pre-

(1) These letters are in the Harleian MSS. in the British Museum. Numb. 419, art. 25, &c. They are also given, with other interesting papers relating to the divorce, in Strype (Edit Oxford. 1822), vol. i. part 29, pp. 66—130. Also Burnet (Edit. Lond. 1820), vol. i. part 2, p. 12, &c.—Ed.

(2) This book, called the King's Book, was a certain treatise concerning the reasons and arguments of divers learned men for the lawful dissolution of the king's marriage, with answer also to the contrary objections of Abel and others. And this book the king sent to the pope.

tended to esteem so gratefully the king's travail, and benefits exhibited to the see apostolic, in his defence against the emperor and the Spaniards, now he joineth utterly with the Cæsarians against the king. And whereas before, he so greatly magnified the king's profound learning and mature judgment, esteeming his mind and sentence above all other learned men, to be as a judge sufficient in the direction of this case; now, turning head to the tail, he utterly refuseth to bring the matter "in judicium orbis," but will needs detain it at home.

How presumptuously the pope commandeth kings and princes.

Again, whereas before he pretended a tender provision for the state of this realm, now he setteth all other realms against it; and finally, whereas he before seemed to respect the quiet and tranquillity of the king's conscience, now he goeth about to command and compel the king, against his will and conscience, to do clean contrary to that which he himself before in his judgment had allowed, thinking to have the king at his beck, and to do and undo what he listed and commanded; as by the tenor and true copy of this his sentence definitive ye may understand; which, as it came newly to our hands, I thought here to exhibit unto the world, that all men might see what just cause the king had (being so presumptuously provoked by the pope) to shake off his proud authority, and utterly to exile him out of his realm. Mark, I pray thee, the manner of the pope's proud sentence, how presumptuously it proceedeth.

Anglici Matrimonii Sententia diffinitiva, (W)

Lata per Sanctissimum Dominum nostrum D. Clementem Papam VII. in sacro Consistorio de Reverendissimorum S. R. E. Cardinalium consilio, super validitate Matrimonii inter Serenissimos Henricum VIII. et Catherinam Angliæ Reges contracti,

PRO

Eadem Serenissima Catharina Angliæ Regina

CONTRA

Serenissimum Henricum VIII. Angliæ Regem.

Clemens Papa VII.

Christi nomine invocato, in throno justitiæ pro tribunali sedentes, et solum Deum præ oculis habentes, per hanc nostram diffinitivam sententiam, quam de venerabilium fratrum nostrorum Sanct. Rom. Ec. Card. consistoraliter coram nobis congregatorum consilio et assensu ferimus in his scriptis, pronunciamus, decernimus, et declaramus—in causa et causis ad nos et sedem apostolicam per appellationem, per charissimam in Christo filiam Catherinam Angliæ reginam illustrem à nostris et sedis apostolicæ legatis in regno Angliæ deputatis interpositam, legitimè devolutis et advocatis, (inter prædictam Catherinam reginam et charissimum in Christo filium Henricum VIII. Angliæ regem illustrem, super validitate et invaliditate matrimonii inter eosdem reges contracti et consummati, rebusque aliis in actis causæ et causarum hujusmodi latiùs deductis,) et dilecto filio Paulo Capissucho (causarum sacri Palatii tunc Decano) et (propter ipsius Pauli absentiam) venerabili fratri nostro Jacobo Simonetæ (episcopo Pisauriensi unius ex dicti Palatii causarum auditoribus locum tenenti) audiendis, instituendis, et in consistorio nostro secreto referendis, commissis, et per eos nobis et eisdem Cardinalibus relatis, et maturè discussis, coram nobis pendentibus—matrimonium inter prædictam Catherinam et Henricum Angliæ regem contractum, et inde secuta quæcunque, fuisse et esse validum et canonicum validâque et canonica, suosque debitos debuisse et debere sortiri effectus; prolemque exinde susceptam et suscipiendam fuisse et fore legitimam; et præfatum Henricum Angliæ regem teneri

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et obligatum fuisse et fore ad cohabitandum cum dicta Catherina regina, ejus legitima conjuge, illamque maritali affectione et regio honore tractandam; et eundem Henricum Angliæ regem ad præmissa omnia et singula cum effectu adimplendum condemnandum, omnibusque juris remediis cogendum et compellendum fore, prout condemnamus, cogimus, et compellimus; molestationesque et denegationes per eundem Henr. regem eidem Catherinæ reginæ super invaliditate ac fœdere dicti matrimonii, quomodolibet factas et præstitas, fuisse et esse illicitas et injustas; et eidem Henrico regi super illis ac invaliditate matrimonii hujusmodi perpetuum silentium imponendum fore, et imponimus; eundemque Henricum Angliæ regem in expensis in hujusmodi causa pro parte dictæ Catherinæ reginæ, coram nobis et dictis omnibus, legitimè factis condemnandum fore, et condemnamus; quarum expensarum taxationem nobis in posterum reservamus.

Ita pronuntiamus, †.

Lata fuit Romæ in Palatio apostolico publicè in Consistorio, die xxiii. Martii, 1534. Blosius.[1]

The Effect in English of Pope Clement's Sentence definitive, against the Divorce of Queen Katherine.

The effect of this sentence is as much as to mean in English, 'that pope Clement VII., with the consent of his other brethren, the cardinals assembled together in this consistory, sitting there in the throne of justice,[2] calling upon the name of Christ,[3] and having God only before his eyes,[4] doth pronounce, define, and declare—in the cause and causes between his dear daughter Katherine queen of England, appealing to the see apostolic, and his beloved son Henry the Eighth, king of England,[5] concerning the validity and invalidity of the matrimony heretofore contracted between them, and yet depending in the consistory court of the said pope Clement—that the said matrimony always hath stood, and still doth stand, firm and canonical;[6] and that the issue proceeding, or which shall proceed, of the same, standeth, and shall stand, lawful and legitimate; and that the aforesaid Henry king of England is and shall be bound and obstrict to the matrimonial society and cohabitation with the said lady Katherine his lawful wife and queen, to hold and maintain her with such love and princely honour, as becometh a loving husband, and his kingly honour, to do.'

Also, 'that the said Henry king of England, if he shall refuse so to perform and accomplish all and singular the premises, in all effectual manner, is to be condemned and compelled thereunto by all remedies of the law,[7] and enforced, according as we do condemn, compel, and enforce him so to do; providing, all molestations and refusals whatsoever, made by the said king Henry against the said queen Katherine, upon the invalidity of the said marriage, to have been and be judged unlawful and unjust; and the said king, from henceforth for ever, to hold his peace, and not to be heard in any court hereafter to speak,[8] touching the invalidity of the said matrimony: like as we also do here will and charge him to hold his peace, and do put him to perpetual silence herein; willing, moreover, and adjudging the said king Henry to be condemned, and presently here do condemn him, in the expenses, on the said queen Katherine's behalf, here in our court expended and employed in traversing the aforesaid cause, the valuation of which expenses we reserve to ourselves to be limited and taxed, as we shall judge meet hereafter.

We do so pronounce, †.

At Rome, in our apostolical Palace, publicly in our Consistory, the 23d of March, 1534. Blosius.'

(1) Ex Archetypo Rom. Pontificis ad Catherinam misso.

(2) The pope sitteth in the throne of justice, with the like humility and same fashion, as Lucifer did sit in the seat of the Highest, and Antichrist sitteth in the temple of God.

(3) And said never a word.

(4) Id est, having no bribe of money in his hands, nor any fear of the emperor in his heart.

(5) Is not this a glorious father, that will have no beggars to his sons and daughters, but emperors, kings, and queens?

(6) And why then did you send Campeius to England to dissolve the same matrimony before, as appeareth above?

(7) By his own canon law, he meaneth, and not by the law of God.

(8) Here thou mayest see, good reader, how the pope may and doth err like a false prophet. For where he thought to put the king to silence, the same silence lighted upon himself, whereby the pope is driven himself to stand mute in England; and God grant he may so stand for ever. Amen.

Pope Leo's bull against Luther, and the appellation of Luther from the pope, by way of appendix.

Now, as you have heard the presumptuous and arrogant sentence of pope Clement, wherein he taketh upon him, contrary to the ordinance of God in his Levitical law (as is before showed), and contrary to the best learned judgments of Christendom, to command and compel the king, against his conscience, to retain in matrimony his brother's wife; here followeth in like order to be inferred, according to my promise, another like wicked, blasphemous, and slanderous bull of pope Leo against Martin Luther, with the just appellation also of the said Martin Luther from the pope to a general council: wherein may appear to all men, the lying spirit of the pope, both in teaching most heretical doctrine, derogating from the blood of Christ, and also falsely depraving and perverting the sound doctrine of Luther, falsely and untruly charging him with heresy, when he is the greater heretic himself. For what heretic would ever say that the church of Rome was consecrated and sanctified by the blood of Peter, but only the pope? or who would call this heresy, to refer all our salvation and sanctification only and totally to the blood of the Son of God, unless he were a heretic of all heretics himself?

The pope playeth with Luther, as Ahab played with Elias.

After the like dealing we read[1] of wicked king Ahab, who, being only the disturber of Israel himself, crieth out upon Elias for troubling Israel. So here, in semblable wise, pope Leo, with what heaps of tragical words and exclamations doth he fume and rage against the true servant of God, poor Luther, for disturbing the church of God, when it is the pope only and his father's house that troubleth, and long hath troubled, the true church of the Lord; as by his doings all the world may see enough and too much. In the mean time read, I beseech thee, with judgment, this impudent and false slanderous bull of the pope,[2] with the appeal also of Luther again from the said pope; a copy whereof, because it be rare to be gotten, and hath not been hitherto commonly seen, being before omitted, I thought to commit here to history, as I had it out of certain registers; the manner and tenor whereof is this as followeth.[3]

(1) 1 Kings xviii.

(2) The Latin copy of the bull here given, is from the Second Edition of the Acts and Monuments, London, 1570, pp. 1459 to 1461. [a]See also 'Bullarium Romanum,' Lugduni. 1655, p. 614. Also 'Magnum Bullarium Romanum,' vol. i. p. 610. Edit. Luxemb. 1727.—Ed.

(3) Leo Papa X.

Leo Episcopus servus servorum Dei ad perpetuam rei memoriam. Exurge Domine et judica causam tuam. Memor esto opprobriorum eorum quæ ab insipientibus fiunt totâ die. Inclina aurem tuam ad preces nostras, quoniam surrexerunt vulpes quærentes demoliri vineam, cujus tu torcular solus calcasti, et ascensurus ad patrem, ejus curam regimen et administrationem Petro, tanquam capiti et tuo vicario, ejusque successoribus instar triumphantis ecclesiæ commisisti. Exterminare nititur aper de sylva, et singularis ferus depascit eam. Exurge Petre, et pro pastorali cura præfata, tibi (ut præfertur) divinitus demandata, intende in causam sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ matris omnium ecclesiarum ac fidei nostræ, quam tu (jubente Deo) tuo sanguine consecrasti; contra quam (sicut tu præmonere dignatus es) insurgunt ministri mendaces introducentes sectas perditionis, sibi celerem interitum superinducentes, quorum lingua ignis est, inquietum malum, plena veneno mortifero, qui, zelum malum habentes et contentiones in cordibus suis, gloriantur et mendaces sunt adversus veritatem.

Exurge tu quoque quæsumus Paule, qui eam tua doctrina ac pari martyrio illuminasti atque illustrasti. Jam enim surgit novus Porphyrius, qui sicut ille olim sanctos apostolos injuste momordit, ita hic sanctos pontifices, prædecessores nostros, (contra tuam doctrinam eos non obsecrando[b] sed

(a) Num Paulus aut Petrus crucifixus est pro vobis? [1 Cor. i.] Christus factus est sapientia a Deo justitia, sanctificatio, et redemptio, ut qui gloriatur in Domino glorietur. [*Ibid.*] Quæ igitur hæc blasphema est vox pontificis, qui contra scripturas gloriatur in sanguine Petri?

(b) Obsecravit Lutherus in initio pontificem, et audiri non potuit. Nunc increpat Lutherus pontificem et ferri non potest. Et quid hic Lutherus fecit nisi juxta doctrinam apostolicam quæ ait, Argue, insta, increpa, &c. [2 Tim. iv.]

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A Copy of the Bull of Pope Leo the Tenth, no less slanderous than barbarous, against Martin Luther and his Doctrine; with the Answer of Luther joined to the same, translated from the Latin.

Leo bishop, servant of the servants of God, for a perpetual memory. Rise up, O Lord! and judge thy cause; remember the rebukes wherewith we are

increpando) mordere, lacerare, ac, ubi causæ suæ diffidit, ad convitia accedere non veretur; more hereticorum, quorum (ut inquit Hieronymus) ultimum præsidium est, ut cum conspiciant causas suas damnatum iri incipiant virus serpentis linguæ diffundere, et cum se victos conspiciant ad contumelias prosilire. Nam licet hæreses esse ad exercitationem fidelium tu dixeris oportere, eas tamen, ne incrementum accipiant neve vulpeculæ coalescant, in ipso ortu (te intercedente te adjuvante) extingui necesse est.

Exurgat denique omnis sanctorum ac reliqua universalis ecclesia, cujus vera sacrarum literarum interpretatione post-habita, quidam quorum mentem pater mendacii excæcavit, ex veteri hæreticorum instituto apud semetipsos sapientes, Scripturas easdem aliter quam Spiritus Sanctus flagitet, proprio duntaxat sensu, ambitionis auræque popularis causâ, teste Apostolo, interpretantur: imo vero et torquent et adulterant: ita ut, juxta Hieronymum, jam non sit Evangelium Christi sed hominis, aut (quod pejus est) diaboli.

Exurgat, inquam, præfata ecclesia sancta Dei, et una cum beatissimis apostolis præfatis, apud Deum omnipotentem intercedat, ut purgatis omnium schismaticorum erroribus, eliminatisque a fidelium finibus hæresibus universis, ecclesiæ suæ sanctæ pacem et unitatem conservare dignetur.

Dudum siquidem (quod præ animi angustia et mœrore exprimere vix possumus) fide dignorum relatu, ac fama publica referente, ad nostrum pervenit auditum, imo vero (proh dolor) oculis nostris vidimus ac legimus, multos et varios errores; quosdam videlicet per concilia ac prædecessorum nostrorum constitutiones damnatos, hæresim etiam Græcorum et Bohemicam expresse continentes, alios verò respective vel hæreticos, vel falsos, vel scandalosos, vel piarum aurium offensivos, vel simplicium mentium seductivos; a falsis fidei cultoribus—qui per superbam curiositatem mundi gloriam cupientes contra Apostoli doctrinam plus sapere volunt quam oporteat, quorum garrulitas (ut inquit Hieronymus) sine Scripturarum auctoritate non haberet fidem, nisi viderentur perversam doctrinam etiam divinis testimoniis, male tamen interpretatis, roborare (à quorum oculis Dei timor recessit)—humani generis hoste suggerente noviter suscitatos, et nuper apud quosdam leviores in inclyta natione Germanica seminatos. Quod eo magis dolemus ibi evenisse, quod eandem nationem et nos et prædecessores nostri in visceribus semper gesserimus charitatis. Nam post translatum ex Græcis a Romana ecclesia in eosdem Germanos imperium, iidem prædecessores nostri et nos ejusdem ecclesiæ advocatos defensoresque ex eis semper accepimus. Quos quidem Germanos, catholicæ veritatis vere Germanos, constat hæresium acerrimos oppugnatores semper fuisse. Cujus rei testes sunt laudabiles illæ constitutiones Germanorum imperatorum pro libertate ecclesiæ proque expellendis exterminandisque ex omni Germania hæreticis, sub gravissimis pœnis, etiam amissionis terrarum et dominiorum, contra receptatores vel non expellentes, olim editæ et a nostris prædecessoribus confirmatæ: quæ si hodie servarentur, et nos et ipsi utique hâc molestia careremus.

Testis est in concilio Constantiensi Hussitarum ac Wicklevistarum nec non Hieronymi Pragensis damnata ac punita perfidia. Testis est totiens contra Bohemos Germanorum sanguis effusus. Testis denique est prædictorum errorum ex eis, per Coloniæ et Lovaniæ universitates utpote agri Dominici piissimas religiosissimasque cultrices, non minus docta quam vera ac sancta confutatio reprobatio et damnatio. Multa quoque alia allegare possimus, quæ ne historiam texere videamur, prætermittenda censuimus.

Pro pastoralis igitur officii, divinâ gratiâ nobis injuncti, curâ quam gerimus, prædictorum errorum virus pestiferum ulterius tolerare seu dissimulare, sine Christianæ religionis nota atque orthodoxæ fidei injuria, nullo modo possumus. Eorum autem errorum aliquos præsertim duximus inferendos, quorum tenor sequitur et est talis.

Articuli Lutheri quos Papa tanquam hæreticos damnavit.

Heretica est sententia sed usitata, sacramenta novæ legis justificantem gratiam illis dare, qui non ponunt obicem.

In puero post baptismum negare remanens peccatum, est Paulum et Christum simul conculcare.

Fomes peccati, etiamsi nullum adsit actuale peccatum, moratur exeuntem è corpore animam ab ingressu cœli.

Imperfecta charitas morituri fert secum necessariò magnum timorem, qui ex se solo satis est facere pœnam Purgatorii et impedit introitum regni.

Tres esse partes pœnitentiæ, contritionem confessionem et satisfactionem, non est fundata in sacra Scriptura, nec in antiquis sanctis Christianis doctoribus.

Contritio quæ paratur per discussionem collectionem et detestationem peccatorum, quâ quis recogitat annos suos in amaritudine animæ suæ, ponderando peccatorum gravitatem, multitudinem, fœditatem, amissionem eternæ beatitudinis, ac eternæ damnationis acquisitionem—hæc contritio facit hypocritam imo magis peccatorem. Verissimum est proverbium et omnium doctrina de contritionibus huc usque data præstantius, De cætero non facere. Summa pœnitentia, optima pœnitentia—nova vita.

Nullo modo possumus confiteri peccata venialia, sed nec omnia mortalia, quia impossibile est ut omnia mortalia cognoscas: unde in primitiva ecclesia solum manifesta mortalia confitebantur.

Dum volumus omnia purè confiteri, nihil aliud facimus quam quòd misericordiæ Dei nihil volumus relinquere ignoscendum.

Peccata non sunt ulli remissa nisi, remittente sacerdote, credat sibi remitti: imo peccatum maneret nisi remissum crederet. Non enim sufficit remissio peccati et gratiæ donatio, sed oportet etiam credere esse remissum.

Nullo modo confides absolvi propter tuam contritionem, sed propter verbum Christi: Quodcunque solveris, &c. Huic confide, si sacerdotis obtinueris absolutionem, et crede fortiter te absolutum, et absolutus verè eris.

(c) Tunc es ille qui conturbas Israeli? 1 Reg. xviii.

scorned all the day long of foolish rebukers. Incline thine ear unto our prayers; for foxes are risen up, seeking to destroy thy vineyard, the vinepress

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Si (per impossibile) confessus non esset contritus, aut sacerdos non serio sed joco absolverot, si tamen credat se absolutum, verissime est absolutus.

In sacramento pœnitentiæ ac remissione culpæ non plus facit Papa Episcopus, quam inferior sacerdos: imo ubi non est sacerdos, æqui tum facit quilibet Christianus, etiam si mulier aut puer esset.

Nullus debet sacerdoti respondere se esse contritum, nec sacerdos requirere.

Magnus est error eorum qui ad sacramentum eucharistiæ accedunt huic innisi, quòd sunt confessi, quòd non sunt sibi conscii alicujus peccati mortalis, quòd præmiserant orationes suas et præparatoria, omnes illi ad judicium sibi manducant et bibunt: sed si credant et confidant se gratiam ibi consecuturos, hæc sola fides facit eos puros et dignos.

Consultum videtur, quòd ecclesia in communi concilio statueret laicos sub utraque specie communicandos; nec Bohemi communicantes sub utraque specie sunt hæretici seu schismatici.

Thesauri ecclesiæ unde papa dat indulgentias, non sunt merita Christi et sanctorum. Indulgentiæ sunt piæ fraudes fidelium, et remissiones bonorum operum, et sunt de numero eorum quæ licent, et non de numero eorum quæ expediunt.

Indulgentiæ his, qui veraciter eas consequuntur, non valent ad remissionem pœnæ pro peccatis actualibus debitæ apud divinam justitiam.

Seducuntur credentes indulgentias esse salutares et ad fructum Spiritus utiles.

Indulgentiæ necessariæ sunt solum publicis criminibus, et propriè conceduntur duris solummodo et impatientibus.

Sex generibus hominum indulgentiæ nec sunt necessariæ nec utiles, videlicet mortuis seu morituris, infirmis, legitimè impeditis, his qui non commiserunt crimina, his qui crimina commiserunt sed non publica, his qui meliora operantur. *Indulgentia quot modis et in quibus.*

Excommunicationes sunt tantum externæ pœnæ, nec privant hominem communibus spiritualibus ecclesiæ orationibus.

Docendi sunt Christiani plus diligere excommunicationem quam timere.

Romanus Pontifex, Petri successor, non est Christi Vicarius super omnes totius mundi ecclesias ab ipso Christo in beato Petro institutus.

Verbum Christi ad Petrum: Quodcunque solveris, &c. extenditur duntaxat ad ligata ab ipso Petro.

Certum est, in manu ecclesiæ aut papæ prorsus non esse, statuere articulos fidei, imo nec leges morum seu bonorum operum.

Si papa cum magna parte ecclesiæ sic vel sic sentiret, nec etiam erraret, adhuc non est peccatum aut hæresis contrarium sentire, præsertim in re non necessaria ad salutem, donec fuerit per concilium universale—alterum reprobatum, alterum approbatum.

Via nobis facta est enervandi autoritatem conciliorum, et libere contradicendi eorum gestis, et judicandi eorum decreta, et confidenter confitendi quicquid verum videtur, sive probatum fuerit sive reprobatum à quocunque concilio.

Aliqui articuli Johannis Hussi, condemnati in concilio Constantiensi, sunt christianissimi verissimi et evangelici, quos nec universalis ecclesia posset damnare.

In omni opere bono justus peccat.[d]

Opus bonum optime factum, est veniale peccatum.

Hæreticos comburi est contra voluntatem Spiritûs.[e]

Prœliari adversus Turcas,[f] est repugnare Deo visitanti iniquitates nostras per illos.

Nemo est certus se non semper peccare mortaliter propter occultissimum superbiæ vitium.

Liberum arbitrium, post peccatum, est res de solo titulo: et dum facit quod in se est, peccat mortaliter.

Purgatorium non potest probari ex Sacra Scriptura quæ sit in canone.

Animæ in purgatorio non sunt securæ de earum salute, saltem omnes; nec probatum est ullis aut rationibus aut scripturis ipsas esse extra statum merendi aut augendæ charitatis.

Animæ in purgatorio peccant sine intermissione, quamdiu quærunt requiem, et horrent pœnas.

Animæ ex purgatorio liberatæ suffragiis viventium minus beantur quam si per se satisfecissent.

Prælati ecclesiastici et principes seculares non malefacerent, si omnes saccos mendicantium delerent.

Qui quidem errores respective quam sunt pestiferi, quam perniciosi, quam scandalosi, quam piarum et simplicium mentium seductivi, quam denique sunt contra omnem charitatem ac sanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ, matris omnium fidelium et magistræ fidei, reverentiam, atque nervum ecclesiasticæ disciplinæ, obedientiam scilicet, quæ fons est et origo omnium virtutum, sine qua facile unusquisque infidelis esse convincitur, nemo sanæ mentis ignorat. Nos igitur in præmissis, utpote gravissimis, propensius (ut decet) procedere, ac hujusmodi pesti morboque canceroso, ne in agro dominico tanquam vis seris nociva ulterius serpat, viam præcludere cupientes, habita super prædictis erroribus et eorum singulis diligenti trutinatione, discussione ac districto examine, maturaque deliberatione, omnibusque rite pensatis ac sæpius ventilatis, cum venerabilibus fratribus nostris S. R. E. Cardinalibus ac regularium ordinum prioribus seu ministris generalibus, pluribusque aliis sacræ theologiæ necnon utriusque juris professoribus sive magistris, et quidem peritissimis, reperimus eosdem errores respective (ut præfertur) aut articulos non esse catholicos, nec tanquam tales dogmatizandos, sed contra catholicæ ecclesiæ doctrinam sive traditionem, atque eam veram divinarum Scripturarum receptam interpretationem, cujus auctoritati ita acquiescendum censuit Augustinus, ut dixerit se evangelio non fuisse crediturum, nisi ecclesiæ catholicæ intervenisset auctoritas. Nam ex eisdem erroribus vel eorum aliquo vel aliquibus palam sequitur, eandem ecclesiam, quæ Spiritu Sancto regitur, errare et semper errasse. Quod est utique contra illud, quod Christus discipulis suis in ascensione sua (ut in sancto evangelio Matthæi legitur) promisit, dicens: Ego sum vobiscum usque ad consummationem seculi. Necnon contra sanctorum patrum determinationes, conciliorum quoque et summorum Pontificum expressas ordinationes seu canones; quibus non obtemperasse, omnium hæresium et schismatum (teste Cypriano) fomes et causa semper fuit.

(*d*) Si Esaias propheta omnes justitias nostras pro sordibus habeat et panno menstruato, quid peccavit in hoc articulo Lutherus, qui cuncta bona opera, quatenus per se extra fidem considerantur, injustitiæ conarguet et peccati?

(*e*) Præceps hic pontificis furor in exurendis hæreticis merito damnatur, nec ullum habet scripturæ evangelicæ fundamentum.

(*f*) Articulus de bello Turcis non inferendo ex locis Lutheri male decerptis aut non recte collectis ad calumniam trahitur.

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whereof thou only hast trodden; and, ascending up to thy Father, didst commit the charge and regiment thereof unto Peter, as chief head and thy

De eorundem itaque venerabilium fratrum nostrorum consilio et assensu, ac omnium et singulorum prædictorum matura deliberatione prædicta, autoritate omnipotentis Dei et beatorum apostolorum Petri et Pauli et nostra, præfatos omnes et singulos articulos seu errores tanquam (ut præmittitur) respectivè hereticos, aut scandalosos, aut falsos, aut piarum aurium offensivos, vel simplicium mentium seductivos, et veritati catholicæ obviantes, damnamus reprobamus atque omnino rejicimus, ac pro damnatis reprobatis et rejectis ab omnibus utriusque sexus Christi fidelibus haberi debere harum serie decrevimus et declaramus: Inhibentes—in virtute sanctæ obedientiæ, ac sub majoris excommunicationis pœna lata sententia, et amissionis omnium dignitatum beneficiorumque ecclesiasticorum sive secularium; ac privationis inhabilitatisque quorumvis ordinum regularium, et privilegiorum quorumcunque indultorum à sede apostolica (cujuscunque tenoris existant) potestatis etiam studium generale tenendi, legendi, ac interpretandi quasvis scientias et facultates; nec non amissionis cujuscunque Emphyteusis seu quorumcunque feudorum, ac etiam inhabilitatis ad ea et alia in posterum obtinenda; nec non inhibitionis ecclesiasticæ sepulturæ; et insuper criminis læsæ majestatis; porro sub ipsis hæreticorum et fautorum eorumdem in jure expressis pœnis eo ipso et absque ulteriori declaratione, si (quod absit) contra fecerint, incurrendis—omnibus et singulis utriusque sexus Christi fidelibus tam laicis quam ecclesiasticis, secularibus et quorumvis ordinum regularibus, et aliis quibuscumque personis cujuscunque status, gradus, vel conditionis existant, et quacunque ecclesiastica vel mundana præfulgeant dignitate; etiam sanctæ Romanæ Ecclesiæ cardinalibus, patriarchis, primatibus, archiepiscopis, episcopis; patriarchalium, metropolitanarum, et aliarum cathedralium, collegiatarum, ac inferiorum ecclesiarum prælatis; clericis, aliisque personis ecclesiasticis, secularibus, et quorumvis ordinum (etiam medicantium) regularibus; necnon regibus, imperatoris electoribus, principibus, ducibus, marchionibus, comitibus, baronibus, capitaneis, conductoribus, domicellis, omnibusque officialibus, judicibus, notariis ecclesiasticis et secularibus, communitatibus, universitatibus, potentatibus, civitatibus, castris, terris et locis, seu eorum civibus habitatoribus et incolis, ac quibusvis aliis personis ecclesiasticis vel regularibus (ut præfertur) per universum orbem ubicunque et præsertim in Alemania existentibus vel pro tempore futuris—ne præfatos errores aut eorum aliquos perversamque doctrinam hujusmodi asserere, affirmare, defendere, prædicare, aut illi quomodolibet publicè vel occultè, quovis quæsito ingenio vel colore, tacitè vel expressè, favere præsumant.

Insuper quia errores præfati et plures alii continentur in libellis seu scriptis cujusdam Martini Lutheri, dictos libellos et omnia dicti Martini scripta seu prædicationes, quæ in Latino vel quocunque idiomate reperiantur, in quibus dicti errores seu eorum aliquis continentur, similiter damnamus, reprobamus, atque omnino rejicimus, et pro omnino damnatis, reprobatis, ac rejectis (ut præfertur) haberi volumus: mandantes—in virtute sanctæ obedientiæ et sub pœnis prædictis eo ipso incurrendis—omnibus et singulis utriusque sexus Christi fidelibus superius nominatis—ne hujusmodi scripta, libellos, prædicationes, seu schedulas, vel in eis contenta capitula, errores aut articulos supradictos continentia, legere asserere prædicare imprimere publicare sive defendere, per se vel alium seu alios, directe vel indirecte, tacite vel expresse, publice vel occulte, aut in domibus suis sive aliis publicis vel privatis locis, tenere quomodolibet præsumant: quinimo illa statim post harum publicationem per ordinarios diligenter quæsita solemniter in præsentiâ cleri et populi—sub omnibus et singulis supradictis pœnis—comburant.

Quod vero ad ipsum Martinum attinet, bone Deus, quid prætermisimus? quid non fecimus? quid paternæ charitatis omisimus ut eum ab hujusmodi erroribus revocaremus? Postquam enim eum citavimus, mitius cum eo procedere volentes, illum invitavimus, atque tam per diversos tractatus cum legato nostro habitos, quam per literas nostras hortati fuimus, ut à prædictis erroribus discederet, aut ad nos (oblato etiam salvo conductu et pecunia ad iter necessaria) sine metu seu timore aliquo (quem perfecta charitas foras mittere debet) veniret, ac Salvatoris nostri apostolique Pauli exemplo, non in occulto, sed palam et in facie, loqueretur.

Quod si fecisset, pro certo (ut arbitramur) ad cor reversus errores suos recognovisset, nec in Romanâ curiâ, quam tantopere (vanis malevolorum rumoribus plusquam oportuit tribuendo) vituperat, tot reperisset errata: docuissemusque eum luce clarius, sanctos Romanos pontifices prædecessores nostros (quos præter omnem modestiam injuriose lacerat) in suis canonibus seu constitutionibus (quas mordere nititur) nunquam errasse;[h] quia, juxta prophetam, nec in Galaad resina, nec medicus deest. Sed obaudivit semper, et, prædictâ citatione omnibusque et singulis supradictis spretis, venire contempsit, ac usque præsentem diem contumax atque animo indurato censuras ultra annum sustinuit, et (quod deterius est; addens mala malis, de citatione hujusmodi notitiam habens in vocem temerariæ appellationis prorupit ad futurum concilium, contra constitutionem Pii 2di et Julii 2di prædecessorum nostrorum, quâ cavetur taliter appellantes hæreticorum pœna plectendos. Frustra etiam concilii auxilium imploravit, qui illi se non credere profitetur; ita ut contra ipsum tanquam de fide notoriè suspectum, imo vere hæreticum, absque ulteriori citatione vel mora, ad condemnationem ejus tanquam hæretici, ac ad omnium et singularum suprascriptarum pœnarum et censurarum severitatem, possemus procedere. Nihilominus, de eorundem fratrum nostrorum consilio, omnipotentis Dei imitantes clementiam, qui non vult mortem peccatoris, sed magis ut convertatur et vivat, omnium injuriarum hactenus nobis et sedi apostolicæ illatarum obliti, omni qua possumus pietate uti decrevimus; et quantum in nobis est agere ut (propositâ mansuetudinis viâ) ad cor revertatur, et a prædictis recedat erroribus, ut ipsum tanquam filium prodigum ad gremium ecclesiæ revertentem benigne recipiamus.

Ipsum igitur Martinum et quoscunque ei adherentes, ejusque receptatores et fautores, per viscera misericordiæ Dei nostri, et per aspersionem sanguinis Domini Jesu Christi (quo et per quem humani generis redemptio et sanctæ matris ecclesiæ ædificatio facta est), ex toto corde hortamur[i] atque

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(*g*) Primum Lutherus amice et modeste de indulgentiis disputavit. Postulavit hoc tuum, Papa Leo, officium ut pari modestiâ canones illius, vel si sanæ fuissent admitterentur, vel si falsæ ex Scripturis revincerentur. Hoc factum non est. Postea supplex se tibi submisit, quantum incolumi licuit: quem tu indigne rejeceras. Deinde submisit se universitatum judicio: ne sic quidem receptus est. Doceri postulavit aut commonstrari saltem errores: at nihil est institutum, prinsque doctrina illius damnata quam audita est. Provocavit post hæc ad concilium: ne id quidem admissum est. Tot igitur quum prætermissa sint abs te officia, nunc rogas tamen quid prætermissum, &c.

(*h*) Quod Rom. pontifices prædecessores vestri in suis canonibus et constitutionibus nunquam erraverint, id, vos Romani, docebitur ad Græcas, quod aiunt, calendas.

(*i*) Imo ipse totidem verbis te rogat (Leo Papa) et hortatur, ut manifestæ veritati obniti et contra evangelii stimulum calcitrare desistas.

vicar, and his successors. The wild boar out of the wood seeketh to extermi- *Ecclesiastical Affairs.*
minate and root up thy vineyard. Rise up, Peter! and for this thy pastoral charge committed to thee from above, attend to the cause of the holy church of Rome, the mother of all churches and of our faith, which thou, by the commandment of God didst consecrate with thine own blood;[1] against which (as

(1) Note here and mark, good reader, how the church of Rome holdeth by the blood of St. Peter, and not by the blood of Christ.

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obsecramus, ut ipsius ecclesiæ pacem unitatem et veritatem (pro qua ipse Salvator tam instanter oravit ad Patrem) turbare desistant, et a prædictis tam perniciosis erroribus prorsus abstineant, inventuri apud nos, si effectualiter pervenerint et paruisse per legitima documenta nos certificaverint, paternæ charitatis affectum et apertum mansuetudinis et clementiæ fontem:

Inhibentes nihilominus eidem Martino ex nunc, ut interim ab omni prædicatione seu prædicationis officio omnino desistat. Alioqui—ut ipsum Martinum (si forte justitiæ et virtutis amor a peccato non retrahat indulgentiæque spes ad pœnitentiam non reducat) pœnarum terror coerceat et disciplinæ—eundem Martinum ejusque adhærentes, complices, fautores et receptatores tenore præsentium requirimus et monemus in virtute sanctæ obedientiæ, et, sub prædictis omnibus pœnis eo ipso incurrendis, districtè præcipiendo mandamus, quatenus infra 60 dies (quorum 20 pro primo, viginti pro secundo, et reliquos 20 dies pro tertio et peremptorio termino assignamus, ab affixione præsentium in locis infra scriptis immediatè sequente numerandos) ipse Martinus, complices, fautores, adhærentes, et receptatores prædicti, a præfatis erroribus eorumque prædicatione et publicatione et assertione, defensione quoque, et librorum seu scripturarum editione super iisdem sive eorum aliquo, omnino desistant; librosque et scripturas omnes et singulos, præfatos errores seu eorum aliquos quomodolibet continentes, comburant vel comburi faciant.

Ipso etiam Martinus errores et assertiones hujusmodi omnino revocet, ac de revocatione hujusmodi per publica documenta in forma juris valida, manibus duorum prælatorum consignata, ad nos infra alios similes 60 dies transmittenda; vel per ipsummet—si ad nos venire voluerit (quod magis placeret) cum præfato plenissimo salvo conductu, quem ex nunc concedimus deferendum—nos certiores efficiat: ut de ejus vera obedientia nullus dubitationis scrupulus valeat remanere.

Aliàs, si (quod absit) Martinus præfatus, complices, fautores, adhærentes et receptatores præfati secus egerint, seu præmissa omnia et singula infra terminum prædictum cum effectu non impleverint, (apostoli imitantes doctrinam[k] qui hæreticum hominem post primam et secundam correctionem vitandum docuit) ex nunc prout ex tunc et è converso, eundem Martinum, complices, adhærentes, &c.—tanquam aridos palmites in Christo non manentes, sed doctrinam contrariam, catholicæ fidei inimicam, sive scandalosam, seu damnatam (in non modicam offensam divinæ majestatis ac universalis ecclesiæ et fidei catholicæ detrimentum et scandalum) dogmatizantes et prædicantes, claves quoque ecclesiæ vilipendentes,—notorios et pertinaces hæreticos eadem auctoritate fuisse et esse declarantes, eosdem ut tales harum serie condemnamus, et eos pro talibus haberi ab omnibus utriusque sexus Christi fidelibus volumus et mandamus.

Inhibemus præterea sub omnibus et singulis præmissis pœnis eo ipso incurrendis, ne quis scripta, etiam præfatos errores non continentia, ab eodem Martino vel condita vel condenda, seu eorum aliqua, (tanquam ab homine orthodoxæ fidei inimico atque ideo vehementer suspecto, utque ejus memoria omnino deleatur de Christi fidelium consortio,) legere, asserere, prædicare, laudare, imprimere, publicare, sive defendere, per se vel alium vel alios, directe vel indirecte, tacite vel expresse, publice vel occulte, quoquo modo præsumat: quinimo illa comburat ut præfertur.

Monemus insuper omnes et singulos Christi fideles, sub eadem excommunicationis lata sententia pœnâ, ut hæreticos prædictos, mandatis nostris non obtemperantes, post lapsum termini supradicti evitent, et (quantum in eis est) evitari faciant, &c. Ad majorem præterea dicti Martini, suorumque complicum, fautorum, ac adhærentium (sic post lapsum termini supradicti declaratorum hæreticorum et condemnatorum) confusionem, universis utriusque sexus Christi fidelibus, patriarchis, archiepiscopis, episcopis; patriarchalium, metropolitanarum, &c. prælatis, capitulis, &c.; necnon singulis principibus quacunque ecclesiastica vel mundana fulgentibus dignitate, regibus, imperatoris electoribus, ducibus, &c., præsertim in Alemania constitutis, mandamus, quatenus sub prædictis pœnis, ipsi vel eorum quilibet præfatum Martinum, complices, adhærentes et fautores personaliter capiant; et captos ad nostram instantiam retineant et ad nos mittant, reportaturi pro tam bono opere a nobis et sede apostolica remunerationem; vel saltem ut eos de metropolitanis, cathedral. collegiat. et aliis ecclesiis, domibus, monasteriis, conventibus, civitatibus, &c., omnino expellant. Eos qui secus egerint, una cum locis ipsis ad quæ eundem Martinum declinare contigerit, quamdiu ibi remanserit, et triduo post ejus recessum, ecclesiastico subjicimus interdicto.

Et ut præmissa omnibus innotescant, mandamus insuper universis patriarchis, archiepiscopis, episcopis, &c. ubilibet per universum orbem, præsertim in Alemania constitutis, quatenus ipsi vel eorum quilibet (sub similibus censuris et pœnis eo ipso incurrendis) Martinum omnesque et singulos supradictos (qui elapso termino mandatis nostris non paruerint) in eorum ecclesiis dominicis et aliis festivis diebus, dum infibi major populi multitudo ad divina convenerit, hæreticos condemnatos publice nuncient, faciantque ab aliis nunciari, et ab omnibus arctius evitari: simulque præsentes literas, vel earum transumptum, in eorum ecclesiis affigi faciant.

Excommunicamus quoque omnes et singulos, cujuscunque status, gradus, conditionis, præminentiæ, dignitatis aut excellentiæ fuerint, qui quo minus præsentes literæ aut earum transumpta affigi et publicari possint, quoquo modo procuraverint per se vel alium seu alios, publice vel occulte, directe vel indirecte, tacite vel expresse, &c.

Nulli ergo homini liceat hanc paginam nostræ damnationis, reprobationis, rejectionis, decreti, declarationis, inhibitionis, voluntatis, mandati, hortationis, obsecrationis, requisitionis, monitionis, assignationis, confessionis, condemnationis, subjectionis, excommunicationis, et anathematizationis, infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contraire. Si quis autem hoc attentare præsumpserit, indignationem omnipotentis Dei, ac beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum ejus, se noverit incursurum.

Datum Romæ apud S. Pet. an. 1520, 17 Calend. Julii, Pontificatus nostri 8.

Concordat cum Originali.

(*k*) Doctrina apostolica hæreticum hominem vitare jubet semel ac iterum admonitum, cæterum pro hæreticis trucidari innocentes ac præmiis propositis gregari ac trahi ad lanienam—id nusquam jubet.

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thou hast foretold us) false liars have risen up, bringing in sects of perdition, to their own speedy destruction; whose tongue is like fire, full of unquietness, and replenished with deadly poison; who, having a wicked zeal, and nourishing contentions in their hearts, do brag and lie against the verity.

Rise up, Paul! also, we pray thee, who hast illuminated the same church with thy doctrine and like martyrdom. For now is sprung up a new Porphyry, who, as the said Porphyry[1] then unjustly did slander the holy apostles, so, semblably, doth this man now slander, revile, rebuke, bite, and bark against the holy bishops our predecessors, not in beseeching them, but in rebuking them. And where he distrusteth his cause, there he falleth to opprobrious checks and rebukes, after the wonted use of heretics, whose uttermost refuge is this (as Jerome saith), that when they see their cause go to wreck, then, like serpents, they cast out the venom with their tongue; and when they see themselves near to be overcome, they fall to railing. For though heresies (as thou sayest) must needs be, for the exercise of the faithful, yet, lest these heresies should further increase, and these foxes gather strength against us, it is needful that, by thy means and help, they be suppressed and extinguished at the beginning.

Finally, let all the whole universal church of God's saints and doctors rise up, whose true expounding of holy Scripture being rejected, certain persons whose hearts the father of lies hath blinded, and wise in their own conceits (as the manner of heretics is), do expound the Scriptures otherwise than the Holy Ghost doth require, following only their own sense of ambition and vain glory; yea rather do wrest and adulterate the Scriptures. So that, as Jerome saith, now they make it not the gospel of Christ, but of man, or, which is worse, of the devil. Let all the holy church, I say, rise up, and with the blessed apostles together make intercession to Almighty God, that the errors of all schismatics being rooted and stocked up, his holy church may be conserved in peace and unity. For of late (which for sorrow we cannot express), by credible information and also by public fame it hath come to our ears, yea we have seen, also, and read with our eyes, divers and sundry errors, of which some have been condemned by councils and constitutions of our predecessors, containing expressly the heresies of the Greeks and of the Bohemians; some again respectively, either heretical, or false, or slanderous, or offensive to good ears, or such as may seduce simple minds, newly to be raised up, by certain false pretensed gospellers; who, by curious pride, seeking worldly glory against the doctrine of the apostles, would be more wise than becometh them; whose babbling (as St. Jerome calleth it) without authority of the Scriptures, would find no credit, unless they should seem to confirm their false doctrine even with testimonies of the Scripture, but yet falsely interpreted. Which worketh us so much the more grief, for that those heresies be sprung up in the noble nation of the Germans, unto which nation we, with our predecessors, have always borne special favour and affection. For after the empire was first translated by the church of Rome, from the Greeks unto the Germans, the said our predecessors and we, have always had them as special fautors and defenders of this our church, and they have always showed themselves as most earnest suppressors of heresies; as witness whereof remain yet those laudable constitutions of German emperors, set forth and confirmed by our predecessors, for the liberty of the church, and for expulsing heretics out of all Germany; and that under grievous penalty and loss of all their goods and lands; which constitutions, if they were observed this present day, both we and they should now be free from this disturbance.

Respectively.

The Germans in old time addicted to popery above all other nations.

Furthermore, the heresy of the Hussites, Wicklevists, and of Jerome of Prague, being condemned and punished in the council of Constance, doth witness the same: moreover doth witness the same, so much blood of the Germans, spilt fighting against the Bohemians. To conclude, the same also is confirmed and witnessed by the learned and true confutation, reprobation, and condemnation, set forth by the universities of Cologne and Louvain in Germany, against the aforesaid errors. Many other witnesses also we might allege, whom here (lest we should seem to write a story) we pretermit.

Wherefore we, for the charge of our pastoral office committed unto us, can no longer forbear or wink at the pestiferous poison of these aforesaid errors;

(1) See Holstenius de Vitâ Porphyr. cap. xi.—Ed.

of which errors we thought here good to recite certain, the tenor of which is this as followeth. *Ecclesiastical Affairs.*

'It is an old heresy to say, that the sacraments of the new law do give grace to them, qui non ponunt obicem, i. e. who have in themselves no let to the contrary.' Articles of Luther.

'To deny that sin remaineth in a child after his baptism, is to tread down Paul and Christ under foot.'

'The origin of sin, although no actual sin do follow after, doth stay the soul, leaving the body, from the entrance into heaven.'

'Unperfect charity of a man departing must needs bring with it great fear, which of itself is enough to deserve the pain of purgatory, and stoppeth the entrance into the kingdom of heaven,'

'To say that penance standeth of three parts, to wit, contrition, confession, satisfaction, is not founded in holy Scriptures, nor in ancient, holy, and christian doctors.'

'Contrition, which a man stirreth up in himself, by discussing, remembering and detesting his sins, in revolving his former years in bitterness of soul, and in pondering the weight, number, and filthiness of his sins, the losing of eternal bliss, and getting of eternal damnation: this contrition maketh a man a hypocrite, and a great sinner.'

'It is an old proverb, and to be preferred before the doctrine of all that have written hitherto of contrition: from henceforth to transgress no more. The chiefest and the best penance is a new life.' Best penance.

'Neither presume to confess thy venial sins, nor yet all thy mortal sins; for it is impossible to remember all the mortal sins that thou hast committed, and therefore, in the primitive church, they confessed the mortal sins which only were manifest.'

'While we seek to number up all our sins sincerely unto the priest, we mean nothing else herein, but that we will leave nothing to the mercy of God to be forgiven.'

'In confession no man hath his sins forgiven, except he believe, when the priest forgiveth, the same to be remitted: yea, otherwise, his sin remaineth unforgiven, unless he believe the same to be forgiven. For else remission of the priest, and giving of grace doth not suffice, except belief come on his part that is remitted.'

'Think not thy sin to be assoiled for the worthiness of thy contrition, but for the word of Christ; Whatsoever thou loosest, &c. When thou art absolved of the priest, trust confidently upon these words, and believe firmly thyself to be absolved, and then art thou truly remitted.'

'Admit the party that is confessed were not contrite (which is impossible),[1] or that the priest pronounced the words of loosing not in earnest, but in jest; yet, if the party believe that he is absolved, he is truly absolved indeed.'

'In the sacrament of penance and absolution, the pope or bishop doth no more than any inferior priest can do: yea, and where a priest is not to be had, there every christian man, yea or christian woman, standeth in as good stead.'

'None ought to say to the priest, that he is contrite;[2] neither ought the priest to ask any such matter.'

'It is a great errror of them who come to the holy housel trusting upon this, that they are confessed, that their conscience grudgeth them in no deadly sin, that they have said their prayers, and done such other preparatives before; all those do eat and drink to their own judgment: but, if they believe there to obtain God's grace, this faith maketh them pure and worthy.'

'It were good that the church should determine in a general council, laymen to communicate under both kinds; and the Bohemians so doing be therein neither heretics nor schismatics.'

'The treasures out of which the pope doth grant his indulgences, are not the merits of Christ, nor of his saints.'

'Indulgences and pardons be a devout seducing of the faithful, and

(1) Impossible, because it cannot be that the faith of the true confessor can be without contrition.
(2) He meaneth this, because, as no man knoweth all his sins; so no man can be contrite for them sufficiently.

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hindrance to good works, and are in the number of them which be things lawful,[1] but not expedient.'

'Pardons and indulgences, to them that have them, avail not to remission of the punishment due before God for actual sins committed.'

'They that think that indulgences are wholesome and conducible to the fruit of the Spirit, are deceived.'

'Indulgences are only necessary for public transgressions, and are only granted to them that are obstinate and impatient.'

Indulgences and pardons taken clean away.

'Indulgences and pardons are unprofitable to six sorts of persons: first, to them that be dead, or lie in dying: secondly, to them that be weak and infirm: thirdly, to such as have lawful impediments: fourthly, to them that have not offended: fifthly, to such as have offended, but not publicly: sixthly, to those that amend and do well.'

'Excommunications be only outward punishments, and do not deprive a man of the public spiritual prayers of the church.'

'Christians are to be taught rather to love excommunication, than to dread it.'

'The bishop of Rome, successor of Peter, is not the vicar of Christ, ordained by Christ in St. Peter, to have authority over all the churches in the world.'

'The words of Christ to Peter, Whatsoever thou loosest, &c.,[2] extend no further but only to those things which be bound of Peter himself.'

'It is not in the hands either of the church or of the pope, to make articles of the faith, yea, or laws either of manners or good works.'

'Albeit the pope, with a great part of the church, teaching so or so, did not err therein, yet is it no sin nor heresy for a man to hold contrary to them; namely, in such things which are not necessary to salvation, so long as it is not otherwise condemned or approved by a general council.'

'We have a way made plain unto us to infringe the authority of councils, and freely to gainstand their doings, and to judge upon their decrees, and boldly to speak our knowledge, whatsoever we judge to be true, whether the same be approved or reproved by any general council.'

'Some of the articles of John Huss, condemned in the council of Constance, are christian, most true and evangelical, which the universal church cannot condemn.'

'In every good work, the just man sinneth.'

'Every good work of ours, when it is best done, it is a venial sin.'[3]

'To burn heretics, is against the will of the Spirit.'

'To fight against the Turks, is to repugn against God, visiting our iniquities by them.'[4]

'Freewill, after sin, is a title and name only of a thing; and while man doth that which lieth in him, he sinneth deadly.'

'Purgatory cannot be proved out of holy Scripture which is canonical.'

'Souls in purgatory be not certain of their safety, at least not all; neither is it proved by reasons or by Scriptures, that they be utterly out of the state to deserve or increase charity.'

'Souls in purgatory do sin without intermission, so long as they seek rest, and dread punishment.'

'The souls being delivered out of purgatory by the prayers of the living, be less blessed than if they had satisfied for themselves.'[5]

'Ecclesiastical prelates, and worldly princes, should not do amiss, if they would scour away all the bags of begging friars.'

All which errors there is no man in his right wits but he knoweth the same, in their several respects, how pestilent they be, how pernicious, how much they seduce godly and simple minds; and finally, how much they be against all charity, and against the reverence of the holy church of Rome, the mother of all the faithful and mistress of the faith itself, and against the sinews and strength of ecclesiastical discipline, which is obedience, the fountain and well-

(1) This he correcteth in his assertions of these articles, and saith, that indulgences be neither lawful nor expedient. And likewise he correcteth and revoketh the articles.

(2) Matt. xvi.

(3) This article is true, if the work should be brought to be tried by God's judgment. And here also he correcteth himself in this word 'venial,' because all sins are damnable.

(4) He meaneth that we should specially reform our lives, which deserve the Turks to plague us.

(5) These articles of purgatory he correcteth, and taketh purgatory clean away.

spring of all virtues, and without which every man is to be convinced easily to be an infidel. *Ecclesiastical Affairs.*

We, therefore, desiring to proceed in the premises more earnestly, as behoveth in things of most importance, and meaning to cut off the course of this pestiferous and cankered disease, lest it should spread itself further in the Lord's field, like hurtful brambles or briers; and using upon the said errors, and every of them, diligent trial, debating, strait examination, ripe deliberation; and further, weighing and thoroughly sifting all and every of the same together, with our reverend brethren the cardinals of the church of Rome, the priors of the orders regular, or ministers general; also with divers other professors and masters of divinity, and of both laws, and those the best learned: do find the aforesaid errors or articles respectively, as is aforesaid, not to be catholic, nor to be taught as catholic, but to be against the doctrine or tradition of the catholic church, and against the true interpretation of holy Scripture, received by the same; to whose authority Augustine thought we ought so much to lean, that he would not (as he said) have believed the gospel, if the authority of the church had not thereunto moved him. Concilium malignantium.

For by these errors, or at least by some of them, it followeth consequently, that the same church, which is guided by the Holy Ghost, now doth, and ever hath erred: which is utterly against that which Christ at the time of his ascension (as we read in the holy gospel of Matthew), promised to his disciples, saying, 'I am with you until the end of the world,' etc., and also against the determination of the holy fathers, against the express ordinances or canons of councils and head bishops, whom not to obey, hath always been the cause and nurse of all heresies and schisms, as Cyprian doth witness.

Wherefore, by the counsel and assent of the said our reverend brethren, upon due consideration of all and singular the premises, by the authority of Almighty God, and of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul, and our own, we do condemn, reprove, and utterly reject, all and singular the articles or errors aforesaid respectively, as some to be heretic, some to be slanderous, some to be offensive to godly ears, or else seducing simple minds, and repugnant to the catholic truth; and, by the tenor hereof, we here decree and declare, that they ought of all christian people, both men and women, to be taken as damned, reproved, and rejected. And therefore, forbidding here, under pain of the greater curse and excommunication, losing of their dignities, whether they be ecclesiastical or temporal, and to be deprived and made incapable of all regular orders and privileges, given and granted by the see apostolic, of what condition soever they be; also of losing their liberties to hold general schools, to read and profess any science and faculty; of losing also their tenures and feoffments, and of inability for ever to recover the same again, or any other; moreover, under pain of secluding from christian burial, yea and of treason also, and incurring such pains and punishments expressed in the law, as are due for all heretics and fautors of the same: we charge and command all and singular christian people, both men and women, as well of the laity as of the clergy, both secular and also regular, of what order soever they be; and, briefly, all other persons, of what degree or condition soever they be, or in what dignity soever they are placed, either ecclesiastical or temporal: as first, the cardinals of the holy church of Rome, patriarchs, primates, archbishops, bishops, with the prelates and heads of the churches patriarchical, metropolitan, or other cathedral, collegiate, and other small and inferior churches; also all clerks and other persons ecclesiastical, as abbots, priors, or ministers, general or particular, brethren or religious men, exempt and not exempt: also universities of schools, and all others, as well secular priests, as regular and religious persons of all orders, yea of the begging friars also: Item, kings,[1] electors of the imperial crown, princes, dukes, marquises, barons, captains, conductors and servitors, and all officers, judges, notaries, whether they be ecclesiastical, or secular; commonalties, universities, dominions, cities, castles, lordships, and places, with the inhabiters of the same: and, finally, all other persons whatsoever, ecclesiastical or regular, dispersed in whatsoever places through the whole universal world,[2] or who shall be hereafter dispersed, but especially in high Almany, The articles of Luther condemned.

(1) Behold how kings come after bags and wallets, and begging friars.

(2) Here may be a doubt, whether the man in the moon be exempted, with his bush of thorns on his neck, out of this bull or not.

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that they shall not presume, publicly or privately, under any manner of pretence or colour, colourably or expressly, or how else soever, to hold, maintain, defend, preach, or favour, the aforesaid errors or any of them, or any such perverse doctrine.

The books of Luther condemned.

Over and besides, forasmuch as the aforesaid errors, and many others are contained in the books or writings of the aforesaid Martin Luther, therefore we condemn, reprove, and utterly reject, and hold for utterly condemned, reproved, and rejected, the aforesaid books, and all the writings of the said Martin, with his preachings, in what tongue soever they are found, wherein the said errors, or any of them, are contained; willing and commanding, under the virtue of holy obedience and incurring the penalties aforesaid, to all and singular christian people, both men and women above rehearsed, that they presume not by any manner of ways, directly or indirectly, colourably or expressly, privily or apertly, either in their houses, or in other public or private places, to read, hold, preach, print, publish, or defend, either by themselves or by others; but, straightways after the publishing hereof, they do burn or cause to be burned the said errors, by their ordinaries diligently being searched out, and solemnly presented in the sight of the whole clergy and the people, under all and singular the penalties aforesaid.

Now, as touching the said Martin, O good Lord, what have we left undone?[1] what have we left unattempted? what fatherly charity have we not showed, whereby to have reduced him from these errors? For, after that we did cite him, thinking to proceed with him more favourably, we invited and exhorted him as well by divers tractations had with our legate, as by our own letters, that he would relinquish the aforesaid errors, or else, having safe-conduct offered to him, with money necessary for his journey, to come to us without any fear or dread, which perfect charity ought to cast out; and so, after the example of our Saviour and his apostle St. Paul, he would speak, not in corners and in secret, but openly to our face. Which if he had done, of truth we think no less but that, reforming himself, he would have recognised his errors, neither should have found so many faults in the court of Rome, which he, being seduced with the rumours of malicious people more than he ought, doth so much reprehend: where we would have taught him to see more clearly than the light day, that the holy fathers of Rome our predecessors (whom he, without all modesty, most injuriously doth rail upon) did never err in their canons and constitutions, which he so much depraveth. For, as saith the prophet, 'Neither is there resin nor physician lacking in Gilead.'[2] But he hath always showed himself disobedient, and refused at our citation to appear; and yet to this present day, continuing still in his stubborn mind and heart indurate, hath remained now more than a year under our curse; yea, and moreover, adding mischief to mischief (which is worst of all), he, hearing of this our citation, burst out into a presumptuous appellation from us, unto the next general council,[3] against the constitution both of pope Pius II., and pope Julius II., our predecessors, who so decreed, that all they that so did appeal, should be punished as heretics.

In vain, also, he seeketh refuge to the general council, who professeth himself not greatly to regard such councils. So that now we might lawfully proceed against him, as against one notoriously suspected of his faith, yea a very heretic indeed, without any further citation or delay, to the condemnation of him, as of a heretic, and to the severity of all and singular pains and censures afore written. Yet we, notwithstanding, by the counsel of our brethren aforesaid, following the clemency of Almighty God, who willeth not the death of a sinner, but rather that he should convert and live, and forgetting all injuries heretofore done unto us and to the see apostolic, have thought good to use all favourable means towards him that we might; and so to work (as much as in us lieth) that he, by this way of mansuetude, might be brought to reformation; so that he, forsaking his former errors, might be received as the lost child, and return again into the lap of his mother the church.

(1) Let us see here what ye have not done: first Luther gently submitted himself; but you rejected him. He then referred him to the judgment of four universities in Germany: it would not be taken. He then appealed from the cardinal to the pope: the pope refused him. Then he appealed from the pope to the council: neither did the pope admit that. He required, to be convinced by the Scriptures: the pope neither would, nor could, so do. And yet the pope saith, he left nothing undone. (2) Jer. viii.

(3) Here note, good reader, that Luther appealed from the pope to the council two years before this bull, which was A.D. 1518.

Wherefore, in most hearty wise we exhort and beseech the said Martin and all his adherents, receivers, and fautors, by the bowels of the mercy of our God, and by the sprinkling of the blood of our Lord Jesus Christ, in whom and by whom is made the redemption of mankind, and the edification of his holy mother church, that they will cease to disturb the peace, unity, and verity of the said church, for which our Saviour so instantly prayed to his Father; and that they will abstain from such pernicious errors aforesaid; who, in so doing, shall find with us (if they shall obey, or shall certify us by lawful witnesses to have obeyed effectually herein), the affection of fatherly charity, and a full fountain opened of all mercy and clemency: willing and charging the said Martin, notwithstanding, from henceforth, that he utterly desist in the mean time from all preaching and office of preaching. Or else, if the love of justice and virtue shall not restrain the said Martin from sin, neither the hope of our pardon shall reduce and bring him to repentance, to the intent that the terror of punishment and of discipline may bridle him, we require and admonish the said Martin and his adherents, abettors, fautors, and receivers, by the tenor hereof, in the virtue of holy obedience, and under incurring all the penalties aforesaid, strictly charging and commanding that within forty days (whereof twenty we assign for the first, ten for the second, and the other ten for the third and peremptory term) immediately following after the setting up of these present letters, the said Martin, his abettors, fautors, adherents, and receivers aforesaid, do surcease from the aforesaid errors, and from the preaching, publishing, maintaining, and defending of the same; also from setting out of book or scriptures upon the said errors, or any of them; and, furthermore, that they burn or cause to be burned, all and singular such books and scriptures as contain the aforesaid errors, or any of them, by any manner of way. Also, that the said Martin do utterly revoke those errors and assertions, and so certify us of the revoking thereof by public testimony, in due form of law, signed by the hands of two prelates, to be sent unto us within the term of other like forty days, or else to be brought by him unto us, if he himself will come (which would please us much rather), with a full safe-conduct above mentioned, which from henceforth we are content to offer unto him, to the intent that no scruple of doubt, touching his true obedience, should hereafter remain.

The pope's exhortation to Luther.

He threateneth Luther with punishment.

The pope's safe-conduct to Luther offered.

Contrariwise, if the said Martin (which God defend), his abettors, fautors, adherents, and maintainers aforesaid, shall otherwise do, or shall not fulfil, to every effect and purpose, all and singular the premises within the term aforesaid, we then, following the doctrine of the apostles, which teacheth us to avoid an heretical person after the first and second correction, as well now as before, and as well before as now—declaring, by our authority, the said Martin, his abettors, fautors, adherents, maintainers, and receivers, as withered branches not remaining in Christ, but teaching and preaching contrary doctrine, repugnant to the catholic faith, slanderous and damnable, to the great offence of God's majesty, to the detriment and slander of the universal church and catholic faith, and despising the keys of the church, to be, and to have been notorious and obstinate heretics,—do condemn the same for such by the tenor hereof, willing and commanding them to be holden and taken for such by all christian people aforesaid.

Over and besides, we forbid, under the incurring of all and singular the penalties afore expressed in so doing, that any man presume by any manner of way, directly or indirectly, secretly or expressly, privily or apertly, to read, hold, preach, praise, print, publish or defend, either by themselves or by any other, the said books and writings; not only those wherein the errors aforesaid are contained, but also all others, whatsoever have been or shall be set forth, written, or made by the said Martin, vehemently suspected as a pernicious enemy of the catholic faith, to the intent that his memory may utterly be rooted out from the fellowship of all christian people; or rather, with fire to consume them, as is before declared.

All the books of Luther, both good and bad, condemned.

We admonish, moreover, all and singular Christ's faithful people, under the said pain of the great curse, to avoid or cause to be avoided, so much as in them doth lie, the aforesaid heretics not obedient to our commandments, and to have no fellowship, nor any conversation or communion with them, or with any of them, neither to minister to them things necessary.

And moreover, to the more confusion of the said Martin, with his abettors,

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adherents, and retainers aforesaid, thus being declared and condemned as heretics after the expiring of the term aforesaid, we command to all and singular Christ's faithful people both men and women,[1] as patriarchs, archbishops, prelates of churches (either patriarchal, metropolitan, and other cathedral, collegiate, and other inferior churches); to deans and chapters, and other ecclesiastical persons secular, and of all other orders, even of the begging friars also (especially of that congregation, where the said Martin is professed, or hath his abode); also to regulars exempt, and not exempt: Item, to all and singular princes (what dignity or calling soever, either ecclesiastical or temporal they be of), to kings, princes, electors, dukes, marquises, earls, barons, captains, conductors, servitors, commonalties, universities, dominions, cities, lands, castles, and places, or the citizens and inhabitants thereof: and briefly, to all and singular others aforesaid, through the universal world dispersed,[2] especially in Almany, that they, and every of them, under all and singular penalties aforesaid, do personally apprehend the said Martin, his abettors, adherents, receivers, and fautors, and retain them being apprehended, at our instance, and send them unto us (who, in so doing, for their good work shall receive of us and the see apostolic condign reward and recompence); or, at least, that they utterly drive them, and every one of them, out of their metropolitan, cathedral, collegiate, and other churches, houses, monasteries, convents, cities, dominions, universities, commonalties, castles, lands, and places respectively, as well the clergymen, as the regulars and laymen, all and singular aforesaid.

These cities, dominions, lands, castles, villages, commonalties, holds, towns, and places, wheresoever they be situate respectively; metropolitan, cathedral, collegiate, and other churches; monasteries also, priories, convents, and religious and devout places, or what order soever (as is aforesaid) unto which it shall chance the said Martin to come; so long as he or they shall there remain, and three days after their departing from thence, we here give over to the ecclesiastical interdiction.

And that the premises may be known to all men, we command moreover to all patriarchs, archbishops, bishops, prelates of the patriarchal, metropolitan, and other cathedral and collegiate churches; to deans and chapters, and other persons ecclesiastical, and of what order else soever aforesaid; to regular brethren, religious monks, exempt and not exempt as aforesaid, wheresoever they dwell, and especially within Almany, that they and every of them, under like censures and pains, do publicly denounce, and cause and command to be denounced by others, the said Martin, with all and singular his aforesaid adherents, who shall not obey our commandments and monitions, within the term aforesaid, upon every Sunday, and other festival days, within their churches, when the greatest concourse of people shall resort to divine service, to be declared and condemned for heretics; and that all Christ's faithful people shall avoid them under the said censures and penalties as be afore expressed; and that they do set up these presents, or cause to be set up, or the transcript of them made under the form hereafter ensuing, in their churches, monasteries, houses, convents, and other places, there openly to be seen and read.

Item, We do excommunicate and curse all and singular persons, of whatsoever state, degree, condition, pre-eminence, dignity, or excellency they be, who shall procure, or cause to be procured, by themselves or others, privily or apertly, directly or indirectly, secretly or expressly, whereby these presents, or the copies transcribed, or the examples of them cannot be read, set up, and published in their lands and dominions, etc.

Let no man therefore be so bold as to dare to infringe, or with rash presumption to contrary, this writing of our damnation, reprobation, rejection, decree, declaration, inhibition, will, commandment, exhortation, beseeching, request, admonition, assignation, grant, condemnation, subjection, excommunication, and curse. And if any person and persons dare presume to attempt the same, let him know and be sure, that he shall incur the indignation of Almighty God, and his blessed apostles Peter and Paul.[3]

Given at Rome, at St. Peter's, A.D. 1520, the seventeenth of the calends of July, and of our popedom the eighth year.

(1) And he shall have power and commandment upon every company, and people, and tongue, and nation, etc. Apoc. xiii.

(2) The pope here dreameth of a dry summer, thinking all the world to be subject unto him.

(3) Cujus contrarium verum est.

A.D.1520.

Luther answereth again to the pope's bull.

The pope's bull-baiting.

The pope described in his colours.

Although it was somewhat long before this bull aforesaid of pope Leo, being sent and dispersed through all other places abroad, could come to the hands of Luther, yet as soon as he, by means of his friends, might get a sight thereof, he shaped an answer again to the same, in such sort as, I am sure, the pope himself will say that this bull was never so baited, and so well-favouredly shaken in all his days; as by the handling of the matter, and reading of his answer, may evidently appear. The contents and copy of which answer I thought here, next under the said bull, immediately to exhibit to the christian reader, that whoso is disposed to confer the one with the other, having them both at hand, may judge the better of the whole matter and cause, and also may see the true image of the pope, out of his painted vizor, appear in his own perfect colours. The answer now to the bull here followeth:[1]

(1) *Martinus Lutherus Christiano Lectori gratiam Christi in salutem æternam.*

Fama pervenit ad me, christiane lector, exisse Bullam quandam adversum me penè in omnem terram, priusquam ad me, in quem unice fieret et cui maximè esset inferenda, veniret. Forte quod noctis et tenebrarum scilicet filia timuit lucem vultus mei. Hanc tamen ipsam noctuam, vix tandem multum adjuvantibus amicis, in imagine sua datum est videre. Quæ causa est, ut adhuc incertus esse cogar, ludantne in me papistæ mei, libello quodam famoso et anonymo, an serio et verè sic Romæ insaniant. Neque enim hic stylus (ut dicitur) neque processus Romanæ curiæ servatus est; tum (quod maxime urget) articulos et imponit et damnat planè ac manifestè christianissimos; ut mihi omnium verisimillimum sit hanc prolem esse monstri illius Johannis Eccii, hominis ex mendaciis, simulationibus, erroribus, hæresibusque confusi et consuti.

Auget suspicionem, quod idem Eccius talis Bullæ apostolus fuisse dicitur à Romanis. Neque enim tali apostolatu dignior ullus apostolus. Atque superioribus diebus audieram, parturiri in Urbe contra me Bullam quandam diram et sævam eodem coartifice Eccio (id quod stylus et saliva indicant), sed quæ illic bonis et eruditis quibusque viris summe displiceret, eòque differretur, imo opprimeretur.

Verum quicquid sit, mihi incredibile non est, ubi apostolus Eccius auditur et valet, ibi Antichristi regnum esse, et nihil non insaniarum homines audere. Interim tamen agam, ne credam Leonem Decimum Romanum episcopum, cum suis eruditis cardinalibus, esse harum insaniarum autores: quod non tam facio ut Romani nominis honorem custodiam, quàm ne superbiâ nimis infler et dignus mihi videar talia, tam pulchra, tam gloriosa pati pro veritate Dei. Si enim verè Romanus episcopus in me sic insaniret, quis Luthero coram Deo felicior esset, qui ob tam manifestam veritatem a tanto vertice damnaretur? Quid enim hic optandum mihi foret, quam ut nunquam absolverer, reconciliarer, communicarer Antichristo isti indoctissimo, impiissimo, furiosissimo? Felix illa dies, felix illa mors, cum gaudio et summa gratitudine Deo referenda, si quando fiat, ut in ista causa me apprehendat et perdat. Sed aliis des hujus nominis honorem, et dignum quærat ista causa martyrem: ego peccatis meis alia meritus sum.

Existimationem igitur suam quisque habeat de Romanis: ego, quisquis fuerit hujus Bullæ autor, eum pro Antichristo habeo, et contra Antichristum hæc scribo, redempturus veritatem Christi (quod in me fuerit) quam ille extinguere conatur. Atque primum (ut nihil in me obtineat ex omnibus quæ voluit) protestor coram Deo et Domino nostro Jesu Christo, et sanctis angelis ejus, et toto mundo, me dissentire toto corde damnationi hujus Bullæ, quam et maledico et execror, velut hostem sacrilegam et blasphemiam Christi filii Dei, et Domini nostri, Amen. Deinde assero et amplector fiducia tota spiritus mei articulos per eam damnatos, asserendosque pronuncio omnibus Christianis sub pœna æternæ maledictionis, et Antichristos habendos quicunque Bullæ consenserint, quos et his Scriptis conjuncto mihi omnium spiritu qui pure Christum cognoscunt et colunt) pro Ethnicis habeo et devito, secundum præceptum ejusdem Domini nostri Jesu Christi, Amen. Hæc mea revocatio esto, O Bulla, vere Bullarum filia.

Hac mea confessione seu protestatione facta (cujus testes esse volo omnes qui hæc legerint), antequam ad defendendos declarandosque articulos procedam, aliquot argumentis in ipsam Bullam contandam præludere libuit: quorum primum ab inscitia Antichristi hujus summi. Apostolus enim Petrus mandat, ut de ea quæ in nobis est fide et spe, rationem reddere parati simus. [1 Pet. iii.] Et Paulus episcopum jubet esse potentem exhortari in doctrina sana et contradicentes redarguere. [Tit. i.] Atque hæc ipsa sunt quæ jam in tertium annum efflagitavi et expectavi e Roma, aut iis qui Romam sapiunt. Quæ et observata legimus in antiquis patribus diligentissimè, quoties hæreses damnarent. Sed nec apostoli quidquam in suis conciliis statuerunt, nisi allegata primum Scriptura sancta. Ita et ego cum expectarem ut fecerent uvas, Scripturæ testimoniis me eruditurі, ecce! fecerunt labruscas [Esai. v.]; suis verbis nudis me condemnantes, cum ego tot Scripturis mea munierim.

Rogo te, Antichriste indoctissime, adeone conjunxisti cum summa inscitia summam temeritatem, ut præsumeres omnes homines esse in stuporem versos et te nudis tuis verbis contra armatissimam Scripturam triumphare erodituros? An didicisti hunc morem damnandi a magistratibus Coloniensibus et Lovaniensibus?

Si hoc ecclesiasticè damnare errores, tantum dicere, 'Non placet,' 'Nego,' 'Non volo,' quis morio, quis asinus, quæ talpa, quis stipes, non queat damnare? Non pudoscit frons tua meretricia, ut sic in publica ecclesia audeas inanibus inermibusque verborum tuorum fumis contradicere cœlestium verborum fulminibus? Planè dedecorosam et dignam Antichristo condemnationem! quæ tot Scripturis sibi repugnantibus ne iota quidem habet quod opponat, sed unico verbo occurrit, dicens—'Ego damno.' Cur Turcæ non credimus, cur Judeos non admittimus, cur hæreticos non honoramus (qui et ipsi nostra damnant), si sufficit damnare? nisi ideo non eis cedimus, quia non sine Scripturis et rationibus nos damnant. Ipsi vero more novo, sine Scripturis et rationibus damnant. Quid ego in causa fuisse arbitrar, ut hæc damnatoria Bulla sic inanis et inermis et vere Bulla

(*k*) See Edition 1570, p. 1465; also 'Lutheri Omnia Opera.' Edit. Jenæ. 1558. ff. 301—307.—Ed.

Ecclesiastical Affairs.

The Answer of Martin Luther against the execrable Bull of Pope Leo, translated from the Latin.

Martin Luther to the Christian reader, wisheth the grace of Christ to eternal salvation. I heard a fame afar off, christian reader, that a certain Bull was past

incederet, nisi insignem inscitiam, qua (cum mea vera esse vidissent et tamen pati nollent nec confutare possent), tentaverunt vano terriculamento perditi papyri me terrere? Sed Lutherus bellis assuetus Bullis non terretur; et inter inanem papyrum ac omnipotens verbum Dei distinguere didicit.

Ejusdem inscitiæ et illud est, quod, vexante conscientiâ, non sunt ausi articulos nominatim digerere, quosque in ordines suos. Timuerunt enim ne hæreticum assererent, quem nec erroneum fortè nec scandalosum possent ostendere. Proinde invenerunt adverbium, 'respectivè,' et post enumeratos articulos dicunt, 'alios respectivè hæreticos, alios erroneos, alios scandalosos.' Quod est dicere—'Nos putamus aliquos esse hæreticos, alios erroneos, alios scandalosos.' Sed nescimus qui, quales, quanti. O meticulosa ignorantia, quam lubrica et fugitiva es! quam odis lucem! ut verteris ac reverteris in omnia, ne capiaris, sicut Proteus quidam! nec sic tamen evades: immo in astutia tua magis comprehenderis et subverteris. Prodi itaque, indoctissime Antichriste. Doce nos sapientiam tuam: distribue tua ipsius verba. Dic si nosti tu ipse quod dixeris: ostende quis sit hæreticus, quis vere erroneus, quis scandalosus, et quis sit qualiscunque. Decet enim tam magnificum damnatorem nosse quid damnat: turpissimum autem sit damnare articulum hæreticum, et eundem non posse nominare. Nolo tantum 'respectivè,' sed absolutè et certè docceri. Sum enim Occanicæ factionis, qui respectus contemnunt, omnia autem absoluta habent, ut sic jocer in istam moriam. Vide ergo, mi lector, insignem inscitiam Antichristianam, quam infelici dolo se occultare præsumpsit sub adverbio 'respectivè.' Non solum enim non docet veritatem et causam damnationis, sed nec errorem monstrare audet, nec hoc ipsum indicare quod damnat, et tamen damnat. Nonne lautissima damnatio, damnare et nescire quid damnes? Nonne disertissima oratio, loqui et nescire quid loquaris? Quin anticyras integras his Bullatis morionibus optamus? Sic sapere et facere debent omnes veritatis adversarii!

Sed scio quis dolor lenonem istum premat. Nempe Eccius meus—memor quam Lipsiæ pudefactus sit, dum me ob articulos Hussi (spumantibus labris, sat plausibiliter, theatro suo), hæreticum tercenties clamaret furiosa voce, et idipsum postea probare non posset, cum Constantiensis damnatio, a me adducta præter spem Eccii, nullum certum articulum signasset hæreticum, sed et ipsa similis huic nostræ per inscitiam alios hæreticos, alios erroneos, alios offensivos dixisset, et Eccius his auditis, turpissima temeritate in semet confusus, falso et mendaciter me hæreticum a se clamatum sentiret,—voluit Romæ huic vulneri suo mederi, et mendacium temeritatis suæ stabilire. Sed non proficiet, spero (jubente Christo), mendax sophista: expostulo enim adhuc, ut absolutè non respectivè, distinctè non confuse, certè non simulariter, clarè non obscurè, singulariter non in genere, dicant quis sit et quis non sit hæreticus. Sed quando hæc facient? Quando Christus et Belial convenient, aut lux et tenebræ sociabuntur.

Quid ergo faciam ego interim? Primum, meticulosissimos et indoctissimos papistas, Antichristique apostolos contemnam, illudamque eis cum Helia et dicam: Si Baal deus est, respondeat. Forte ebrius est aut in itinere. Clamate voce majori; deus enim est: forte audit. [1 Reg. 18.] Quid enim aliud Bullati isti asini mereantur, qui damnarent id, quod nesciunt et nescire se fatentur? Deinde securus ero, nec hæreticus, nec erroneus, nec scandalosus habendus, donec, si non convictum, tamen simpliciter et nudis verbis monstratum fuerit in quo articulo talis sim. Neque enim tam onero papistas meos (stipites istos) ut probent, sed ut monstrent saltem errorem, hoc est, ut ostendant an sciant, quid lallent ipsimet, suamve salivam sentiant. Dum enim nullum articulum designant hæreticum, mihi liberum est quemvis oblatum negare hæreticum, et asserere catholicum.

Sed et hanc ruditatem, fermè asinina rudiorem, quis non rideat in Antichristo impiissimo et rudissimo, quòd optimi homines discernunt hæreticos ob erroneis, et hos ab offensivis, hos a scandalosis? Qua acutissima acutissimorum hominum distinctione colligimus, erroneum non esse hæreticum. Quod autem hæreticum non est, quid ad damnatores ecclesiasticos?—qui solum hæretica damnare debent. Nam quod hæreticum est, non catholicum est, Christo dicente: *Qui non est contra nos, pro nobis est.* Immo vellem dari mihi ab istis viris magnificis articulum erroneum in ecclesia, qui non sit hæreticus: si enim erroneus est, nihil differt ab hæretico, nisi pertinacia asserentis. Omnia enim equaliter aut vera aut falsa sunt, licet affectus in uno aliquo vero aut falso, major et minor esse possit. Vides ergo iterum Bullatos meos non posse articulum mihi monstrare qui erroneus et non hæreticus sit, et iterum lallare sicut furiosos, qui nesciunt quid dicant, damnantes inventum erroneum non hæreticum, quod non possit esse in rebus neque verbis: ut quales sunt articuli, talis et damnatio.

Par sapientia est, scandalosum esse qui nec sit hæreticus, nec erroneus. Detur obsecro ille, non modo in meis sed in omnium hominum verbis et scriptis ab initio mundi usque in finem. Quid ergo hæc portenta cogitare coegit papistas meos, nisi inscitia furiosa? Nisi fortè scandalosos appellant, quo modo veri et catholici sunt scandalosi. Nihil enim est scandalosius veritate, immò sola veritas est scandalosa superbis et insensatis. Sicut de Christo [1 Cor. i.] dicitur: Nos prædicamus Christum crucifixum, Judæis scandalum, Gentibus stultitiam. Et [Lucæ. ii.] Positus est hic in ruinam et resurrectionem multorum in Israel. Quare, cum papistæ mei scandalosos secernant ab hæreticis et erroneis, quod autem hæreticum et erroneum non est, id catholicum et verum esse certum sit: sequitur articulos scandalosos ab eis intelligi et damnari catholicos et veros. O digna damnatio papistis! Vide, mi lector, quorsum sese rotat impietas cæca! quam seipsam irridet et illudit! quam facilè capitur in suis verbis! quam imprudens et stulta sit in omnibus suis studiis! non solum non probat errorem et scandalum, sed (pro eo ut monstret solum) impossibilia et sibi turpissimè pugnantia loquitur. Ubi nunc tuum infelix 'respectivè,' infelicissima Bulla? quo respexisti? in barathrum impietatis scilicet et ruditatis tuæ.

Idem dicendum erit de offensivis; nam hos neque scandalosos, neque hæreticos esse oportet, cum a tantis papistis discernantur. Quis ergo non miretur tanta ingenia papistarum, qui invenire potuerunt offensivum esse in ecclesia, quod tamen nec falsum, nec hæreticum, nec scandalosum, sed verum, catholicum, ædificatorium sit, et tamen hoc ipsum damnent? Quis vero non ambiat etiam ab iis insanis damnari, qui suâ propriâ damnatione ostendunt se damnata probare et probata damnare; hoc est, truncis et cautibus esse insensatiores esse palam, cum summa sua ignominia, commonstrant? Ite ergo, vos impii et insensati papistæ, et sobrii scribito si quid scribere vultis; nam hanc Bullam apparet, vel inter putanas nocturno convivio esse egestam, aut in canicularibus furlis confusam: neque enim ulli moriones sic insanirent.

Retorqueamus autem imprudentiam istam Antichristi in os ejus, et ex sermonibus ipsiusmet

out against me, and sent almost over all the world before it came to me, against whom it was specially directed, and to whom it most chiefly appertained. For *Ecclesiastical Affairs.*

judicemus et condemnemus eum, ut doinceps discat astutius et meliori memoria mentiri. Oportet enim mendacem esse memorem, juxta proverbium. Si alii sunt articuli offensivi et alii hæretici, et tu eum damnas, qui non est hæreticus, ac per hoc est verus et catholicus (etiamsi sit sexcenties offensivus): nonne impudens os tuum damnat seipsum, non modo hæreseos, sed extremæ impietatis et blasphemiæ læsæque majestatis in veritatem divinam, ostenditque vere te eum esse hominem qui adversatur, et extollitur super omne quod dicitur aut quod colitur Deus? Nonne tu es homo ille peccati et filius perditionis, qui negat Deum emptorem suum, et charitatem veritatis tollit, ut operationem erroris sui statuat, quo credamus iniquitati, ut Paulus prædixit. Si enim articulus hæreticus non est, non potest esse offensivus aut scandalosus nisi hæreticis Antichristis et Satanis pietatis. Vide ergo quàm pulchrè bulla ista omnium impudentissima imprudentissimaque, dum in me aliud hæreticum, aliud offensivum damnat, auctores suos veros hæreticos et adversarios Dei palam declarat: adeo non est scientia, non est consilium contra Dominum, adeo impietas cæca capitur verbis oris sui: adeo verum est, qui jacit lapidem in altum, recidet super caput ejus.

Et (quod omnium pulcherrimum est,) hac impia contradictione sua revelantur cogitationes cordium eorum, et nequitiam suam, quam volunt maximè celatam, maximè produnt; incredibili imprudentia, esse scilicet eos paratos semel universam veritatem damnare. Cum enim hæreticos asserunt quos hæreticos ostendere aut nominare non possunt, nec sciunt, nec audent, quid hinc intelligimus, nisi esse eos toto corde adversarios Christi, et paratos damnare omnem veritatem? et tamen infelici hypocrisi fingunt se damnare hæreses. En vobis O Bullares asini, discite tandem quid sit—Christum esse signum contradictionis et petram scandali. Quam subito et facili negotio denudata est omnis interior impietas et ignominia vestra eis ipsis verborum operculis, quibus eam contegere frustra studuistis! Habemus itaque hoc primo et evidente argumento, bullam hanc non esse nisi Antichristi, summi adversarii Dei et pietatis. Agnoscat nunc eam, si audet, sive Eccius sive papa, et sciet quo nomine et qua opinione sit nobis observandus. In unum enim cumulum hic omnia pessima nomina convenerunt, impietas, blasphemia, insciția, imprudentia, hypocrisis, mendacium, breviter Satanas ipse cum suo Antichristo.

Nec minus revelat impietas ista seipsam et eo quod nunc dicam: Decernit enim bulla ista eximia apertis impudentissimisque verbis, esse exurendos etiam eos libellos meos, in quibus errores non sunt, ut memoria mei penitus tollatur. Potes nunc, christiane lector, dubitare infernalem draconem sonare per bullam istam? Vulgò dicitur asinum ideo malè cantare, quia altius orditur: et ista quoque bulla felicius cecinisset, si non blasphemum os suum in cœlum posuisset, impudenti et plusquam diabolica impietate veritatem etiam confessam et probatam damnatura. Hactenus enim Satanas veritatem sub specie veritatis oppressit, quoties oppressit. At hic homo peccati, adversarius et elevatus supra Deum, posita specie apertaque fronte, idque in ecclesia Dei, absque timore, veritatem Christianam, et cognitam et probatam a seipso et omnibus, damnat et exuri mandat. Quid si hæc in Turcia fierent? Quo loco hæc vox, *rogo*, digna, nisi imo Tartaro? Et non timetis, Bullati vos Antichristi, ne saxa et ligna sanguinem sudent, præ horrendissimo hoc spectro impietatis vestræ et blasphemiæ?

Ubi es nunc, optime Carole Imperator? Ubi estis reges et principes Christiani? Christo dedistis nomen in baptismo, et has Tartareas voces Antichristi potestis ferre? Ubi episcopi? ubi doctores? ubi quicunque Christum confitemini? ad hæc horribilia papistarum portenta tacere potestis? Miseram ecclesiam Dei, factam Satanæ tantum ludibrium! Miseros omnes qui his temporibus vivunt! Venit, venit, ira Dei in finem super papistas, inimicos crucis Christi et veritatis Dei, ut resistant et ipsi omnibus hominibus, prohibentes prædicari et doceri veritatem, sicut de Judæis dicit Paulus.

Finge quæso, me esse talem qualem illa maledica et maledicta Bulla vidori cupit, hæreticum, erroneum, schismaticum, offensivum, scandalosum, in aliquot libellis. Quid meruere libelli catholici, Christiani, veri, ædificatorii, pacifici? Ubi didicistis hanc religionem, papistæ perditi, ut propter hominem malum damnetis et exuratis sanctam castamque Dei veritatem? Non potestis homines perdere, nisi et veritatem perdatis? Vos triticum evelletis cum zizania? Vos grana dispergetis cum palea? Cur Origenem suscipitis in libellis catholicis, et non in totum abolctis? Immo, cur impiissimum Aristotelem, in quo non nisi errores docentur, non saltem in parte damnatis? Cur impias, barbaras, indoctas, hæreticasque Decretales Papæ non exuritis? Cur inquam hæc non facitis, nisi quòd non estis alia causa positi in locum istum sanctum, quàm ut sitis abominatio a Daniele prædicta, quæ damnet veritatem, statuat verò mendacium et operationem erroris: non enim alia decent sedem Antichristi.

Te igitur Leo X., vos domini cardinales Romæ, et quicunque Romæ aliquid estis, compello et in faciem vobis libere dico,—si vestro nomine vestraque scientia hæc Bulla exivit, eamque vestram agnoscitis, utar et ego potestate mea, qua in baptismo per Dei misericordiam factus sum filius Dei et cohæres Christi, fundatus supra firmam petram, quæ nec portas inferi, nec cœlum, nec terram formidat: et dico, moneo, hortor vos in Domino, ut ad cor redeatis et istis diabolicis blasphemiis et plus valde nimis audacibus impietatibus modum ponatis, atque id cito. Quod nisi feceritis, scitote me, cum omnibus qui Christum colunt, vestram sedem, a Satana ipso possessam et oppressam, pro sede damnata Antichristi habere, cui non modo non obediamus, aut subditi et concorporati esse velimus, sed detestamur et execramur, sicut principem et summum hostem Christi: parati pro hac sententia nostra stultas vestras censuras non modo cum gaudio ferre, sed etiam rogare ne unquam nos absolvatis, aut inter vos numeretis, quin, ut eruentam vestram tyrannidem expleatis, ad mortem nos ultro offerimus. Quod (si quid Spiritus Christi et impetus fidei nostræ valet) his scriptis, si perseveretis in furore isto, vos damnamus, et, una cum Bulla ista omnibusque Decretalibus, Satanæ tradimus in interitum carnis, ut spiritus vester in die Domini nobiscum liberetur, in nomine (quem vos persequimini) Jesu Christi Domini nostri. Amen,

Vivit enim adhuc et regnat adhuc (in quo non dubito) Dominus noster Jesus Christus; quem et speramus propediem adventurum et interfecturum spiritu oris sui, et destructurum illustratione adventus sui, hunc hominem peccati et filium perditionis: quandoquidem negare non possum, si Papa istorum portentorum auctor est, ipsum esse verum illum finalem, pessimum, famosumque Antichristum, subvertentem orbem totum operationibus erroris sui: id quod impletum ubique videmus.

Sed quo me rapit ardor fidei? nondum totus persuasus sum, Papæ esse hanc Bullam, sed apostoli illius impietatis Eccii, qui cum suis fratribus furente hiatu mè absorbere festinat, cantans: Deglutiamus eum sicut infernus viventem et integrum, quasi descendentem in lacum. Huic enim furioso homini parvum (immo lucrum) videtur, si veritatem Dei extinguat; modo vota impietatis et fratricidii implent. O sortem ecclesiæ hodiernam, sanguineis lachrymis dignam! Sed quis gemitus nostros audit? quis plorantes solatur? Inexorabilis est furor Domini super nos.

Addunt iidem homines (ut sunt admodum faceti et suaves) quoddam ridiculum, quo pro sua

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what cause I cannot tell, except, peradventure, it was for that the said Bull, like unto a night-crow, and as a bird of darkness hatched in the night, durst not fly in

prudentia temperant soria ludo, scribentes, mihi (super omnia quæ in me contulerunt immensa studia) etiam sumptum et pecuniam ad iter Romanum obtulisse. Scilicet nova charitas Romæ, quæ orbem exhausit pecuniis et vastavit tyrannide sua intolerabili, mihi uni pecuniam offert. Verum, hoc inclytum mendacium scio cujus fabri sit. Cajetanus cardinalis ad mendacia componenda natus et formatus, functus legatione sua felicissima, nunc Romæ securus, fingit mihi per se promissam esse pecuniam, cùm Augustæ tam sordida infamique agerat ponuria, ut crederetur familiam suam fame occisurus. Sed Bullam decet esse Bullam, et veritate et sapientia inanem. Et damnatoribus istis jus est nobis mandare, ut esse veraces eos credamus dum mentiuntur, et catholicos dum hæretica docent, et Christianos dum Antichristum statuunt per illud distributivum universale: 'Et quodcunque ligaveris.' Ubi cum nihil exceptum sit, omnia per omnia eis licent: si non potius ex diabolo conceperint, qui non solum mentiuntur manifestò, sed (quod omnem impudentiam superat) mendacio eodem sese ad plausum populorum in mei invidiam ornant, et charitatem sese mihi exhibuisse altero mendacio jam fingunt: cum, si quid veritatis, pietatis, gravitatis, Romanis istis tyrannis exisset reliquum, omni studio cavere debuerint, omnia ita in luce clara ab eis dici et geri, ut nec adversarius suspicionem haurire mali cujusquam possit: at nunc si nihil esset aliorum quæ Bullam istam elevarent, hoc crassum et ineptum mendacium eam levem vanam et falsam arguit. Roma quæso mihi pecunias exhiberet? Et unde illud, quod compertum habeo—esse videlicet per trapezitas istas (quod bancum vocant) definitos in Germania aliquot centenarios aureorum sicariis, qui Lutherum conficerent? His enim rationibus et scripturis hodie pugnat, regnat, triumphat sancta illa apostolica sedes, magistra fidei et mater ecclesiarum, jamdudum Antichristiana et bis septies hæretica convicta, si gladio Spiritûs quod est verbum Dei pugnasset:—id quod non ignorat. Ideo (ne quando ad id cogatur periculi) sic furit in orbe Christiano, bellis, cædibus, cruoribus, mortibus, vastationibus, omnia involvens et perdens: adhuc tamen sunt sanctissimi in Domino patres, et ovium Christi vicarii pastores.

Sed age (ut et ipse colludam) adhuc mittant pecuniam; fidem enim seu conductum salvum, (ne nimium eos gravem) libens resigno, cum non sit opus eo, modo propitia sit pecunia. Tantum autem expecto quantum satis fuerit ut quinquaginta millibus peditum, et decem millibus equitum instructus, Romam tutus ire queam, qua arte mihi satis fidei parabo: et hoc propter Romam quæ devorat habitatores suos, nulla nec servata nec servante fide, ubi sanctissimi patres occidunt dilectos filios suos in charitate Dei, fratresque perdunt fratres in obsequium Christi, sicut est moris Romani atque styli. Interim liber ero ab istius venerabilissimæ Bullæ citatione. O vos infelices nebulones, qui veritate et conscientia sic estis confusi, ut nec mentiri prudenter possitis, nec verum dicere audeatis, et tamen, summa ignominia vestra, quiescere non velitis!

Affert quoque Bulla novam Latinitatem. Cum enim Augustinus dixisset se Evangelio non crediturum fuisse nisi autoritate Ecclesiæ fuisset commotus, mox Bulla ista inclyta hanc ecclesiam catholicam facit quosdam fratres reverendissimos cardinales, priores ordinum regularium, magistros theologiæ, et doctores juris, quorum consilio se natam gloriatur, scilicet novam prolem universalis Ecclesiæ. Felix certè partus novæ illius et hactenus inauditæ ecclesiæ catholicæ, et quam Augustinus acerrimus sectarum insectator si videret, non dubitaret synagogam Satanæ appellare. Vide ergo insaniam papistarum: Ecclesia universalis est quidam pauci cardinales, priores, et doctores, forte vix viginti homines, cum possibile sit nullum eorum esse membrum unius capellæ vel altaris. Atque cum ecclesia sit communio sanctorum, (ut in symbolo oramus,) sanctorum communione, id est, ecclesiâ universali exclusos esse oportet, quicunque non fuerint in numero istorum viginti hominum. Unde quicquid ii senserint sancti viri, id mox universalis ecclesia sentit, etiam si mendaces, hæretici, et Antichristi sint, non nisi abominabilia sentientes.

Adeone Romæ insanire ullus credere potuisset? Estne cerebri aut cordis eis reliquum quicquam? Augustinus de ecclesia per orbem diffusa loquitur, Evangelium concorditer confitente. Neque enim ullum alium librum Deus voluit tanta concordia orbis approbari, quanta sacram Scripturam (ut idem in Confessionibus suis dicit), ne schismatibus occasio fieret, aliis subinde receptis: id quod impia sedes Romana suis decretis quæsivit multis jam seculis; et heu magna ex parte confecit! Sed universalis ecclesia nondum ei consensit. Sunt enim in oriente aquilone et austro Christiani Evangelio contenti, nihil curantes quòd Roma ex seipsa particulari universalem ecclesiam facere conatur, et cæteras schismaticas criminatur, cum ipsa sit prima quæ se a tota separavit, et ad se totam rapere frustra molita est, princeps et fons omnium schismaticorum hac tyrannide facta.

Nemo ergo speret unquam fore, ut ecclesia catholica sapiat quæ Bulla ista impia blaterat; cum nec ea quæ vere est Romana sic sapiat, nec continuo catholicum habeat quicquid Romanum esse constiterit: nullus (ut dixi) liber catholicus ultra futurus est, sieut neque fuit, præter Scripturam sanctam. Romanæ ecclesiæ abundè satis est gloriæ, partem esse parvam universalis ecclesiæ, suis statutis se ipsam vexantem. Curiæ potius Romanæ ista Bulla est: hanc enim Satanæ sedem decet talis sapientia et religio. Ipsa est quæ nititur universalis ecclesia haberi, et suas stultas et impias bullas pro catholicis dogmatibus toti orbi arrogantissimè sed vanissimè obtrudit. Cujus superbia et temeritas eò crevit, ut de sola potestate præsumat, citra omnem doctrinam et sanctimoniam vitæ, de omnibus statuere hominibus eorumque dictis et factis; quasi ob solam potestatem aut sublimitatem spiritus habitaculum et ecclesia Christi sit, cum hac ratione et Satanas (cum sit princeps mundi), aut Turca, ecclesia Christi dici possit. Sed neque gentium imperia potentes citra sapientiam et bonitatem ferunt. Tum in ecclesia, solum spirituali omnia judicat et a nemine judicatur [ut 1 Cor. ii. dicitur], non utique solus Papa, aut curia Romana, nisi spirituales sint.

Verum universæ eorum temeritati oppono constanter invictum Paulum: [1 Cor. xiv.] 'Si alteri sedenti aliquid revelatum fuerit, prior taceat.' His clare habes, Papam et quemvis alium majorem debere tacere, si alteri inferiori in ecclesia revelatum aliquid fuerit. Hac ego auctoritate nixus, contempta Bullæ temeritate, cum fiducia articulos defendendos suscipio, nullius nudam damnationem tanti facturus (etiamsi Papa sit cum tota sua ecclesia), nisi Scripturis me erudierit: quorum est

Articulus primus.

Hæretica est sententia sed usitata, sacramenta novæ legis gratiam dare illis qui non ponunt obicem.'

Agnosco articulum meum, et quæro ex vobis, egregii domini respectivistæ, qui alios respectivè hæreticos, alios erroneos, alios scandalosos decrevistis, quo respicit hic articulus? Ad hæresim? ad errorem? ad scandalum? Aut quo vos respexistis eum damnantes? Ad Scripturam sanctam? ad sanctos patres? ad fidem? ad ecclesiam? Quin dicitis? Nec dum enim vos prolixandi negotio molesto, sed indicandi solum debitum expostulo, ut sciam quid desit mihi. Vultis, infantes, pueri, ut ego dicam? Dico ergo. Hic articulus respectus duos habet. Altero respicit ad papistas damnatores suos, inter quos videt alios respective mulos, alios equos, quibus non est intellectus, ut qui

the day, nor abide to come in my sight. Notwithstanding the said night-fowl, after long time, by help of friends, was caught at length, and brought unto me

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prorsus nihil intelligunt et tamen omnia damnant. Altero respicit ad sacram Scripturam; quæ docet Rom. xiv.; Omne quod non est ex fide peccatum esse. Ex quo sequitur sacramenta novæ legis non dare gratiam incredulis, (cum incredulitatis sit maximum peccatum, et obex crassissimus,) sed solum credentibus. Sola enim fides non ponit objicem; cætera omnia sunt obex, etiamsi objicem illum non ponant, quem sophistæ somniant de actuali tantum proposito externi peccati. Confiteor ergo articulum non esse meum solum, sed veritatis catholicæ et Christianæ. Bullam vero damnatricem ejus, esse bis hæreticam, impiam et blasphemam, cum omnibus qui eam sequuntur; qui, negligento peccato incredulitatis, insaniunt objicem tolli si homo peccare desinat, etiamsi nihil incredulus boni cogitet. Verum hæc latius et in libellis meis probavi, et probabo, si Romani isti lallatores sua ausint aliquando probare, me confutaturi.

Articulus Secundus.

'In puero post baptismum negare remanens esse peccatum, est Paulum et Christum simul conculcare.'

Et hunc exigerem ut probarent recte damnari, si domini mei præ respectibus suis non essent excæcati ut nec hoc perspicerent, quo nomine eum velint damnatum haberi. Nescio enim hæreticusne sit an erroneus. Et quid mirum, cum nec id damnatores ejus sciant? Assero ergo et hunc articulum, per apostolum, Rom. vii.: 'Ego ipse mente servio legi Dei, et carne legi peccati.' Hic apertè apostolus ipsemet de se confitetur se peccare in carne, seu peccato servire. Et 1 Cor. i. 'Christus factus est nobis a Deo justitia, sapientia, sanctificatio, et redemptio.' Quomodo autem sanctificat sanctificatos, nisi quod [juxta Apocalyp.] Qui sanctus est, sanctificetur adhuc? At sanctificari est a peccatis mundari. Verum quid respectivistis Bullatis cum Paulo apostolo? Ipsi sunt tota ecclesia universalis, quorum autoritate Paulus aut stat aut cadit, cum sit membrum et pars ecclesiæ. Increpet Dominus in te, Satan, et in satanicos istos tuos papistas.

Articulus Tertius.

'Fomes peccati, etiamsi nullum adsit actuale peccatum, moratur exeuntem a corpore animam ab ingressu cœli.'

De hac quidem re nihil hactenus definivi, sed copiosè satis et probabiliter disputavi, nec hodie certus sum quid cum tali anima agatur. At talpæ nostræ papales, cum necdum videant quo nomine hic articulus eis sit dignus damnatu visus, audent etiam asserere, quod tota ecclesia universalis ignorat. (Sap. vii.) Ego tamen adhuc, ista futili et stulta damnatione contempta; teneo articulum probabiliter esse verum. Cum enim fomes sit peccatum verè, (ut ex Rom. vii. et Gal. v. probavi), et peccatum non sinat intrare cœlum (sicut scriptum est: 'Nihil iniquinatum intrabit), arbitror fomitem peccati remorari ingressum cœli. Neque enim hic pili facio somnia eorum qui peccatum fomitis extenuantes, pœnam peccati et defectum vocant, contra Scripturas apertas quæ peccatum appellant, et per gratiam (quæ peccati veri non ficti medicina est) sanari docent.

Articulus Quartus.

'Imperfecta charitas morituri fert secum necessariò magnum timorem, qui in se solo satis est facere pœnam purgatorii, et impedit introitum regni.'

Iste ex præcedenti sequitur, quem æque non asserui, licet probabiliter verum adhuc asseram, prius petita dispensatione arbitrio meo proprio, etiam invita Bulla, quæ aliam non afferre probationem potest, nisi hanc: Nos sumus sublimiores in ecclesia tyranni, immo ipsa ecclesia; ergo, sumus doctissimi et sanctissimi, pleni Spiritu Sancto, non potentes errare, etiamsi omni spurcitia omnium criminum, omni inscitia, per orbem fœteamus cou Lerna quædam. Sed istis rationibus apud me nihil promovetur: promovetur autem coram illis qui metunt, ne, si mea sententia obtineat, purgatorium e manu Papæ dilabatur, ac tum defunctorum vexandorum (redimendorum volui dicere) officia quæstuosissima (tanto damno accepto) sacerdotes et religiosos ad famem adigant. Oportuit ergo avaritiam hic vigilare, nec sinere suas frivolas opiniones sed turpilucrosissimas, veritate superante, occidi.

Articulus Quintus.

'Tres esse partes pœnitentiæ, contritionem, confessionem, satisfactionem, non est fundatum in Scriptura Sacra, nec in antiquis sanctis christianis doctoribus.'

Hic articulus quo respectu damnetur, satis intelligo, respectivus enim est ad avaritiam. Quare et probationem eorum respectivam scio, quæ est talis: Si articulus esset verus, tunc homines nihil darent pro satisfactione et indulgentiis; nec haberemus eos amplius vexare confessionibus, casibus reservatis, restrictis, ampliatis, pro nostro lucro; et sic pauperes fieremus, et cultus Dei minueretur in vigiliis et missis. Sed cultum Dei minui est impium: quare Lutherus est hæreticus.—Valet consequentia a respectu Bullæ ad papistas, et e contra.

Te per dominum Jesum oro, si quis gravis et eruditus lector hæc legeris, mihi indulgeas levitatem et (ut sic dixerim) puerilitatem istam. Vides enim, cum iis hominibus mihi rem esse, qui bis pueri sunt, et tamen omnium virorum heroas sese jactant. Dispercam si non compertissimum habeo, maximos et antesignanos duces populorum hac (quam recitavi) plusquam septies stulta et ridicula ratiuncula motos ad meorum libellorum damnationem. Ego, nisi iram Dei super nos sævientem flens intelligerem, quæ effeminatis pueris et fæci illi hominum ultimæ ex omni terra nos subjecit, præ indignitate rei dirumperer.

Mea sententia fuit et est hæc: satisfactionem eam quam claves queant tollere, non esse juris divini: Sin esset, non posse eam tolli per claves. Si quid aliud mihi hoc articulo isti Bullatores imponunt, suo more faciunt. Quid enim refert si Antichristus mentiatur?

Articulus Sextus.

'Contritio quæ paratur per discussionem, collectionem, et detestationem peccatorum, qua quis recogitat annos suos in amaritudine animæ suæ, ponderando peccatorum gravitatem, multitudinem, fœditatem, amissionem æternæ beatitudinis, ac æternæ damnationis acquisitionem; hæc contritio facit hypocritam, immo magis peccatorem.'

Proh incredibilem cæcitatem et inscitiam Bullarum istarum! Meus certè est articulus et Christianissimus, quem mihi innumerabilibus papis et papistis non patiar extorqueri. Hoc enim eâ doctrinâ egi, pœnitentiam nullius esse momenti nisi in fide et charitate fieret: quod ipsimet docent quoque, nisi quòd, nec quid fides nec quid charitas sit, aut sciunt aut docent. Ideo dum mea

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in his own likeness to behold. Which causeth me yet to be uncertain what to think, whether my papists do dally and jest with me, in setting out such famous libels without any name, against me; or whether in truth and earnest they play the mad men so against me at Rome, or no. For first, neither do I see here the style (as it is called), nor the process of the court of Rome observed. And again (which maketh me more to doubt), herein be brought and condemned such articles, which it is plain and manifest to be most christian: whereby it seemeth to me most like, that the said monster was hatched by John Eckius, a man wholly compacted, and framed altogether, of lies, dissimulations, errors, and heresies.

Eckius a false apostle.

The said suspicion this also partly confirmeth, for that I hear it so bruited abroad, that the said Eckius is thought and said to be the apostle of such a goodly bull. And not unlike, when none could be more meet apostle for such an apostleship than he. And indeed I heard no less long since, than that a bull was in working against me at Rome, partly by the workmanship of Eckius; which, because (as the style and composition thereof declareth) it displeased the good and learned men there, was therefore deferred, and should have been suppressed.

But, whatsoever the matter be, it seemeth to me not unlike, wheresoever this apostle Eckius beareth rule, there to be the kingdom of Antichrist, and all kind of madness there to reign. In the mean time I will so deal, that I will not seem to believe Pope Leo X., with his learned cardinals, to be the authors of this furious madness; which I do, not so much for the honour of the see of Rome, as because I will not be puffed up too much with pride, and seem to myself as one worthy to suffer such, so great, and so glorious things for the verity of God. For if it were so indeed, that the bishop of Rome did so furiously rage against me, who were then so happy before God as Luther, to be condemned for so manifest a truth of such a proud prelate? wherein what were more to be wished for by me, than that I should never be absolved, reconciled, nor have any part with that so doltish and unlearned, wicked and

damnant, sua ipsorum imprudenti contradictione damnant. Dico ergo, qui pœnitentiam sic docet ut promissæ misericordiæ Dei, et fidei in eandem, non majorem habeat curam quam carnificinæ istius, hic pœnitentiam Judæ Iscariotis docet, pestilens est diabolus animarum, et carnifex conscientiarum. Lege autem libros illorum sophistarum de pœnitentia, et videbis eos non promissionis nec fidei ullam mentionem facere. Has enim partes pœnitentiæ vivas omittunt, et solis mortuis contritionibus homines exagitant. Sed latius aliàs.

Sed quid denuo articulos omnes probem, cum extent libelli ubi omnium rationem reddidi abundè, plura daturus si adversarii sua quoque in lucem dedissent? Quæ est enim stultitia, ut hoc uno mihi responsum velint, quòd dicunt sibi damnata videri omnia mea, cum ego in hoc ipsum scripserim, ut suos errores ipsi agnoscerent quibus populum Dei hactenus dementaverunt? Non hoc expectavi ut damnarer, qui sciens et prudens damnata jam olim ab eis, adductis scripturis et rationibus, justificavi. Nec volui ut dicerent, quod ipsi saperent (sciebam enim omnia); sed an rectè saperent, id quæsitum est a me. Hîc volui erudiri, et ecce nemo audet prodire! Quare video asinos istos, non modo mea et sua non intelligere, sed præ insigni hebetudine nec hoc percepisse, quid meis libellis quæsierim. Arbitrantur enim se tales in opinione mea esse, apud quos sit veritas; cum nihil minus de eis suspicatus sim. Cum enim olim ab eis omnia ista scirem damnata esse, non damnandus sed velut jam damnatus ab eis prodii, damnationem eorum traducturus impiam, hæreticam, et blasphemam, eosque (nisi ratione redditâ rectè sese sapere docuisseht) erroris et hæreseos crimine publicè reos acturus: ipsi (velut ridiculus citharœdus chorda semper eadem oberrans) petito principio aliud non reddunt, nisi 'damnamus quæ damnavimus,' nova dialectica probantes idem per seipsum, damnationem per damnationem. O ineptissimos et insulsissimos damnatores! Ubi manet illud Petri: 'Semper parati ad reddendam rationem de ea quæ in vobis est fide et spe?'

Quòd cum Papistæ et Bullistæ isti ignorantissimi ante veritatis manifestæ faciem sic sunt confusi metuque perculsi ut pro se suaque sententia ne hiscere quidem audeant, et meticulosissimam hanc Bullam ægre emutirint: ego, inimicorum fuga erectus, hanc meticulosam damnationem vice approbationis robustissimæ accipio, et suam in eos ipsos retorqueo damnationem. Qua enim ratione seipsos possent magis damnare, quàm, dum metuunt erroris et hæreseos rei inveniri si rationem reddere cogerentur, ad hoc extremum et frustraneum miserorum effugium labuntur, ut clausis et oculis et auribus, dicant: Nolo, Damno, Non audio, Non admitto? Si ego sic insaniissem, obsecro, quanta gloria in me triumpharent! "Degeneres animos timor arguit."

Ego itaque, ne prolixo lectorem gravem sermone si singulos articulos prosequar, his scriptis testor me omnia damnata per Bullam istam execrabilem confiteri pro catholicis dogmatibus, de quibus rationem reddidi editis libellis. Deinde adhuc volo libellos meos in orbe vagantes vice publicæ accusationis haberi adversus impios istos sophistas populi Dei seductores; ita ut, nisi ratione reddita me convicerint et sua statuerint, reos erroris, hæreseos, sacrilegii (quantum in me fuerit) merito eos censeam; monens, rogans, hortansque in Domino omnes qui Christum verè confitentur, ab eorum perversis et impiis doctrinis sibi caveant, et verum illum Antichristum per eos in orbe regnare non dubitent. Quòd si quis fraternum hoc monitorium meum contempserit, sciat me esse mundum a sanguine suo, et in extremo judicio Christi excusatum. Nihil enim omisi quod charitati Christianæ debui. Porro, si alia via non queo damnatoribus verbosis et inanibus resistere, ultimum quod habeo exponam, nempe hanc animam et hunc sanguinem. Melius est enim me millies occidi, quàm unam syllabam damnatorum articulorum revocare. Et sicut ipsi me excommunicant pro sacrilega hæresi sua, ita eos rursus ego excommunico pro sancta veritate Dei. Christus judex viderit utra excommunicatio apud eum valeat. Amen.

furious Antichrist? Happy were that day, happy were that death, and to be received with all joy and thankfulness to God, if it might be my hap at any time—in such a cause as this is, to be apprehended and to suffer death. But give the honour of this cause unto others, and let this matter find its martyr worthy for the same: I, for my sins, am not worthy to come to that honour. *Ecclesiastical Affairs.* Luther thinketh himself not worthy to suffer in so good a cause.

Let other men, therefore, think of these Romanists what they list; thus I think, that whosoever was the author of this bull, he is a very Antichrist; and against Antichrist these things I write, to redeem the verity of Christ, so much as in me lieth, which he laboureth to extinguish. And first, that he shall obtain no part of his will in any thing against me, here I protest before God and our Lord Jesus Christ, and his holy angels, and all the world, that I dissent with all my heart from the condemnation of this bull, which bull I also do curse and execrate, as an enemy, a church-robber, and blasphemy against Christ the Son of God, our Lord, Amen. Luther's protestation.

Furthermore, I hold, defend, and embrace with the full trust of my spirit, those articles in the said bull condemned and excommunicated; and I affirm, that the same ought to be holden by all faithful Christians, under pain of eternal malediction; and that they are to be counted for Antichrists, whosoever have consented to the said bull, whom I also, together with the spirit of all them that purely know the truth, do utterly detest, and shun them, according to the precept of our Lord Jesu Christ, Amen. And let this stand for my revocation, 'O bulla, vere bullarum filia;' that is, 'O thou bull, which art the very daughter of all vain bubbles.'[1] Mark here how Luther recanteth.

This my confession and protestation made (for witness whereof I take all them that shall read these presents), before I proceed to defend and declare these aforesaid articles, I will first begin with certain arguments for the confutation of the said bull; whereof the first I will take of the blind ignorance of this blockish Antichrist. For the apostle Peter so commandeth, that we should be ready to render a reason of that faith and hope which is in us; and the apostle Paul willeth a bishop to be mighty to exhort in sound doctrine, and to refute the gainsayers.[2] And these things be they, which, now three years ago, I have desired and looked for out of Rome, or from them that take part with Rome: which things, also, we do read to be observed most diligently amongst the ancient fathers, whensoever they condemned heresy: neither do we read that the apostles did ever decree any thing in their councils, but they first alleged the holy Scripture. So I also, when I waited that they would answer me with grapes, and inform me with true testimonies of the Scripture, behold they bring to me sour and wild grapes, condemning me with nothing else but bare words; whereas I, have fortified my matter with plain scriptures. The papists will not abide the trial of the Scripture.

I say unto thee, O thou most unlearned Antichrist, hast thou joined such brain-sick rashness together with such barbarous ignorance, that thou wilt presume to think all men to be turned into stocks and blocks, and to think that thou, with thy bare and naked words only, canst triumph against the invincible force and power of God's holy word? hast thou learned this manner of condemning the magistralities of Cologne and of Louvain?

If this be the manner of the church to damn errors, only to say, 'I like it not,' 'I deny it,' 'I will not,' what fool, what patch, what ass, what block, cannot condemn after this manner? Is not thy whorish face ashamed, in the public sight of the church to dare once to set the trifling vanities of thy naked and bare words only against the thunderbolts of God's eternal word? O impudent condemnation and right seemly for Antichrist! who hath not one jot or tittle to bring against such evident scriptures inferred against him, but only with one word cometh and saith, 'I condemn thee.' And why then do we not believe the Turk? why do we not admit the Jews? why do we not honour the heretics (who also condemn our writings as well as he), if it be enough only to condemn? unless we do not therefore peradventure give place unto them, because they condemn us not utterly without some scriptures and reasons. But these men, after a new found fashion, utterly without all scriptures or reason, do condemn us. What then shall I think to be the cause, why they proceeded against me with their bull condemnatory, so vain, so ridiculous, so trifling, but only their mere blockishness, whereby they, seeing my allegations The pope's vain terrors cannot make Luther afraid.

(1) 'Bulla,' in Latin, signifieth as much in English, as a bubble in the water. (2) Tit. i.

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to be true, and not able to abide, nor yet to confute the same, thought to terrify me with their vain rattling of their rotten parchment. But I tell thee Antichrist, that Luther, being accustomed to war, will not be terrified with these vain bulls, and hath learned to put a difference between a piece of paper, and the omnipotent word of God.

Of the like ignorance proceedeth this also, that they, against their own conscience, durst not particularly digest all and singular the articles in their orders; for they feared lest they should note him for a heretic, whom they were not able perhaps to convince either to be erroneous or offensive, and therefore they have found out this adverb 'respectivè:' and after the numbering of the articles, then come they, and say that some be 'respectively' heretical, some erroneous, and some offensive; which is as much to say, that we suppose them to be heretical, some erroneous, and some slanderous: but we cannot tell qui, qualis, quanti; that is, which, what manner, and how great they are. O dastardly ignorance, how slippery and cowardly art thou! how art thou afraid of the light; how dost thou turn and return into all things, lest thou shouldst be taken, like a Proteus![1] And yet, for all that, thou shalt not so escape; yea in thy wiliness thou shalt the rather be overtaken and subverted.

Respectively.

Come out therefore, O thou ass-headed Antichrist! show forth thy wisdom, and dispose thy matters in order. Tell us, if thou canst, what sayest thou or meanest thou, when thou sayest this article is heretical, this is erroneous, this is offensive. For it becometh such a worshipful condemner to know what he condemneth; and too shameful it is to condemn an article for heretical, and yet cannot name the same: neither will I be answered here with 'respectively,' but I look to be taught simply and plainly; for I am one of Ocham's faction, which contemn these respectives, and love to have all things simple and absolute.

The dotage of Antichrist.

Thou seest therefore, good reader, the ignorant dotage of this Antichrist; how craftily, and yet grossly, he thinketh to walk in a net under his adverb 'respectively,' who not only doth not teach the truth, and the cause of his condemning, but neither also dare prove any error, nor show forth what it is that he condemneth; and yet must he needs condemn. Is not this, trow you, a proper kind of damning, to damn, and cannot tell what he damneth? Is not this a fine manner of elocution, passing all rhetoric, to speak, and yet not to know what he speaketh? What purgations might we wish sufficient to purge the doltish brains of these bull-bragging bedlamites? with such blindness and doltishness are all these adversaries of God's truth worthy to be plagued.

Eckius.

But I know whereupon all this grief riseth. The origin thereof is this: Eckius, mine old adversary, remembering how he was put to shame enough at Leipsic when he, rousing himself upon his stage, and frothing at the mouth like a boar, with a furious voice called me three hundred times 'heretic,' for the articles of Huss, and yet afterwards was not able to prove the same, whereas the sentence condemnatory of the council of Constance, alleged of me otherwise than Eckius looked for, noted there no certain article for heretical; and also the same condemnation, much like to this of ours, with the like foolishness called some of Huss's articles heretical, some erroneous, and some offensive; and

Eckius taken with a lie.

Eckius, hearing this, being confounded in himself for his impudent rashness, perceiving that he had called me heretic falsely and untruly, he thought then to heal this wound again at Rome, and there to establish his false and impudent lying. But the lying sophister shall not prevail, by the help, I trust, of Christ; for I ask and require you still, that they absolutely and not respectively, distinctly and not confusedly, simply and not dissemblingly, plainly and not obscurely, particularly and not in general, do show what is, and what is not heretical. But when will they so do? When Christ and Belial, or when light and darkness, shall agree together.

And what shall I do then in the mean time? First, I will contemn these dastardly dotipoles and unlearned papists and apostles of Antichrist. And I will scorn them as Elias did, and say, 'If Baal be God, let him answer. Peradventure he is drunk, or busy in his journey: cry out higher, for he is a god, and peradventure heareth.'[2] For what other thing do these bull-bragging asses

(1) 'Proteus' is a certain monster among the poets, which turneth himself into all shapes.
(2) 1 Kings xviii.

deserve else, that condemn that they know not, and confess all their own ignorance? *Ecclesiastical Affairs.*

Secondly, I will not be troubled nor disquieted for the matter, neither am I to be counted heretic, erroneous, or offensive, so long as I shall not be proved and plainly convicted with simple and manifest words in what article I am so judged. Neither do I here charge my papists, these blockheads, that I will put them to their proofs, but only that they will show me at least my error; that is, that they will show me, if they know what it is that they themselves do prattle of, or have any feeling of their own doings. For so long as they assign me no heretical article, I am at free liberty to deny what article soever they lay unto me to be heretical, and say it is catholic.

Again, what a rudeness is it in this wicked and doltish Antichrist, worthy to be laughed at, whereas these dromedaries do distinguish heretical articles from those that be erroneous, and the erroneous from offensive, and those again from slanderous? By the which subtile distinction of those gross-headed dolts this we do gather, that that article which is erroneous is not heretical; and if it be not heretical, what doth it then appertain to these ecclesiastical condemners, who ought to condemn those things only which be heretical? For that which is not heretical, is catholic; as Christ himself saith, 'He that is not against us is with us.'[1] Yea, I would wish that these jolly sophisters would show me in all the church an article that is erroneous and not heretical: for if it be erroneous, it differeth nothing from heretical, but only in stiffness of defending. For all things be equally either true or false, although affection, in some one thing which is true or false, may be greater or less. Ye see therefore again, how these men, for all their bragging bulls, are not able to produce me one article which is erroneous and not heretical; and yet, like wise brain-sick men, they will needs babble they know not themselves what, condemning that which they find erroneous and not heretical, which cannot stand either in matter or in words; so that such as are the articles, such is the condemnation.

The brutish distinction of the papists between articles heretical, erroneous, slanderous, and offensive.

Erroneous.

The like wisdom also they show in affirming that to be scandalous, which is neither heretical nor erroneous. That article I would fain see either in my books, or in the words and works of any writer else from the beginning of the world to the latter end. What made my papists then to excogitate these so prodigious monsters, but only their monstrous fury and madness? unless, peradventure, they mean those articles to be as scandalous as commonly all true and catholic articles are wont to be. For what is more scandalous than verity? Yea, only truth and verity is scandalous to all proud and senseless persons, as it is said of Christ: 'We preach,' saith St. Paul, 'Christ crucified; a stumbling-stone to the Jews, and to the Gentiles foolishness;'[2] and, 'He is set to be the fall and rising up of many in Israel.'[3] Wherefore, whereas my papists do distinguish scandalous articles from heretical and erroneous, and forasmuch as that which is not heretical or erroneous must needs be catholic and true; it followeth thereof, that these scandalous articles be understood and condemned by them for such as be very catholic and sound. O worthy condemnations, and meet for the papists!

Scandalous.

Mark here, good reader, the impiety of these blind buzzards; whither they roll themselves; how they deride and mock themselves; how easily they are taken in their own words; how fond and foolish they are in their studies, not only in not proving any error or slander in these articles, but also in going about only to express them; how they cast out things impossible, and most foolishly repugnant to themselves. Where is then, thou most presumptuous and shameless Bull, thy doltish respective now become? whither respectedst thou? Verily into the bottomless pit of impiety, and thine own brutish stolidity.

The like, also, is to be said touching the articles offensive, which must be neither slanderous, nor erroneous, nor heretical, seeing they are made distinct by such great rabbins. Who will not now marvel at the deep and profound wisdom of these papists, who could find out that to be offensive in the church, which is neither false, nor heretical, nor slanderous, but true, sound, catholic and edifying, and yet must that also be condemned! And who would not now desire and covet to be condemned, also, by such hair-brained idiots, who, by their own condemning, do utter themselves to approve things damnable, and

Offensive.

(1) Luke ix. (2) 1 Cor. i. (3) Luke ii.

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to condemn things justifiable; that is, who openly show themselves, to their own great ignominy and shame, to be more senseless than stocks, rocks, or blocks? Go ye now, therefore, O ye impious and brainless papists, and if ye will needs write, show yourselves more sober: for this bull, it appeared, was either spewed out in your night feasts, among drabs and harlots, or else huddled up in the canicular days, or mad midsummer moon: for never were there any dizards[1] that would show themselves so mad.

The pope's dirt cast in his own teeth.

Let us now return this dirt of Antichrist, and cast it in his own teeth, and of his own words let us judge him and condemn him, that hereafter he may learn to take better heed, and to be better advised in his lying. For, as the proverb saith, 'A liar had need to have a good memory.' If some articles be offensive, and others heretical, and thou condemnest him who is no heretic, and consequently a true catholic, although he be six hundred times offensive, doth not thy shameless mouth then condemn thyself, not only of heresy, but of extreme impiety, blasphemy, and treason against God's holy truth, showing thyself to be the man indeed who is the adversary, and is extolled above all that is called God, or is worshipped? Art not thou, then, the man of sin, the son of perdition, that denieth God his Redeemer, and taketh away the love of truth, to establish the setting forth of his error, for men to believe iniquity; as Paul foretold?[2] for if the article be not heretical, it cannot be offensive or slanderous, but only to such heretics as Antichrist is, and satanists of all piety. See therefore how his shameless and most foolish Bull, while it condemneth in me one thing to be heretical, and another offensive, doth manifestly declare the authors thereof to be true heretics, and the enemies of God indeed. So that now it may appear that there is no knowledge nor counsel against the Lord, seeing blind impiety is thus caught in the words of his own mouth: so truly it is said, that he that casteth up a stone on high, it falleth down again upon his own pate.[3]

The pope uttereth his own wickedness.

And (which is chiefest of all) by this their wicked contradiction it cometh to pass, that the cogitations of their own hearts be revealed, and that they themselves chiefly do utter and disclose their own wickedness which they covet most to conceal, that all men may see how ready they are to condemn all verity even at once. For when they affirm such articles to be heretical, which neither they can, nor know, nor yet dare show or name to be heretical, what have we thereby to understand, but that they are adversaries of Christ from the bottom of their hearts, and ready to impugn all truth? and yet, notwithstanding, with their damnable hypocrisy, they pretend themselves to be condemners of heresies! Learn, learn, ye beetle-headed asses with your blustering bulls, learn, I say, what it is, Christ to be a sign of contradiction, and a stone of offence.[4] How soon and easily are all your inward impiety and your ignominy disclosed with the same covert of words, wherewith in vain you went about to cloak the same?[5] Thus then have we here proved by this first and manifest argument, that the aforesaid bull proceedeth from none other than very Antichrist himself, the chiefest adversary of God and of all godliness. And now let either Eckius, or the pope, acknowledge if he dare, and then consider what opinion we ought to have of him, or what name to give him; in whom all cursed names, as in one heap, do concur together and agree, as impiety, blasphemy, ignorance, foolishness, hypocrisy, lying, yea, briefly, Satan himself with his Antichrist.

The bull condemneth books that have no error.

Neither doth this impiety any thing less appear in that also which I will now say. For this worshipful bull decreeth in plain and most impudent words, that those books also of mine ought to be burned, in which are no errors contained, to the end that the memory of me may be utterly rooted out.

Canst thou, O christian reader, now doubt that the great dragon of hell himself speaketh in this Bull? It is an old proverb, 'that the ass singeth therefore evil-favouredly, because he taketh his note too high.' So this bull, in like manner, should have piped more tuneably, if he had not set out his blasphemous throat so open against heaven, so impudently and devilishly condemning also the manifest and evident truth. For hitherto Satan, whensoever he oppressed the truth, did it under the colour of truth. But this man of sin, the adversary that is extolled above God, without all colour, not privily but apertly, and that in the open church of God, without all shame taketh upon him to condemn, and commandeth to be burned, the sincere verity of Christ, known and allowed

The papists pretend to know and maintain the verity of Christ, and yet cannot abide it.

(1) 'Dizard,' a fool.—Ed. (2) 2 Thess. ii. (3) Prov. xii. (4) Luke ii. (5) 1 Pet. ii.

both of him and of all others. What more could be done amongst the Turks? What place is this worthy of, I pray thee, but the deep dungeon of hell? And are ye not afraid, ye Antichrists! with your brutish bulls, lest stones and trees should sweat with blood, at the most horrible sight of this your execrable impiety and blasphemy?

Where art thou now, good emperor Charles? Where are ye, christian kings and princes? Ye have given your names to Christ in baptism, and can ye now abide these infernal voices of such an Antichrist? Where be ye bishops? where be ye doctors? where be all ye that confess Christ? Can ye hold your peace at these horrible and prodigious monsters of the papists? O miserable church of God! which art made now so great a scorn, and a very mocking stock of Satan! O miserable are all they that live in these times! The wrath of God is finally come upon the papists, enemies to the cross of Christ and verity of God, resisting all men, and forbidding the truth of Christ to be taught and preached; as St. Paul said of the Jews. Admit, I pray you, that I were such a one indeed, as that cursed and malicious Bull doth make me to be, a heretic, erroneous, schismatical, offensive, scandalous, in certain of my books; yet why should the other books of mine be condemned that are catholic, christian, true, edifying and peaceable? Where have these wretched papists learned this religion, that, for the person's cause being evil, they should damn and burn the holy and sound verity of God? Can ye not destroy men, but you must also destroy the truth? Will ye pluck up the good wheat also with the cockle? Will ye also scatter the corn away together with the chaff? And why then receive ye Origen in his catholic books, and do not utterly reject him altogether? Yea, why suffer ye wicked Aristotle (in whom is nothing taught but errors), and do not at least in some part condemn him? Why burn ye not and set on fire the wicked, barbarous, unlearned, and heretical decretals of the pope? Why do ye not all this, I say? but only for that ye are set in this holy place for no other cause, but only to be the abomination spoken of in Daniel, which should put down truth and set up lies, and the operation of error:[1] for this thing, and no other, becometh the seat of Antichrist.

The pope condemneth as well the good books of Luther as the others, without all respect of truth, or of the cause.

Wherefore this I say to thee, pope Leo X., and to you lords cardinals, and all others whosoever, in any part or doing in that court of Rome, and this I speak boldly unto your faces, if this Bull hath come out in your name, and by your knowledge, and if ye will so acknowledge it for your own, then will I likewise use my power, by which I am made in my baptism the son of God, and coheir with Christ, being founded upon a sure rock, which neither feareth the gates of hell, nor heaven, nor earth—and say, admonish, and exhort you in the Lord, that you will reform yourselves, and take a better way, and refrain hereafter from those diabolical blasphemies, and too much exceeding presumptuous impieties. And this I allege, that unless ye so do, know for certain that I, with all them that worship Christ, do account your seat, possessed and oppressed of Satan himself, to be the damned seat of Antichrist, which we not only do not obey, and will not be subject nor concorporate unto, but also do detest and abhor the same, as the principal and chiefest enemy of Christ; being ready, in this our sentence and profession, not only to suffer gladly your fond foolish censures, but also do pray you heartily, that you will never assoil us again, nor ever number us in your fellowship: and moreover, to fulfil your bloody tyranny, we do willingly offer ourselves to die for the same. And, according to the power and might that the Spirit of Christ and the efficacy of our faith can do in these our writings, if ye shall still so persist in your fury, we condemn you; and, together with this bull, and all the decretals, we give you to Satan, to the destruction of the flesh, that your spirit in the day of our Lord may be delivered, in the name which you persecute, of Jesus Christ our Lord, Amen!

Luther's warning to the pope.

For our Lord Jesus Christ yet liveth and reigneth (in whom I do nothing doubt), who, I firmly trust, will shortly come and slay with the spirit of his mouth, and destroy with the brightness of his coming, this man of sin, and son of perdition; forasmuch as I cannot deny, if the pope be the author and doer of these misshapen and monstrous doings, but he is the true, final, most wicked, and famous Antichrist, that subverteth the whole world by the operation of his delusions; as we see it in all places fulfilled and accomplished.

The pope the true Antichrist.

(1) Dan. ix.

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But whither doth the burning zeal of charity carry me? neither am I as yet fully persuaded this to be the pope's bull, but to proceed from his wicked apostle Eckius, who, with his fathers, furiously gaping at me like a gulf, would swallow me clean up, singing with the wicked thus, 'Let us swallow him up quick and whole like hell, and like one descending down into the pit.'[1] For little careth this furious madbrain how the verity of God be extinguished (yea, he would count that for a lucre), so he might fill his malicious desire with the blood of his brother. Oh miserable state of the church at this time, worthy to be bewailed with tears of blood! But who heareth our groanings? or who comforteth our weepings? The fury of the Lord seemeth to be inexorable against us.

Eckius.

Over and besides, what a ridiculous toy or pretty figment have they invented, whereby belike to sport themselves with some merry matter amongst their earnest business, writing, that besides other great friendship which they have showed unto me, they have also offered to support me with money, and to bear my charges with their liberalty, in my journey to Rome. Will ye see what a charity is newly come upon the city of Rome, which, after it hath pilled and polled the whole world of their money, and hath consumed and wasted the same by intolerable tyranny, now cometh, and to me only offereth money? But this impudent lie, I know with whose hammer it was coined: Cajetan the cardinal, a man born and formed to lie for the whetstone, after his worshipful legation dispatched in Germany, coming home to Rome, there forged and feigned that he promised me money; whereas he, being at Augsburg, was there in such miserable penury, and so pinching in his house, that it was thought he would have famished his family. But thus it becometh the Bull to be 'verè Bulla;' that is, a thing of nought, void of all truth and wit.

The pope lieth, where he saith that he offered money to Luther to come to Rome.

And so these great judges and condemners, after all this, have yet authority to command us to believe them to say truth, when they do nothing but lie; and that they are good catholics, when they be stark heretics; and that they are true Christians, when they play the very Antichrist: and all by the virtue of this universal 'Quodcunque ligaveris,' etc., that is, 'Whatsoever thing thou bindest,' etc., so that where nothing is excepted, they think they may do all things. Who not only do lie most loudly and manifestly, but also (which passeth all impudency), do vaunt and commend their liberality before the people, to bring me more in hatred, making men falsely to believe that they offered friendship and money unto me: whereas these tyrants of Rome, if they had had any truth, goodness, or godliness in them, should have taken some better heed in their doing and speaking, so that no adversary might conceive any suspicion of evil against them. But now, if there were no other matter else to bring this Bull out of credit, only this gross and foolish lie were sufficient to declare, how light, vain, and false this Bull is. What! would Rome, think ye, offer money to me? And how then cometh this, which I know to be most certain, that out of the bank (as they call it) two or three hundred crowns were assigned in Germany to be disposed and given to ruffians and catchpoles, to murder Luther? For these be the reasons and arguments whereby now fighteth, reigneth, and triumpheth the holy apostolic see, the mistress of faith, and mother of all churches, which long since should have been proved to be the very seat of Antichrist, and manifold ways heretical, if she had fought with the sword of the Spirit, which is the word of God; whereof she herself is nothing ignorant. And therefore, because she would not be brought to that issue, thus she fareth, and taketh on like as she were mad, in the church of Christ; confounding and consuming all things, with wars, murders, bloodshed, death, and destruction; and yet, for all this, they must needs be counted most holy fathers in God, vicars of Christ, and pastors of his flock!

The pope by the virtue of this universal 'Quodcunque ligaveris,' can do all things.

Men hired by the papists to kill Luther.

The pope's church flieth the trial of the Scripture.

But go to (that I may also dally with them a while); let them yet send me the money they spake of—for as touching their promise and safe-conduct (because I will not overcharge them), that I gladly resign to them again, seeing I have no great need thereof, so that the money may come to my hands. But here I must require so much as may suffice me, to wit, that I may be furnished with fifty thousand footmen, and ten thousand horsemen, to conduct me safe to Rome; and so, for any other promise of safe-conduct I will not trouble them. And this I require because of the danger that is in Rome, that devoureth up her inhabitants; neither keepeth, nor ever did keep promise with any; where

What safe-conduct Luther requireth of the pope.

(1) Prov. i.

these most holy fathers do slay their beloved children in the charity of God, and brethren destroy their brethren, to do service to Christ, as their manner is, and the style of Rome. In the mean time I will keep myself free and safe from the citation of the most reverend Bull. O ye miserable varlets! who are so confounded with the truth, and with your own conscience, that neither ye can lie handsomely, neither dare ye speak the truth; and yet neither can ye so keep yourselves quiet: to your perpetual ignominy and confusion.

Furthermore, here in this bull is brought in a strange fashion of style not heard of before. For whereas Augustine hath said, that he would not believe the gospel except he had been moved by the authority of the church, now cometh in this goodly Bull, and maketh this catholic church to be a few reverend cardinals his brethren, and priors of regular orders, masters of divinity, and doctors of the law, out of whose counsel the said Bull boasteth herself to be born and brought forth; blessed babe, forsooth, of such a universal church! O happy travail, no doubt, of this catholic church, never seen nor heard of before, and such as Augustine, the valiant impugner of sects, if he did see it, would not doubt to call it the synagogue of the devil! See, therefore, the madness of these papists: The universal church is a few cardinals, priors, and doctors, scarcely perhaps twenty persons in all; when, also, it is possible enough, that never a one of them all, is the member of one chapel or altar. And whereas the church is the communion of saints, as we say in the creed, out of this communion of saints, that is, out of this universal church, all they then must needs be excluded, whosoever be not in the number of these twenty persons: and so, whatsoever these holy men do think or judge, by and by the universal church must needs hold and believe the same, albeit they be liars, heretics, and Antichrists, thinking and judging nothing but that which is abominable.

A new universal church of the pope's making.

The universal church bound to twenty persons.

Would there ever any man think such doltishness and madness to be in Rome! Are there any brains in these men's heads, think ye, or hearts in their bodies? Augustine speaketh of the church dispersed through the whole world, confessing the gospel with one consent; neither would God, that any book else should be received with such consent of the whole world as the holy Scripture (as the said Augustine, in his Confessions, affirmeth), lest, by the receiving of other books, schisms may take occasion to rise; according as the wicked see of Rome hath long sought by her decrees, and hath, for a great part, brought the same to pass already. But yet the universal church did never agree thereto; for in the east, west, and south there have been Christians, who, being content only with the gospel, have not regarded how Rome hath gone about of a particular church to make herself a universal church, and accuseth other churches as schismatical; whereas she hath cut off herself from the universal church, and striveth in vain to draw the whole universal church to her, being the mother and fountain of all schisms, and all by the means of this tyranny.

What Augustine calleth the universal church.

No universal catholic book but only the Scriptures.

Let no man, therefore, ever think that this true catholic church aforesaid will believe or maintain those things which this detestable Bull here prattleth, when neither that which is the very true church of Rome indeed doth herself so think, nor taketh that by and by to be catholic, whatsoever is known to proceed from the church of Rome: for, as I said, there is no book which shall be called catholic hereafter, as neither it hath been heretofore, besides only the holy Scripture. For the church of Rome, it may suffice to glory herself to be a little parcel or piece of the universal church; and so let her vex herself only with her own decrees. Neither let any man think this to be the bull of the catholic church, but rather to proceed out of the court of Rome. For such wisdom and religion may well beseem that seat of Satan, which seeketh to be counted for the whole universal church, and obtrudeth her foolish and wicked Bulls most arrogantly and vainly on the whole world, instead of sincere catholic doctrine. Whose pride and presumption hath grown so far, that she, trusting upon her own power, without all learning and holiness of life, taketh upon her to prescribe laws to all men, for all their doings and sayings; as though, for dominion only and loftiness of spirit, she were to be counted the house and church of Christ:[1] whereas, by this means, Satan also (the prince of the world), or the Turk, might be counted the church of Christ. Again, neither can the monarchies of the gentiles abide mighty princes to reign over

The catholic church, and the church of Rome, are two things.

The pride and presumption of the church of Rome.

Dominion and power maketh not the church.

(1) 1 Cor. iii.

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them without wisdom and goodness. Furthermore, in the church the spiritual man only judgeth all things, and is judged of no man; and not the pope alone, or the court of Rome, unless they be spiritual.

But against all this their rash presumption I boldly set the invincible champion of the church, St. Paul, who saith, 'If any thing be revealed to another that sitteth by, let the first man hold his peace.'[1] Here have ye plainly, that the pope, or any other elder, whatsoever he be, ought to keep silence, if any thing be revealed to another that is inferior in the church. I, therefore, upon his authority, contemning the presumptous proceeding of this swelling Bull, do confidently take upon me to defend the articles, caring nothing for the bare condemnation of any person, yea of the pope himself, with his whole church, unless he shall inform me by the Scriptures. Whereof the first article is this:

Article.

I. 'It is an heretical sentence, and also common, to say, that sacraments of the new law do give grace to them that have no obstacle in themselves to the contrary.'

Luther's answer to the first article.

Answer:—I acknowledge this article to be mine, and I ask of you, good masters respectivists, who make these articles respectively, some to be heretical, some erroneous, some slanderous, etc., whither respected this article, I pray you? to heresy, to error, to slander and offence? Or else whither respected you in condemning the same? To the holy Scripture? to the holy fathers? to faith? to the church? To which of these, I beseech you, tell me? Nor do I here put you to the labour of proving, but only require you to show your judgment, what you think, that I may know wherein I say amiss. Will you that I should tell you, you babish infants and noddies, whither this article respecteth? I will.

Two respects noted in this article.

This article hath two respects; whereof the one respecteth the papists, the condemners hereof, amongst whom it respecteth some to be mules, some to be horses, which have no understanding, and to be void of all sense; and yet, notwithstanding, they will needs condemn all things. Another respect it hath to the holy Scripture, which saith, 'Whatsoever is not of faith, is sin.'[2] Whereupon consequently it followeth, that the sacraments of the new law can give no grace to the unbelievers (forasmuch as the sin of infidelity is the greatest obstacle), but only to the believers: for only faith putteth no obstacle. All other things be obstacles, although they put not the same obstacles which the sophisters understand, meaning only of the actual purpose of external sin. I confess therefore this article not only to be mine, but also to be the article of the catholic and christian verity; and the Bull which condemneth the same, to be twice heretical, impious and blasphemous, with all them which follow the same,[3] who, little regarding the sin of incredulity, foolishly and madly do hold, that the obstacle[4] is taken away, if a man cease from sinning, although the unbeliever can think no good thing. But these things I have discussed more at large in my books, and will more discuss, if those prating Romanists dare at any time prove their opinion, and confute mine.

Article.

II. 'To deny that sin remaineth in a child after his baptism, is as much as to tread down Christ and Paul together under foot.'

Luther's answer to the second article.

Answer:—I would also require of them to show the cause why this article is condemned, if they were not so blinded in their fantastical respects that they are not able to perceive why they would have this article condemned: and yet I cannot tell whether it be heretical or erroneous; and no marvel when the condemners themselves cannot tell me. I hold, therefore, this article by the apostle, 'I myself in my mind do serve the law of God, and in my flesh the law of sin.'[4] Here the apostle confesseth plainly of himself, that in his flesh he serveth sin. And also, 'Christ is made to us of God our righteousness, our wisdom, sanctification, and redemption.'[5] And how then doth he sanctify them that be sanctified already? unless it be as the Apocalypse saith; 'He that is

(1) 1 Cor. xiv. (2) Rom. xiv.

(3) The obstacle letting sacraments to give grace, is the actual purpose of sinning, say the papists. The only obstacle letting sacraments to give grace, is unbelief, saith Luther, speaking after this time. But the truth is that sacraments neither with obstacle, nor without obstacle, do give grace to the believers or unbelievers, but only do signify grace given by Christ.

(4) Rom. vii. (5) 1 Cor. i.

holy let him be holy still.'[1] To be sanctified, is as much as to be purged from sin: but what have these our respectivists to do with the apostle Paul, seeing they are the whole universal church, by whose authority Paul either standeth or falleth, being but a member only, and a part of the church? The Lord rebuke thee Satan, and these thy satanical papists! *Ecclesiastical Affairs.*

III. 'The original root of sin, although no actual sin do follow, stoppeth the soul departing out of the body from entrance into heaven.' Article.

Answer:—As touching this matter, I never defined any thing hitherto, but largely and probably I have disputed hereof; neither yet to this day am I fully certain what is done with such a soul. But our papists, more blind than buzzards, when they are nothing able to perceive what cause this article hath worthy to be condemned, yet dare they take upon them to pronounce that, which the whole universal church is ignorant of:[2] I yet, notwithstanding, contemning this foolish and fond condemnation aforesaid, do hold this article probably to be true. For, seeing this original root, which I spake of, is truly sin, as I have proved,[3] and seeing that sin letteth a man from entering into heaven; as it is written, 'No polluted thing shall enter:' I suppose, therefore, that original sin withholdeth a man from entering into heaven: neither do I any thing at all esteem the fantastical dreams of them, whereby they, extenuating original sin, do call it openly the pain of sin, and imperfections; plain against the manifest Scriptures, which call it sin, and teach the same to be cured by grace, which is the medicine of true, and not of feigned sin. Luther's answer to the third article.

IV. 'The imperfect charity of a man departing, necessarily carrieth with it great fear, which of itself is enough to make the pain of purgatory, and letteth the entrance into the kingdom of heaven.' Article.

Answer:—This followeth of the other going before, which, in like manner, I did not determinately affirm, although very probably I do yet hold the same, asking, before, a dispensation after mine own arbitrement, even in defiance of the Bull, which is not able to bring forth any other probation but this: 'We are the highest powers in the church, yea we are the church itself: *ergo*, we are the best learned, most holiest, full of the Holy Ghost, which cannot err, although we stink like a filthy puddle to the whole world, polluted with all kind of sins, and drowned in ignorance.' But all these reasons prevail nothing with me: peradventure they may with them that fear lest, if my sentence should prevail, then purgatory should be taken out of the pope's hands; and then priests and religious men, having lost their gainful offices of vexing (of releasing, I would have said) the dead, should be pinched by the bellies and brought to penury. It was time, therefore, for their greedy avarice here to awake and look about, and not to suffer their frivolous opinions, but yet very gainful, to be overcome with truth, and so to be overthrown. Luther's answer to the fourth article. The pope's doctrine gainful to the purse.

V. 'Whereas they say penance standeth of three parts, to wit contrition, confession, and satisfaction, it is not founded in holy Scripture, nor in ancient, holy, and christian doctors.' Article.

Answer:—This article, in what respect it is condemned, I do right well perceive; for the respect thereof is to greedy covetousness, and therefore I know that the probation thereof hath the like respect, which is this: *If* this article were true, then men would give nothing for satisfaction and indulgences, neither should we have any more wherewith to vex them with confessions, cases reserved, restricted, or ampliated for our gain; and so should we become beggars, and God's service should be minished in vigils and masses: but it is wicked that God's service should be minished; therefore, Luther is a heretic. This consequence holds 'a respectu Bullæ ad papistas,' that is, from the bull to the papists, and contrariwise. Luther's answer to the fifth article.

I beseech thee, by the Lord Jesus, whatsoever grave and learned reader shalt read these things, that thou wilt pardon this my levity, and, as it may seem, my childishness. For thou seest how I have to do with such men as be twice children, and yet do brag themselves to be peers and principal pillars of all

(1) Rev. xxi. (2) Sap. vii. (3) Rom. vii. Gal. v.

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men. I assure you, I know it most certainly to be true, that there be many and great governors of the people, which this so ridiculous and foolish reason above recited hath moved to the condemnation of my books. Unless I perceived (with tears I speak it) the anger of God sharp and fierce against us, in bringing us under subjection of such effeminate children, and such dregs of the earth, and vile refuse of all other people of the whole world, it would make me to burst for very grief and sorrow.

My sentence is, and hath been this: That satisfaction, which the keys are able to dispense withal, standeth not by the law of God: for, if it did, then could it not be dispensed withal by the keys. If these bull-founders do charge me with any other thing besides in this article, they do nothing else but as they are wont to do: for what matter or marvel is it, if Antichrist do lie?

Article.

VI. 'Contrition which is gotten by examining, remembering, and detesting our sins, whereby a man calleth to mind his years past in the bitterness of his soul, in pondering the greatness, the multitude and filthiness of his sins, the losing of eternal bliss, and the purchasing of eternal damnation: this contrition maketh a hypocrite, yea rather a man to be more a sinner.'

Luther's answer to the sixth article.

Answer:—O the incredible blindness and brutishness of these Romish bulls! This article is truly mine, and very christian; which I will not suffer to be wrested from me, for all the popes and papists in the world. For this I meant by that doctrine, that repentance is of no force, unless it be done in faith and charity; which thing they also would teach themselves, but that they do neither know nor teach, either what faith or charity is. And therefore, in condemning my doctrine, they condemn also their own, foolishly repugning against themselves in their own contradiction. I say, therefore, that he that teacheth repentance in such wise and manner that he hath not a greater regard to the promised mercy of God and faith in the same, than to this afflicting and vexing of the mind, he teacheth the repentance of Judas Iscariot; he is pestilent, a devil to men's souls, and tormentor of consciences. Read the books of these sophisters, where they write of repentance, and thou shalt see there no mention made either of promise or faith: for these lively parts of repentance they clean omit, and only do vex men with these dead contritions. But hereof we will hereafter treat more at large.

The purpose of Luther in setting forth his articles.

But what should I here stand upon every article, seeing my books be abroad, wherein I have given a reason of all sufficiently, and more would have done, if mine adversaries also had brought to light theirs? For what foolishness is this, that they think to answer me with this one saying, That they count all my sayings as damned? whereas I did write to this end only, that they should acknowledge their errors wherewith they have so long bewitched the people of God. Neither did I look that I should be condemned, who, understanding and knowing the same right well, have justified those things, which they have condemned before, with sufficient authority both of Scripture, and reason: neither looked I that they should tell me what they thought (for I knew all that well enough); but that which I sought of them, was, to know whether they thought right therein or not. Here looked I to be taught; and, behold, none of them all durst once put forth his head. Wherefore I see these asses nothing to understand either the things that I say, or yet themselves; but they be such blind buzzards, that they perceive not what it is that I seek in my books: for they dream that I have such an opinion of them, as though they had the truth of their side, when there is nothing that I less think to be true. For I, foreseeing that they had condemned all these things before, came forth, and showed myself as one not to be condemned, but as already condemned by them, to accuse their condemnation to be wicked, heretical, and blasphemous; and so openly to denounce them as heretics and erroneous, unless they showed some better reason and ground of their doings and doctrine; whereas they, on the other side, like foolish minstrels harping all on one string, have nothing else in their mouths, but 'we condemn that we have condemned;' proving, after a new kind of logic, the same thing by itself. O most idiot huddipeaks, and blockish condemners! Where is the saying of Peter, 'Be always ready to render an account of that faith and hope which is in you?'[1]

Wherefore, seeing these ignorant papists, being thus confounded, do so flee

(1) 1 Pet. iii.

away from the face of the manifest verity, that they dare not once open their mouths in defence of themselves or of their cause, and have blasted out with much ado this timorous bull of theirs; I, being comforted with the flight of these mine adversaries, do account this their dastardly damnation, instead of a full justification of my cause; and so rebound again their own damnation upon their own heads. For how could they more condemn themselves, than while they (fearing to be found themselves culpable of heresy, if they should be driven to give account of their doctrine) do flee to this miserable and desperate refuge, willingly to shut their eyes, and stop their ears, and to say 'I will not, I damn thee; I hear thee not, I allow thee not?' If I should have played any such mad part, how would they (I pray you) have triumphed against me? This dastardly fear, declareth what cowards they are. *Ecclesiastical Affairs.*

Wherefore, not to burden the reader with any tedious prolixity of matter in prosecuting every article, I here protest by these presents, that I confess all these things here condemned by this miserable Bull, for pure, clear, and catholic doctrine, whereof I have sufficiently given account in my books which be extant abroad.[1]

Furthermore, I will also that the said my books, being extant abroad, shall be taken as a public accusation against these wicked sophisters and seducers of the people of God; so that unless they shall give an account of their doctrine, and shall convict me with good ground of Scripture, I do here, as much as in me lieth, denounce them as guilty of errors, heresy, and sacrilege; admonishing, desiring, and in the Lord exhorting, all them that truly confess Christ, that they will beware and take heed of their pestiferous doctrine; and not to doubt, but that the true Antichrist reigneth by them in the world amongst us.

And if any shall contemn this my brotherly admonition, let him know that I am pure and clean from his blood, and excused from the last judgment of Christ: for I have left nothing undone, which christian charity did bind me to do.

Finally, if there be no other way whereby I may resist these babbling and trifling condemners, the uttermost and last which I have I will give and bestow in the quarrel; that is, this life and blood of mine. For better it were for me a thousand times to be slain, than to revoke one syllable of these articles, which they have condemned. And now, as they do curse and excommunicate me for their damnable heresy, so I again likewise do curse and excommunicate them for the holy verity of God. Christ, who is only the judge of all, judge and determine this matter between us, whether of these two excommunications, his or mine, shall stand and prevail before him! Amen.

In storying the life of Luther, it was declared before, how the said Luther in the beginning, being rejected first by the cardinal Cajetan, appealed from the cardinal unto the pope. When that would not serve, neither could any tolerable submission of Luther to the pope be received, but that the pope with his cardinals, contrary to all equity and conscience, would needs proceed against him, and against the express truth of God's word, thinking by mere authority to bear down the verity as he had used before to do: Luther, following the justness of his cause, was then compelled to appeal from the pope to the next general council, and so did, as before you may read; which was two years before the pope's bull against Luther came out. The tenor of this appellation, before omitted, I thought here to exhibit; whereby the reader, considering the great change of religion and state of the church which since hath ensued, may also perceive the true original cause and occasion how it first began; by what order and degrees it after increased; what humility and submission, first on

(1) Note here good reader that amongst these articles certain there be, which, because they seemed somewhat to bear with the pope and his pardons, Luther, coming after to a more knowledge that the pope was Antichrist, confesseth himself in his assertions, that he utterly calleth back the same; not revoking them as the pope would have had him, but rather aggravating them against the pope.

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Luther's part were showed; and, again, what insolency, wrong, and violence, of the pope's part, were declared. And further, whereas pope Leo, in his bull above prefixed, seemeth to pretend certain conditions of favour, charity, and money offered to Luther in the beginning, how false and vain that is, by this present appeal may appear.[1]

THE TENOR AND FORM OF THE APPEAL OF MARTIN LUTHER FROM POPE LEO TO THE NEXT GENERAL COUNCIL.

That forasmuch as the liberty of appealing is provided for a remedy to relieve the oppressed from injury and violence of the superior, it was therefore lawful for Martin Luther so to do; especially being manifold ways injured and molested by the see of Rome, and other the pope's confederates, as he, in the said appeal declareth. For at first, whereas he, modestly disputing of the errors and abuses of the pope's pardons, did somewhat withstand the impudent raving and blasphemies of them that came about with the pope's pardons, to poll and rob the people, he was therefore openly railed upon and defamed by them in their public sermons to be a heretic, and, consequently upon the same, accused to pope Leo for a heretic, by Marius the pope's proctor and others.

Then was obtained of the pope a commission to cite up the said Luther to appear at Rome before the cardinals, by Hieronymus, and Sylvester Prieras, his mortal enemies, whereas he could by no way appear without manifest danger of his life, both by the way, and also in the city of Rome.

For the consideration whereof, duke John Frederic, prince elector, and the landgrave, entreated for him to have his cause indifferently to be heard, and to be committed to two parties that were equal, and not partial: yet, notwithstanding the earnest suit of these princes, the contrary labour of the cardinals, who were his capital adversaries, so prevailed at Rome, that the cause of Luther was still detained in their own hands; and, contrary to all indifferency, was committed to the hearing of the pope's legate then in Germany, called 'Cardinalis Sancti Sixti;' who, being no less enemy against Luther than the others, and notwithstanding that Luther obediently appeared at his call, and with humble protestation submitted himself to be answered by the Scriptures; and referred himself to the judgment of the see of Rome, and of four universities, to wit, Basil, Friburg, Louvain, and Paris; yet, contrary to all equity, showing forth no Scripture nor reason, rejecting his gentle protestation, submission, and honest offer, with all other his requests and suits, he would needs forthwith have him to revoke his errors, threatening and menacing him most cruelly, and commanded him no more to come in his sight.

Cardinalis Sancti Sixti, an enemy to Luther.

Whereupon Luther, being thus proudly rejected of the cardinal, made his appeal from the said cardinal to pope Leo, being better informed.

Luther appealeth from the cardinal to the pope.

This appellation also being contemned of the pope, who would neither come to any agreement, nor take any reasonable condition, nor show Luther his errors by the Scripture, nor yet refer the matter by learning to be decided, but would needs per force proceed against him by mere authority and oppression at Rome, Luther then, seeing there was no other refuge or remedy for his own defence, and seeing, moreover, the truth of God's word to lie underfoot, by might and authority oppressed, so that none durst almost confess the same, and that the poor flock was so nursled in errors and vain opinions, to the seduction of their souls: for these, and other such causes, he, being necessarily thereunto compelled, commenced this appeal from the pope misinformed, to the next general council that should be, calling for the help of the public notary, and testimony also of sufficient witnesses, requisite in that behalf accordingly.

From the pope to the next general council.

(1) The copy, as it was drawn by the public notary, and exhibited, commenceth in this form here following. In nomine Domini, Amen. Anno a nativitate ejusdem, 1518, indictione sexta, die vero solis, vigesimo octavo mensis Novembris, pontificatus sanctissimi in Christo Patris et Domini nostri Domini Leonis, divina providentia Papæ, Decimi anno sexto, in Notarii publici testiumque infra-scriptorum, ad hoc specialiter vocatorum et rogatorum, præsentia constituta, &c.

The Death of King Henry the Eighth, with the manner thereof.

Henry VIII.

A.D. 1547.

And thus closing up this eighth book with the death of king Henry the eighth, I will now (the Lord Christ assisting me with his grace) proceed next to the time and reign of king Edward his son, after that first I shall intermit a few words touching the death of the said king Henry his father, and the manner of the same; who, after long languishing, infirmity growing more and more upon him, lay from St. Stephen's day (as is above mentioned) to the latter end of January. His physicians at length, perceiving that he would away, and yet not daring to discourage him with death, for fear of the act passed before in parliament, that none should speak any thing of the king's death (the act being made only for soothsayers, and talkers of prophecies,)[1] moved them that were about the king to put him in remembrance of his mortal state and fatal infirmity; which when the rest were in dread to do, Master Denny, who was specially attendant upon him, boldly coming to the king, told him what case he was in, to man's judgment not like to live; and therefore exhorted him to prepare himself to death, calling himself to remembrance of his former life, and to call upon God in Christ betimes for grace and mercy, as becometh every good christian man to do.

Although the king was loth to hear any mention of death, yet perceiving the same to rise upon the judgment of his physicians, and feeling his own weakness, he disposed himself more quietly to hearken to the words of his exhortation, and to consider his life past; which although he much accused, "yet," said he, "is the mercy of Christ able to pardon me all my sins, though they were greater than they be." Master Denny, being glad to hear him thus to speak, required to know his pleasure, whether he would have any learned man sent for to confer withal, and to open his mind unto. To whom the king answered again, that if he had any, he would have Dr. Cranmer, who was then lying at Croydon. And therefore Master Denny, asking the king whether he would have him sent for, "I will first," said the king, "take a little sleep; and then, as I feel myself, I will advise upon the matter."

The king at his death chooseth to talk with Cranmer.

After an hour or two the king, awaking, and feeling feebleness to increase upon him, commanded Dr. Cranmer to be sent for; but before he could come, the king was speechless, and almost senseless. Notwithstanding, perceiving Dr. Cranmer to be come, he, reaching his hand to Dr. Cranmer, did hold him fast, but could utter no word unto him, and scarce was able to make any sign. Then the archbishop, exhorting him to put his trust in Christ, and to call upon his mercy, desired him, though he could not speak, yet to give some token with his eyes or with his hand, that he trusted in the Lord. Then the king, holding him with his hand, did wring his hand in his as hard as he could; and so, shortly after, departed, after he had reigned in this land the term of thirty-seven years and nine months, leaving behind him three children, Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth.

Cranmer cometh to the king.

The king's children.

Moreover, forasmuch as mention is inserted in this place of the good inclination of king Henry, in his latter days, to the reformation of religion, by the occasion hereof it cometh also to mind, somewhat

(1) Some persons had already suffered as traitors for foretelling the king's death. See Lanquet's Epitome of Chronicles in the year 1541.—Ed.

Henry VIII. A. D. 1547.

likewise to add, by way of appendix, touching the talk between the archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer, the duke of Suffolk, and Charles Brandon, as concerning the king's purpose and intent conceived against the bishop of Winchester, Stephen Gardiner, in that he could never allow any reformation in religion in this realm, and especially being offended with this, that men should use in their talk, "the Lord," as well as "our Lord." The said duke said unto the said archbishop, "We of the council had him once at a good lift, and should well have dispatched him from his authority, if the king's majesty our master had stayed himself from admitting him to his presence; as then his highness was content that we should thoroughly have sifted and tried him. "It was, my lord," quoth the duke to the archbishop, "at that time when Gardiner's secretary was attached and suffered for defending the pope's authority. For then I, and certain of the council, having conference with the king's majesty for that matter, his highness was fully persuaded, that the bishop's secretary, being in such special favour with his master, would never stand so stiff in defence of the bishop of Rome's usurped power and authority without his said master's both advice, knowledge, and persuasion. For already (quoth the king), he played but a homely part with me, when he was ambassador to the pope concerning my cause of divorce. And therefore (quoth the king to me), send for him, my lord, incontinently; and, by assistance of two or three more of the council, whom you think good, let him be committed to the Tower, to answer to such things as may be objected against him.'

Talk between Cranmer and the duke of Suffolk about Winchester.

Winchester by the king sent to the Tower.

"This communication was in the evening, so that we purposed to have executed the king's pleasure and commandment the next morning. Howbeit our talk was not so secret, but that some of his friends of the privy chamber (where he had many friends then), suspecting the matter, sent him word thereof; who incontinently repaired to the king's presence, and finding some matter to minister unto the king, his highness said to the bishop, 'We do marvel that your secretary hath thus notoriously offended against us and our laws. It is surely thought that you are not all clear in this offence, but that you are of the same opinion with him; and, therefore, my lord, be plain with me, and let me know if you be that way infected or no. If you will tell me the truth, I will rather pardon the fault; but if you halt or dissemble with me, look for no favour at my hand.'

Privily cometh to the king.

The king layeth to Winchester's charge.

"With this monition Winchester fell down upon his knees, and besought his majesty for mercy and pardon, manifestly confessing that he had long time been of that opinion with his said secretary; and there bewailing himself, promised from that day forward to reform his opinion, and become a new man. 'Well (quoth the king) this way you have of me, that which otherwise you should never have obtained. I am content to remit all things past, and pardon you upon your amendment.'

Winchester confesseth his popery.

"The next morning I had word how the matter was handled; whereupon I came to his highness and said, 'Your majesty hath prevented our commission, which I and others had from your grace, concerning my lord of Winchester's committing to the Tower.' 'Wot you what (quoth the king); he hath confessed himself as guilty in this matter as his man, and hath, with much sorrow and pensive-

King Henry's nature to pardon them that confess their fault.

ness, sued for my pardon; and you know what my nature and custom hath been in such matters, evermore to pardon them that will not dissemble, but confess their fault.' *Henry VIII.* A. D. 1547.

"Thus wilily and politicly Gardiner got himself out of our hands. But, if I had suspected this, I would have had him in the Tower over night, and have stopped his journey to the court."

"Well," said my lord of Canterbury, "he was evermore too good for you all."

Moreover, as touching this aforesaid bishop of Winchester, forasmuch as he, in king Edward's time, bragged so much of his old master of famous memory, king Henry VIII., to the intent that the glorious vanity of this bishop, and of all others like unto him, may appear more notoriously to all men, here is to be noted by the testification as well of Master Denny, as also of sir Henry Nevil, who were there present witnesses of the matter, whose record was this: that king Henry, before the time of his sickness, taking his horse upon the terrace at Windsor to ride out on hawking, saw standing before him the lord Wriothesley, lord chancellor, with divers other councillors; and, amongst them, the bishop of Winchester. Whereupon he called the lord chancellor, and said, "Did not I command you he should come no more amongst you?" (meaning the bishop.) Whereupon the lord chancellor answered, that his coming was to bring his majesty word of a benevolence given unto him by the clergy: whereat the king said, "Ah! let him come hither;" and so he did his message, and the king went straight away. Winchester commanded to come no more in the king's sight.

Item, another time the king, immediately after his repair to London, fell sick, and caused divers times his whole council to come unto him about his will, and other his grave affairs. At that time the bishop also would come up with them into the outer privy chamber, and there remain until the council came from the king, and then go down with them again, to the end (as then was thought) to blind the world withal. Though he were excluded, he would seem still to be of the king's council.

Furthermore, as the king grew more in sickness, he, considering upon his will and testament made before,[1] at his going over to Boulogne, willed the same to be drawn out again, with leaving out and excluding the bishop of Winchester by name from amongst his executors: which being to him no small corsey,[2] and a cutting off all their purposes, a way was found, that sir Anthony Brown, a principal pillar of Winchester's side, pretending unto the king, as though by the negligence of the writer the bishop's name had been left out of the king's will, kneeled down to the king's majesty; lying in his bed, and said, "My lord of Winchester, I think, by negligence is left out of your majesty's will; who hath done your highness most painful, long, and notable service, and one without whom the rest shall not be able to overcome your great and weighty affairs committed unto them." Excluded out of the king's will. Sir Anthony Brown a great friend to Winchester.

"Hold your peace," quoth the king, "I remembered him well enough, and of good purpose have left him out: for surely, if he were in my testament, and one of you, he would cumber you all, and you should never rule him, he is of so troublesome a nature. Marry," The king's opinion of Winchester.

(1) Fuller, in his Church History (book v. pp. 243—252), gives the will of king Henry at length.—Ed.

(2) 'Corsey,' a corruption of the Scotch word 'corses,' or money.—Ed.

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quoth the king, "I myself could use him, and rule him to all manner of purposes, as seemed good unto me; but so shall you never do; and therefore talk no more of him to me in this behalf." Sir Anthony Brown, perceiving the king somewhat stiff herein, gave place to the king's words at that time: howbeit, seeking further occasion upon more persuasions put into his head, he took in hand once again to move the king to have the bishop one of his executors. When the king perceived that this instant suit would not cease, "Have you not yet done," quoth the king, "to molest me in this matter? If you will not yet cease to trouble me, by the faith I owe unto God, I will surely dispatch thee out of my will also; and therefore let us hear no more of this matter." All this sir Anthony Denny was heard to report to the archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Cranmer, by the said archbishop's secretary, who is yet alive, and witness unto the same.

Witness.

The purpose of the king was to make a perfect reformation of religion.

And thus much touching the end of king Henry, who, if he had continued a few months longer (all those obits and masses, which appear in his will made before he went to Boulogne notwithstanding), most certain it is, and to be signified to all posterity, that his full purpose was to have repurged the estate of the church, and to have gone through with the same, so that he would not have left one mass in all England. For the more certain intelligence whereof, two things I have to lead me: the one is, the assured report and testimony of Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, hearing the king declare the same out of his own mouth, both to himself and to Monsieur d'Annebault, lord admiral of the French, ambassador, in the month of August, a little before his death, as above may appear more at large. The ōther cause which leadeth me thereunto is also of equal credit, grounded upon the declaration of the king's own mouth after that time, more near unto his death, unto Bruno, ambassador of John Frederic, duke of Saxony: unto the which ambassador of Saxony the king gave this answer openly, that if the quarrel of the duke of Saxony were nothing else against the emperor, but for religion, he should stand to it strongly, and he would take his part, willing him not to doubt or fear. And so with this answer he dismissed the ambassador unto the duke, openly in the hearing of these four sufficient witnesses, as the lord Seymour earl of Hereford, lord Lisle then admiral, the earl of Bedford lord privy seal, the lord Paget. But the secret working of God's holy providence, who disposeth all things after his own wisdom and purpose, thought it good rather, by taking the king away, to reserve the accomplishment of this reformation of his church to the peaceable time of his son Edward and Elizabeth his daughter, whose hands were yet undefiled with any blood, and life unspotted with any violence or cruelty.

Credit of this narration.

The king's answer to the duke of Saxony's ambassador, a little before his death.

And thus, to finish this book, I thought here to close up king Henry's reign: but because a little vacant space of empty paper remaineth behind needful to be filled up, to employ therefore and to replenish the same with some matter or other, I thought to annex hereunto one story which happened in this king Henry's reign; which albeit it serveth not to the purpose of this our matter now in hand, yet, nevertheless, to supply the room it may stand in some place, either to refresh the travailed mind of the reader, wearied with other stories, or else, to disclose the detestable impiety of these

counterfeit sects of monks and friars, who, under the hypocritical visor of pretensed religion, have so long seduced and deceived the world. Although the deceitful parts and practices of these fantastical orders be so many, and in all places so notorious, that they are not able to be expressed; yet, amongst many, one you shall hear that chanced in this king's days, in the city of Orleans in France, by the Grey Friars, about A.D. 1534. The story is this:— *Henry VIII.* A. D. 1547.

A Tragical History of certain Friars in France, in the City of Orleans, A.D. 1534.

The mayor's wife of the city of Orleans provided in her will, to be buried without any pomp or solemnity. For when any departeth there, in some places the bellmen are hired to go about the city, and in places most frequented to assemble the people with the sound of the bell, and there to declare the names and the titles of those parties deceased; also where and when they shall be buried; exhorting the people to pray for them. And when the corpse is carried forth, the most part of the begging friars go withal to the church, with many torches and tapers carried before them; and the more pomp and solemnity is used, the more is the concourse of people. But this woman, as I said, would have none of all this gear done for her: wherefore her husband, who loved her well, followed her mind herein, and gave unto these greedy cormorants the friars, who waited for their prey (in whose church she was buried besides her father and her grandfather), six crowns for a reward, whereas they gaped for a great deal more. And afterwards, when he cut down a wood, and sold it, the friars, craving to have part thereof freely and without money, he denied them. This took they wonderful grievously, and whereas they loved him not before, they devised now a way to be revenged, saying, that his wife was damned everlastingly.

The workers of this tragedy were Colyman and Stephen of Arras, both doctors of divinity; and the first indeed was a conjurer, and had all his trinkets and his furniture concerning such matters in readiness; and they used the matter thus.

They set a young man who was a novice, above, over the vault of the church, and when they came to mumble up their matins at midnight, after their accustomed manner, he made a wonderful noise and shrieking aloft. Then went this Colyman to crossing and conjuring, but the other above would not speak. Being charged to make a sign to declare if he were a dumb spirit, he rustled and made a noise again, and that was the sign and token.

When they had laid this foundation, they went to certain of the chiefest in all the city, and such as favoured them most, and told them what a heavy case was chanced; yet did they not utter what it was, but entreated them to take the pains to come to their service at night. When they were come, and the service was begun, he that was aloft made a great noise. Being demanded what he would, and what he was, he signified that he might not speak. Then was he commanded to answer to their interrogatories by signs and tokens. Now there was a hole made for the purpose, whereby, laying to his ear, he might hear and understand what the conjurer said unto them. There was also a table at hand, and when any question was asked, he struck and beat upon the table, so that he might be heard beneath. Then first the conjurer demanded whether he were any of them that had been buried there. After that, reckoning up many of their names in order, whose bodies had been buried there, at the last he named the mayor's wife. Here he made a sign that he was the spirit of that woman. Then he asked whether she were damned, and for what desert or offence: whether it were for covetousness, pride, or lechery, or not doing the works of charity, or else for this new sprung up heresy and Lutheranism. Moreover, what was the cause that he made such a noise, and was so unquiet: whether it were that the body being buried within holy ground should be digged up again, and carried to some other place. To all these things he answered by signs in like case as he was commanded; whereby he affirmed, or denied every thing, striking twice or thrice upon the table.

The conjurer what he demanded of the Spirit.

Luther's heresy a great bug among the friars.

When he had thus signified that Luther's heresy was the cause of her

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damnation, and that her body must be taken up, the friars desired the citizens that were there present, to bear witness of such things as they had seen and heard, and set their hands to it in writing. But they, taking advisement lest they should both offend the mayor, and bring themselves into trouble, refused to subscribe. Notwithstanding, the friars took the pix with the host and the Lord's body (as they call it), and all their saints' relics, and carried them to another place; and there they said their masses, which they are wont to do by the pope's law, when a church is suspended and must be hallowed again. And when the bishop's official heard of this, he came thither to understand the matter better, and associating to him certain honest men, he commanded the friar to conjure in his presence; and would have appointed certain to go up to the vault, to see if any spirit did there appear. But Stephen of Arras was sore against it, and exhorted them earnestly that they should not so do, saying, that the spirit ought not to be molested. And albeit the official did earnestly urge them to conjure before him, yet could he not bring them to it. In the mean time the mayor, making his friends privy what he would do, went to the king, and informed him of the whole matter. And because the friars, trusting to their immunities and privileges, refused to come in judgment, the king chose certain out of the court of parliament at Paris, to examine the matter, and gave them full authority so to do: whereupon they were carried to Paris, and constrained to make answer; but they would confess nothing.

The mayor complaineth to the king, of the friars.

Then they were sent again to prison, and kept apart one from another; and the novice was kept in the house of Fremeus, a senator; and being oftentimes examined, he would confess nothing, fearing lest he should afterwards be murdered of them, for slandering their order. But, when the judges promised him that he should have no harm, and should come no more in the friars' hands, he declared to them the whole matter in order; and being brought before the others, he avouched the same. But they, albeit they were convicted, and in manner taken in the deed, yet refused they their judges, and bragged of their privileges: but it was altogether in vain, for they were condemned in open judgment, that they should be carried again to Orleans, and committed to prison, and afterwards brought openly to the cathedral church, and so to the place of punishment where malefactors are executed; and there should make open confession of their wickedness.

The friars condemned to prison and to punishment.

But even at the same time chanced a persecution against the Lutherans, which was the cause that this sentence, albeit it was too gentle for so great offence, was not put in execution. For because the name of the Lutherans was most odious, they feared lest the punishment of these men should not have been so much thought to be due for their offence, as done in reproach of the order; and many thought that whatsoever should be done to them, it would be to the Lutherans a pleasant spectacle, and cause them much to rejoice.

The priests escape, and the Lutherans are punished.

This order of the Franciscans was esteemed of the common people very holy; so that what time they were carried out of Paris, certain women, moved with pity, followed them unto the gate of the university, with many tears and sighs.

After they came to Orleans, and were bestowed in several prisons, they began to boast again of their liberties and privileges; and at length, after long imprisonment, they were discharged and set at liberty without any further punishment. Had not these persecutions before mentioned letted the matter, the king had determined, as it was certainly reported, to pluck down their house, and make it even with the ground.[1]

But to leave the memory of this idolatrous generation, not worthy any further to be named, let us occupy the time with some better matter.[2]

(1) Ex Joan. Sleid. [Edit. Francof. 1610] lib. ix. [p. 221.—Ed.]

(2) In the four standard editions of the Acts and Monuments from 1570 to 1596, (as also in some of the later editions), the reader is directed to 'the story of a good and constant martyr of the Lord before overpast, who suffered in Kent for the word of God, before Luther's time;' namely, 'The Story of John Browne, a blessed Martyr of Christ Jesus, burned at Ashford,' &c. Foxe seems to have forgotten that he had introduced it before, vol. iv. p. 181, under the date A. D. 1517; where it may be found, as also in the corresponding place of other editions; the only variation between the second copy of the story and the former is in the date; and the only addition is this: 'This story the said Elizabeth Browne, his wife, did ofttimes repeat to Alice her daughter, who, dwelling yet in the parish of St. Pulcher's, testified the narration hereof unto *me* and certain others; upon whose credible information I have recorded the same.'—Ed.

Amongst other injunctions and letters of king Henry VIII., written and set forth for reformation of religion, he wrote one letter to Thomas Cranmer, for abolishing of images, pilgrimages, shrines, and other monuments of idolatry; which letter being before expressed,[1] we should also have annexed to the same the letter or mandate of Bonner, directed in Latin to Richard Cloney his sumner, appertaining to the due execution thereof: which letter because we have omitted before, the defect thereof I thought here, in this vacant space, to supply. The letter written to Cloney[2] is this:

Henry VIII. A.D. 1547.

Bonner's Letter to Cloney, Keeper of the Coal-House; for the abolishing of Images.

Forasmuch as the thirteenth day of this present month, we have received the letters of our sovereign lord, by the grace of God king of England, &c., to us directed, and containing in them the commandment of his majesty, by us to be executed in tenor of words which here I send unto you. We therefore, will and desire, according as our duty bindeth us, to put the same in execution with all diligence possible, according to the effect and tenor hereof, in the king's behalf, and for the fidelity which we have in you assuredly approved, that you, incontinent upon the receipt hereof, do effectually warn all and singular parsons and vicars of this city of London, and of all our diocese, that they, immediately upon the sight and intimation of these present articles and interrogatories hereunder written, do cause diligent and effectual inquisition thereof to be made: to wit,

Had Bonner none to do these weighty things but Cloney, keeper of the coal-house?

Whether there be used and continued any superstition, hypocrisy, or abuse within any their parishes or cures, contrary to any ordinance, injunction, or commandment given and set forth by the king's majesty, or by his authority.

Item, Whether they have in their churches, or within their parishes, any shrines, coverings of shrines, tables of feigned miracles, pilgrimages, images, and bones, resorted and offered unto, and other monuments and things wherewith the people have been illuded, or any offering or setting up of lights or candles, other than be permitted by the king's majesty's injunctions; or whether the said injunctions be duly observed and kept in their parishes or cures, or else transgressed and broken; and in what part.

And further, after the said inquisition thus by them and every of them respectively being made, that you do certify us, or our vicar general, what is done in the premises, upon the eve of Simon and Jude, or thereabouts, under the peril thereof following.

Dated the 14th day of October, A.D. 1541, and the second of our translation.

THE CONCLUSION.

*The[3] death of the king, as it took away a valiant and martial prince out of this life, so it brought no little tranquillity and liberty to the church of England; forasmuch as many men's names were gathered and enrolled together in a catalogue, and at that time accused unto the king, by the bishop of Winchester and other prelate, the execution of whom should shortly have followed, if their crafty and cruel purposes had not been prevented by the hand of God, and turned otherwise than they looked for. Unto the same Eternal Almighty King of all kings, Prince of all princes, our Lord Christ Jesus, who never dieth, but ever reigneth, the perpetual and only preserver and defender of his church, be praise, honour, and

(1) See page 463 of this volume.—Ed.

(2) 'Edmundus permissione divina Lond. Episc. dilecto nobis in Christo Richardo Cloney literato, apparitori nostro generali, salut. grat. et benedictionem. Cum nos decimo tertio die mensis instantis Octob. circa noctem, literas serenissimi,' etc. [See Edition 1563, p. 684.—Ed.] This Cloney could neither understand the Latin, nor yet scarce read in English; and yet here he is called literatus!

(3) See Edition 1563, pages 682, 683.—Ed.

Henry VIII. thanksgiving, throughout all congregations without end and ceasing. Amen!'

A. D. 1547. And thus much concerning the reign of king Henry the eighth, a prince of worthy fame and memory, under whose time and governance such acts and records, troubles, persecutions, recantations, practices, alterations, as then happened in the church, we have here discoursed, with such statutes, injunctions, and proclamations, as by him were set forth, in causes and matters to the church appertaining; comprehending, although not all things so fully as might be, yet pretermitting as few things as we could in such matters as came to our hands, save that only in the catalogue and number of them who recanted in king Henry's time, certain we have overpassed; whose names I might seem partial, peradventure, in this story for not reciting with the others who, in the like cause, recanted with them. Yet, because they continued not in their recantation with them, but recovered and reverted again to the truth forsaken, therefore I thought it cause sufficient to dissever them from the others, especially seeing they so converted unto the Lord, that they were ready to yield their lives afterwards for the truth; as divers, indeed, so did, whom it pleased the Lord to call thereunto. Yea, in all king Henry's times, how few were they that burned, that did not revoke before, so did Bilney, Garret, Barnes, Jerome, Arther, with divers more. Bishop Latimer who suffered in queen Mary's time, though he bare no faggot, yet he subscribed to their articles.

What should we say to Master Beacon, who, although he recanted with others in king Henry's time, yet, in queen Mary's days, how hardly he escaped with his life out of the Tower, had not God's providence blinded Winchester's eyes, in mistaking his name! The like is to be said of Master Wisdome, Doctor Crome, Alexander Seton, Tolwing, Singleton, with the rest; who all recanted in king Henry's time, and yet good soldiers after in the church of Christ. And thus closing up this section with the term of king Henry's life, we will now proceed (God willing) to the flourishing reign of king Edward his son, next after him succeeding, requesting by the way, and desiring the gentle reader, that if any thing besides that which is or hath been by us collected hitherto, do come to thy hands, knowledge, or memory, that thou wilt gently impart the same unto us, whereby it may be published hereafter to further profit of many.*

(1) The history of this extraordinary man may well be concluded by the following observation: "Morte sic regnum finiit Henricus Rex, propter prima administrationis tempora illustre, propter victorias crebas et rés in bello feliciter gestas gloriosum, propter magnas sub eo mutationes factas memorabile, propter ecclesiæ sub eo cœptam reformationem laudabile: attamen verò (veritatem non occultare) propter uxoriam rem infelicissimum; denique, propter creba tributa reipublicæ nonnihil damnosum, civibusque grave ac onerosum." See Herwologia Anglica, Lond. 1620, page 4. The writings of Henry VIII. were as follows: Ad Leonem pontificem ejus nominis X.: Assertio Sacramentorum, lib. i.: Ad Epistolam Lutheri, lib. i.: De Christiani Hominis Institutione, lib. i.: De Instituenda Pube, lib. i. Sententia de Mantuano Concilio, lib. i.: De justo in Scotos bello, lib. i.: Ad duces Saxoniæ, Erasmum Roterodamum, et alios magni nominis viros, epistolæ dissertissimæ.—Ep.

END OF BOOK THE EIGHTH.

ACTS AND MONUMENTS.

BOOK IX.

CONTAINING

THE ACTS AND THINGS DONE IN THE REIGN OF KING EDWARD THE SIXTH.[1]

EDWARD THE SIXTH.

*AMONG[2] other rough storms and boisterous persecutions which we have passed through since the beginning of this history, wading also through dangerous tempests of king Henry's time (as being come out from the rocks and waves of a terrible sea), now we have brought the course of this story, through the goodness and supportation of Christ our Lord, to the mild and halcyon days of king Edward the Sixth; as into a haven of fairer and calmer weather. For like as the seas, so also the land, hath ofttimes its rages and also tranquillity. *Edward VI.* A.D. 1547.

Although it cannot be denied but that king Henry, the noble father of this worthy prince, deserved also praise and renown for his valiant and virtuous beginning, yet, if he had proceeded as hardily, according as happily, he began; and, like as he only cracked the pope's crown, and rased his name, so, if he had clean dispossessed him of all:—or, as he had once got the victory over him, so, if he had pursued his victory gotten, and (as it was preached before him at Greenwich), "like as he had once unhorsed the pope, and put him out of the saddle, so, if he had also taken away his trappers and stirrups, whereby the prelates went about to set him on his horse again:" then had his acts, joining a perfect end to his godly beginning, deserved a firm memory of much commendation, with the saving of many a poor man's life. But that which the father, either could not, or durst not bring to perfection, that the son most worthily did accomplish, or rather the grace of Christ by him; who, succeeding after his father, reigned over the kingdom of England the space of six years in much tranquillity: of whose worthy virtues and prudent sentences, with other ornaments of his singular towardness, hereafter

(1) See the Latin Edition, Basle, 1559, p. 200. Ed. 1563, p. 675. Ed. 1570, p. 1483. Ed. 1576, p. 1257. Ed. 1583, p. 1294. Ed. 1597, p. 1178. Edition 1684. Vol. II. book ix. p. i.—ED.

(2) See Edition 1563, p. 675; also the Latin Edition, Basle, 1559, p. 200.—ED.

Edward VI. A.D. 1547.

shall follow (Christ so permitting), more to be expressed at large, when we come to his death, according as the order of history requireth, and as we may be informed thereof by the relation of them that were about him.

After or about the death, therefore, of king Henry, the duke of Norfolk was the same time committed to the Tower, and his son, the earl of Surrey, was shortly after beheaded; for what offence, as it is unknown to me, I commit it unto the Lord, who, as He knoweth all things perfectly, so shall He judge all things righteously. God grant that the doings of all men may be such, that, either they may stand in his judgment through uprightness, or else may obtain mercy through repentance!*

Next after the death of king Henry, succeeded king Edward his son, being of the age of nine years. He began his reign the 28th day of January A.D. 1547; and reigned six years, five months, and nine days; and deceased A.D. 1553, the 6th day of July.

Of the excellent virtues and singular graces of king Edward, wrought in him by the gift of God, although nothing can be said enough to his commendation, yet, because the renowned fame of such a worthy prince shall not utterly pass our story without some grateful remembrance, I thought, in few words, to touch some little portion of his praise, taken out of the great heaps of matter, which might be inferred. For, to stand upon all that might be said of him, it would be too long; and yet to say nothing, it were too much unkind.

Commendation of king Edward.

If kings and princes, who have wisely and virtuously governed, have found in all ages writers to solemnize and celebrate their acts and memory, such as never knew them, nor were subject unto them, how much then are we Englishmen bound not to forget our duty to king Edward: a prince, although but tender in years, yet for his sage and mature ripeness in wit and all princely ornaments, as I see but few to whom he may not be equal, so, again, I see not many, to whom he may not justly be preferred.

And here, to use the example of Plutarch, in comparing kings and rulers, the Latins with the Greeks together, if I should seek with whom to match this noble Edward, I find not with whom to make my match more aptly, than with good Josias: for, as the one began his reign at eight years of his age, so the other began at nine. Neither were their acts and zealous proceedings in God's cause much discrepant: for as mild Josias plucked down the hill altars, cut down the groves, and destroyed all monuments of idolatry in the temple, the like corruptions, dross, and deformities of popish idolatry (crept into the church of Christ of long time), this evangelical Josias, king Edward, removed and purged out of the true temple of the Lord. Josias restored the true worship and service of God in Jerusalem, and destroyed the idolatrous priests! King Edward likewise, in England, abolishing idolatrous masses and false invocation, reduced again religion to a right sincerity; and more would have brought to perfection, if life and time had answered to his godly purpose. And though he killed not, as Josias did, the idolatrous sacrificers, yet he put them to silence, and removed them out of their places.

Comparison between king Josias and king Edward.

Moreover, in king Josias's days the holy Scripture and book of God's Word was utterly neglected and cast aside, which he most

graciously repaired and restored again. And did not king Edward the like, with the selfsame book of God's blessed word, and with other wholesome books of christian doctrine, which before were decayed and extinguished in his father's days, by sharp laws and severe punishments, here in England? Briefly, in all points and respects, between him and this our godly king no odds are to be found, but only in length of time and reign; who, if he might have reached (by the sufferance of God) to the continuance of Josias's reign; proceeding in those beginnings which in his youth appeared, no doubt but of his acts and doings some great perfection would have ensued to this church and realm. But the manifold iniquities of Englishmen deserved another plague, as after fell amongst us; as in sequel of the story hereafter (God willing) shall be declared.

Edward VI. A.D. 1547.

They only differ in continuance of reign.

In the mean time, to proceed in the excellent virtues of this christian young Josias (as we have begun), although neither do we know, nor will leisure serve us to stand upon a full description of, all his acts; yet will we (God willing) give a little taste of the noble nature and princely qualities of this king, whereby the reader may esteem with himself, what is to be thought of the rest of his doings, though they be not here all expressed.

King Edward beloved of his subjects.

And first, to begin with that which is the chiefest property of all other extern things in a prince to be considered, that is, to be loved of his subjects: such were the hearts of all English people toward this king inclined, and so toward him still continued, as never came prince in this realm more highly esteemed, more amply magnified, or more dearly and tenderly beloved of all his subjects; but especially of the good and the learned sort: and yet not so much beloved, as also admirable, by reason of his rare towardness and hope both of virtue and learning, which in him appeared above the capacity of his years. And as he was entirely of his subjects beloved, so with no less goodwill he loved them again; of nature and disposition meek, and much inclined to clemency. He always spared and favoured the life of man; as once appeared in a certain dissertation of his had with Master Cheek, in favouring the life of heretics; insomuch that when Joan Butcher[1] should be burned, all the council could not move him to put to his hand, but were fain to get Dr. Cranmer to persuade with him, and yet neither could he, with much labour, induce the king so to do; saying, "What, my lord? will ye have me to send her quick to the devil in her error?" So that Dr. Cranmer himself confessed, that he had never so much to do in all his life, as to cause the king to put to his hand, saying, that he would lay all the charge thereof upon Cranmer before God. There wanted in him no promptness of wit, gravity of sentence, ripeness of judgment. Favour and love of religion was in him from his childhood. Such an organ, given of God to the church of England, he was, as England had never better. Over and besides these notable excellencies and other great virtues in him, add, moreover, skill and knowledge of tongues, and other sciences, whereunto he seemed rather born, than brought up.

His meek nature.

Well skilled in the tongues.

(1) She was burnt on the 2d of May, 'for the horrible heresy that Christ took no flesh of the Virgin Mary: and at her death did preach John Scorie, a preacher of Canterbury, showing to the people her abominable opinions, and warning all men to beware of them and such like.' Fabyan's Chronicles. Lond. 1811. p. 510. Burnet, vol. i. part 2. pp. 180—186. See also her sentence, vol. ii. part 2. p. 229, and Wilkins, Concilia. Lond. 1737. vol. iv. p. 43.—Ed.

Edward VI. A. D. 1547.

Moreover, there wanted not in him, to this felicity of wit and dexterity of nature, like happiness of institution of good instructors; neither did there lack again in him any diligence to receive that which they would teach him; insomuch that in the midst of all his play and recreation, he would always observe and keep his hour appointed to his study, using the same with much attention, till time called him again from his book to pastime. In this his study and keeping of his hours, he did so profit, that Dr. Cranmer, the archbishop then of Canterbury, beholding his towardness, his readiness in both tongues, in translating from Greek to Latin, from Latin to Greek again; in declaiming with his school-fellows without help of his teachers, and that ex tempore; would weep for joy, declaring to Dr. Cox, his schoolmaster, that he would never have thought that to have been in him, except he had seen it himself.

Readiness of king Edward to his book.

Dr. Cox, king Edward's schoolmaster.

To recite here his witty sentences, his grave reasons, which many times did proceed from him, and how he would sometimes, in a matter discoursed by his council, add thereunto, of his own, more reasons and causes, touching the said matter, than they themselves had or could devise, it was almost incredible in that age to see, and tedious here to prosecute.

This in him may seem notorious and admirable, that he, in these immature years, could tell and recite all the ports, havens, and creeks, not within his own realm only, but also in Scotland, and likewise in France; what coming in there was; how the tide served in every haven or creek; moreover, what burden, and what wind, served the coming into the haven.

King Edward knew the names and religion of all his magistrates.

Also, of all his justices, magistrates, gentlemen that bare any authority within his realm, he knew their names, their housekeeping, their religion, and conversation, what it was. Few sermons, or none, in his court, especially in the lord protector's time, but he would be at them. Again, never was he present at any commonly, but he would excerp them, or note them with his own hand.

Besides and above all other notes and examples of his commendation, as touching the chiefest point which ought most to touch all men, for the maintaining, promoting, preferring, embracing, zealing, and defending the true cause and quarrel of Christ's holy gospel, what was his study, his zealous fervency, his admirable constancy therein, by this one example following, amongst many others, may notably appear.

Singular constancy of king Edward in maintaining true religion.

In the days of this king Edward VI., Charles the emperor made request to the said king and his council, to permit lady Mary (who after succeeded in the crown) to have mass in her house without prejudice of the law. And the council, on a time, sitting upon matters of policy, having that in question, sent Cranmer, then archbishop of Canterbury, and Ridley, then bishop of London, to entreat the king for the same; who, coming to his grace, alleged their reasons, and persuasions for the accomplishing thereof. So the king, hearing what they could say, replied his answer again out of the Scriptures so groundedly, gravely, and fully, that they were enforced to give place to his replication, and grant the same to be true. Then they, after long debating in this manner with his majesty, laboured politicly in another sort, and alleged what dangers the denying thereof

might bring to his grace; what breach of amity on the emperor's part; what troubles, what unkindness, and what occasions sundry ways it would enforce, &c. Unto whom the king answered, willing them to content themselves; for he would (he said) spend his life, and all he had, rather than agree and grant to what he knew certainly to be against the truth: which when the bishops heard, notwithstanding, they urged him still to grant, and would by no means have his nay. Then the good king, seeing their importunate suit, that needs they would have his majesty to consent thereto, in the end, his tender heart bursting out into bitter weeping and sobbing, he desired them to be content; whereat the bishops themselves, seeing the king's zeal and constancy, wept as fast as he, and took their leave of his grace. And coming from him, the archbishop took Master Cheek, his schoolmaster, by the hand, and said, "Ah! Master Cheek, you may be glad all the days of your life, that you have such a scholar, for he hath more divinity in his little finger, than all we have in all our bodies." Thus the lady Mary's mass, for that time, was stayed.

Edward VI. A.D. 1547.

His zealous heart.

The lady Mary's mass stayed by the tears of king Edward.

'Over and besides these heavenly graces and virtues, most chiefly to be required in all faithful and christian magistrates who have governance of Christ's flock, neither was he also unprovided with such outward gifts and knowledge, as appertain to the governance of his realm politic; insomuch that he was neither inexpert nor ignorant of the exchange, and all the circumstances of the same touching doings beyond the sea: but was as skilful in the practices, and could say as much thereof, as the chiefest doers in his affairs. Likewise, in the entertaining of ambassadors; to whom he would give answer, and that to every part of their oration, to the great wonder of them that heard, doing that in his tender years by himself, which many princes, at their mature age, seldom are wont to do but by others. And as he was a great noter of things that pertained to princely affairs, so had he a chest severally to himself, for every year, for the keeping of such records and matters as passed, and were concluded by the council; of whom also he would require a reason and cause of every thing that should pass their judgments: and of this chest he would evermore keep the key about him. His notes also he ciphered in Greek letters, to the end that those that waited upon him, should not read or know what he had written.[1]

King Edward skilful in the exchange.

This chest for keeping of acts of the council.

He had, moreover, great respect to justice, and to the dispatch of poor men's suits, and would appoint hours and times with Master Cox, then master of his requests, how, and by what order, they might be sped in their causes without long delays and attendance; and so also debate with him, that their matters might be heard and judged with equity accordingly.

What Jerome Cardan saith of him, concerning his knowledge in liberal sciences, I thought here to express in his own words, both in Latin[2] and English, so much the rather, because he speaketh of his

(1) King Edward's diary written by himself, is given in Burnet. Vol. ii. part 2. pp. 3—96.—Ed.

(2) The words of Cardan, in Latin, be these:

Hieronymus Cardanus de Genituris.

'Aderant enim illi gratiæ. Linguas enim multas adhuc puer callebat, Latinam, Anglicam (patriam) Gallicam, non expers (ut audio) Græcæ, Italicæ, et Hispanicæ, et forsan aliarum. [Propriam, Gallicam et Latinam exacte tenebat, et ad omnia docilis erat.] Non illi dialectica deerat,

Edward VI. A.D. 1547.

own experiment, and upon the present talk which he had with the king himself.

The Words of Cardanus in commendation of King Edward.

There was in him a towardly disposition and pregnancy, apt to all human literature; as who, being yet a child, had the knowledge of divers tongues, first of the English, his own natural tongue, of the Latin also, and of the French; neither was he ignorant (as I hear) of the Greek, Italian, and Spanish tongues, and of other languages, peradventure, more: in his own, in the French, and in the Latin tongue, singularly perfect, and with the like facility apt to receive all others. Neither was he ignorant in logic, in the principles of natural philosophy, or in music. There was in him lacking neither humanity (the image of our mortality), a princely gravity and majesty, nor any kind of towardness beseeming a noble king. Briefly, it might seem a miracle of nature, to behold the excellent wit and forwardness that appeared in him, being yet but a child. This I speak not rhetorically, to amplify things, or to make them more than truth is; yea, the truth is more than I do utter.

Being yet but fifteen years of age, he asked of me, in Latin (in which tongue he uttered his mind no less readily and eloquently than I could do myself), what my books which I had dedicated unto him, 'De Varietate Rerum,' did contain. I said, that in the first chapter was showed the cause of comets, or blazing stars, which hath been long sought for, and yet hitherto scarce fully found. 'What cause,' said he, 'is that?' 'The concourse or meeting,' said I, 'of the light of the wandering planets and stars.' To this the king thus replied again: 'Forasmuch,' said he, 'as the motion of the stars keepeth not one course, but is divers and variable, by continued alteration, how is it, then, that the cause of these comets either doth not quickly evade and vanish, or that the comet doth not keep one certain and uniform course and motion with the said stars and planets?' Whereunto I answered, that the comet hath his course and moving, but much more swift than they, because of the diversity of aspect; as we see in crystal, and in the sun, when the form of the rainbow reboundeth on the wall: for a little mutation maketh a great difference of place. Then said the king, 'And how can that be, having no subject: for of the rainbow the wall is the subject?' 'Like,' said I, 'as in lactea via,[1] or in reflection of lights; as, where many candles be lighted and set near together, in the middle they cause a certain bright and white lightsomeness to appear,' &c.

The cause of comets.

And so, by this little trial, a great guess may be given, what was in this king; in whom, no doubt, was a great hope and expectation amongst all good and learned men, both for the ingenious forwardness, and amiable sweetness, which in his conditions appeared. First, he began to love and favour liberal arts and

non naturalis philosophiæ principia, non musica. Humanitas mortalitatis nostræ imago, gravitas regiæ majestatis, indoles tanto principe digna. In universum, magno miraculo humanarum rerum, tanti ingenii, et tantæ expectationis puer educabatur! Non hæc rhetoricè exornata veritatem excedunt, sed sunt minora.'

De Qualitatibus Animi.

*Cum illo congressus. *decimum quintum adhuc agebat annum, interrogavit (Latinè non minus quam ego polite et prompte loquebatur) quid continent libri tui 'De rerum varietate rarâ?' hos enim nomini majestatis suæ dedicaveram. Tum ego: Cometarum primum causam diu frustra quæsitam in primo capite ostendo. Quænam? inquit ille. Concursus, ego aio, luminis erraticorum siderum. At Rex: Quomodo, cum diversis motibus astra moveantur, non statim dissipatur aut movetur eorum motu? At ego: Movetur equidem, sed longe celerius illis ob diversitatem aspectus, velut in chrystallo et sole cum iris in pariete relucet. Parva enim mutatio magnam facit loci differentiam. At Rex: Et quonam pacto absque subjecto illud fieri potest, iridi enim paries subjectum est? Tum ego: Velut in lactea via, et luminum reflectione, cum plures candelæ propè accensæ medium quoddam lucidum et candidum efficiunt. Itaque ex ungue leonem, ut dici solet. Fuit hic in maxima omnium aut bonorum aut eruditorum expectatione, ob ingenuitatem atque suavitatem morum. Prius cœperat favere artibus quam nosceret, et noscere antequam uti posset. Conatus quidam humanæ conditionis, quem non solum Anglia, sed orbis ereptum immaturè deflere debet. *Plurimum educationi debueramus, plus ereptum est hominum dolo fraudéve.* O quam bene dixerat ille,

'Immodicis brevis est ætas, et rara senectus.'

Specimen virtutis exhibere potuit, non exemplum. Ubi gravitas regia requirebatur, senem vidisses; ut blandus erat, et comis, ætatem referebat. Cheli pulsabat, publicis negotiis admovebatur, liberalis animo, atque in his patrem æmulabatur, &c. — See Hieronymi Cardani Opera Omnia. (Lugduni. 1663.) tom. v. p. 503. Genitura. I. The passages distinguished by asterisks are inserted from the original work: and that in a square parenthesis is an interpolation. Cardan was born at Pavia in 1501, and died about 1576.—Ed.

(1) 'Lactea via,' is a white and bright part of the firmament, like a long white causeway, or way, appearing in the night among the thick stars.

sciences, before he knew them, and to know them before he could use them; whose mortal condition, and sudden decease and decay, in those tender and unripe years, not only England, but all the world hath cause to lament. O how truly is it said of the poet, *Edward VI.* A.D. 1547.

'Things that be exceeding excellent,
Be not commonly long permanent.'

A show or sight only of excellency he could give us: example he could not give. Where a kingly majesty required gravity, there you should have seen him a sage and an old man; and yet gentle and pleasant also, according as the condition of his age then required. He played well upon the lute; he had, also, to do in handling of weighty affairs of the realm. He was liberal and bountiful in heart; and therein he imitated his father, &c.

Carmen Epitaphium Cardani, in obitum Regis Edwardi.

'Flere nefas magnum; sed toto flebitis orbe,
Mortales; vester corruit omnis honor.
Nam regum decus, et juvenum flos, spesque; bonorum,
Deliciæ secli, et gloria gentis erat.
Dignus Apollineis lachrymis, doctæque Minervæ
Flosculus, heu miserè! concidis ante diem.
Te tumulo dabimus Musæ, supremaque flentes
Munera, Melpomene tristia fata canet.'[1]

Thus, after the godly disposition and properties of this king briefly in this wise declared, now, God willing, we will intermeddle something to describe the order and proceedings which he followed in his administration and government of both the states, as well politic, as especially ecclesiastic; who, after the decease of his father coming unto the crown, because he was of young and tender age, he was committed to sixteen governors. Amongst them, especially the lord Edward Seymour, duke of Somerset, his uncle, was assigned and joined to him, as protector and overseer of him and of the commonwealth; a man not so highly advanced for his consanguinity, as also for his noble virtues; and, especially for his favour to God's word, worthy of his vocation and calling. Through the endeavour and industry of this man, first that monstrous hydra with six heads (the Six Articles, I mean), which devoured up so many men before, was abolished and taken away: by reason whereof the counsels and proceedings of Winchester began to decay, who, storming at the same matter, wrote to the lord protector in the cause thereof, as by his letters is to be seen.

Lord Edward Seymour made lord protector.

Commendation of him.

The holy Scriptures, he restored to the mother tongue. Masses he extinguished and abolished. Furthermore, after softer beginnings, by little and little, greater things followed in the reformation of the churches. Then such as before were in banishment for the danger of the truth, were again received to their country. To be short, a new face of things began now to appear, as it were in a stage, new players coming in, the old being thrust out; for the most part the bishops of churches and dioceses were changed: such as had been dumb prelates before, were then compelled to give place to others then, that would preach and take pains.

Reformation by king Edward.

(1) See his Works as above, page 506.—Ed.

Edward VI. A.D. 1547.

Besides others also, out of foreign countries, men of learning and notable knowledge were sent for and received, among whom was Peter Martyr,[1] Martin Bucer,[2] and Paulus Phagius;[3] of whom the first taught at Oxford, the other two professed at Cambridge, and that with no small commendation of the whole university. Of the old bishops some were committed to one ward, some to another. Bonner, bishop of London, was committed to the Marshalsea, and eftsoons, for his contempt and misdemeanour, deposed from his bishopric, as in further process followeth to be seen. Gardiner, bishop of Winchester, with Tonstal, bishop of Durham, was cast into the Tower for his disobedience, where he kept his Christmas five years together; more worthy of some other place without the Tower, if it had not otherwise pleased God to have meant a further plague to this realm, by that man.

Peter Martyr, Martin Bucer, Paulus Phagius.

Bishop Bonner committed to the Marshalsea; Gardiner and Tonstal, to the Tower.

But these meek and gentle times of king Edward, under the government of this noble protector, have this one commendation proper unto them, that amongst the whole number of the popish sort, of whom some privily did steal out of the realm, many were crafty dissemblers, some were open and manifest adversaries; yet, of all that multitude, there was not one man that lost his life. In sum, during the whole time of the six years of this king, much tranquillity, and, as it were, a breathing-time, was granted to the whole church of England: so that the rage of persecution ceasing, and the sword taken out of the adversaries' hand, there was now no danger to the godly, unless it were only by wealth and prosperity, which many times bringeth more damage in corrupting men's minds, than any time of persecution or affliction.

Briefly, during all this time, neither in Smithfield nor any other quarter of this realm, were any heard to suffer for any matter of religion, either papist or protestant, either for one opinion or another, except only two, one an Englishwoman, called Joan of Kent, and the other a Dutchman, named George, who died for certain articles not much necessary here to be rehearsed.

Dobbe dies in prison.

Besides these two, there was none else in all king Edward's reign, that died in any manner or cause of religion, but one Thomas Dobbe, who, in the beginning of this king's reign was apprehended and imprisoned for speaking against the idolatry of the mass, and in the same prison died; as in the story here ensueth to be seen.

This Thomas Dobbe, being a student and a master of arts in Cambridge, was brought up in the college called St. John's college, and fellow of the same; where he increased in the study of good letters, among his equals very forward, of nature and disposition simple and modest, of zeal toward God fervent, patient in injuries, injurious to

(1) Peter Martyr was born at Florence in 1500. He studied at Padua and Bononia, and was a monk of the Augustine order in the monastery of Fascoli. He preached the doctrines of Zuinglius and Bucer, privately, at Rome; being impeached there, he fled to Naples, and thence to Lucca. Having been sent for by king Edward, he was made professor of divinity at Oxford, in 1549, but retired to Strasburgh on the accession of queen Mary, and died in 1562.—Ed.

(2) Martin Bucer was one of the first reformers at Strasburgh; he was born at Alcaci in 1491. At seven years old he took the habit of St. Dominic. He read Luther's works, and conferred with him in person at Heidelburg, in 1521: but though he agreed with him in many of his opinions, yet in the following year he gave the preference to those of Zuinglius. He was at the interim at Augsburg in 1548, from whence the news of his piety, and sentiments upon matters of faith reached England; and, at Cranmer's solicitation, he came to England in 1549, and taught divinity at Cambridge, where he died in 1551.—Ed.

(3) Paulus Phagius died at Cambridge, and his bones were burnt, with those of Martin Bucer, in 1557, an account of which will be found under that date.—Ed.

no man; of much like sort and condition as in doves, which, without all bitterness of gall, are more apt to receive injury than to work wrong to any. At length this godly man, intending with himself and addicting his mind to the christian state of matrimony, resorted to a certain maiden not far off where he dwelt: for the which cause he was greatly molested, and wickedly abused, by three of that college, whose names were Hutchinson, Pindare, and Tayler, who with their malicious handling, scornful dealing, opprobries, rebukes, and contumelies, so much vexed the virtuous simplicity of the man, that they never left him, till at length they wearied him out of the college: who there having no rest or quietness, by reason of the unreasonable and virulent handling of his adversaries, was compelled to seek some other place, wherein to settle himself. Upon the occasion whereof coming up unto London, it chanced him to pass through Paul's church, where it happened that at the south side of the church, at the same time, there was a priest at mass (more busy than well occupied), being at the elevation as he passed by. The young man replete with godly zeal, pitying the ignorance and idolatry of the people, in honouring that so devoutly which the priest lifted up, was not able to forbear, but, opening his mouth, and turning to the people, he exhorted them not to honour the visible bread as God, which neither was God, nor yet ordained of God to be honoured, &c.; with such other words more of christian information. For this cause, straightway, he was apprehended by the mayor, and afterwards accused to the archbishop of Canterbury, and committed to the Compter, then in Bread-street, where he not long continued, but, falling into a sickness, how or whereupon I cannot tell, shortly upon the same changed this mortal life: whose pardon, notwithstanding, was obtained of the lord protector, and should have been brought him, if he had continued. And thus much concerning Thomas Dobbe and others.

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Doves, as philosophers do write, naturally have no gall.

Over and besides, I find that in the first year of the reign of king Edward, which was A.D. 1547, there was one John Hume, servant to Master Lewnax, of Wressel, apprehended, accused, and sent up to the archbishop of Canterbury, by the said Master Lewnax, his master, and Margaret Lewnax, his mistress, for these articles.

I. First, for denying the sacrament (as it was then called) of the altar, to be the real flesh and blood of Christ.

II. For saying that he would never veil his bonnet unto it, to be burned there-for.

III. For saying that if he should hear mass, he should be damned.

For this was he sent up by his master and mistress aforesaid, with special letters unto the archbishop, requiring him severely to be punished by the law for the same. But, because I find no execution following thereupon, I therefore pass over this story of him.

These things premised, when this virtuous and godly young prince (indued as you have heard with special graces from God) was now peaceably established in his kingdom, and had a council about him, grave, wise, and zealous in God's cause, especially his uncle the duke of Somerset, he then most earnestly likewise desired, as well the

Edward VI. A. D. 1547. advancement of the true honour of Almighty God, and the planting of his sincere religion, as also the utter suppression and extirpation of all idolatry, superstition, hypocrisy, and other enormities and abuses, throughout his realms and dominions: and therefore following, as is before expressed, the good example of king Josias, he determined forthwith to enter into some reformation of religion in the church of England. And, forasmuch as at his first entry (notwithstanding his father's good beginning, in abolishing the usurped power of Antichrist), he yet found most of his laws greatly repugning against this his zealous enterprise, he therefore purposed, by the advice of his said wise and honourable council, and of his own regal power and authority, somewhat to prosecute his godly purpose, until such time as by consent of the whole estate of parliament, he might establish a more free, perfect, and uniform order therein.

Order taken by the king for reforming of religion.

Whereupon, intending first a general visitation over all the bishoprics within his realm (thereby as well to understand, as also to redress the abuses in the same), he chose out certain wise, learned, discreet, and worshipful personages, to be his commissioners in that behalf; and so, dividing them into several companies, assigned unto them several dioceses to be visited; appointing, likewise, unto every company, one or two godly learned preachers, who, at every session, should in their preaching both instruct the people in the true doctrine of the gospel of Christ, and in all love and obedience to the same; and, also, earnestly dehort them from their old superstition and wonted idolatry. And that they might be more orderly directed in this their commission, there were delivered unto them certain injunctions and ecclesiastical orders drawn out by the king's learned council, which they should both inquire of, and also command in his majesty's behalf, to be thenceforth observed of every person, to whom they did severally appertain within their sundry circuits.

Learned preachers appointed by him.

*Certain[1] Ecclesiastical Laws, or general Injunctions, given by King Edward to the Church of England.

The king's most royal majesty, by the advice of his most dear uncle the duke of Somerset, lord protector of all his realms, dominions, and subjects, and governor of his most royal person, and the residue of his most honourable council (intending the advancement of the true honour of Almighty God, the suppression of idolatry and superstition throughout all his realms and dominions, and to plant true religion, to the extirpation of all hypocrisy, enormities, and abuses, as to his duty appertaineth): doth minister unto his loving subjects these godly injunctions hereafter following, whereof part were given unto them heretofore by the authority of his most dearly beloved father king Henry the eighth, of most famous memory, and part are now ministered and given by his majesty: all which injunctions his highness willeth and commandeth his said loving subjects, by his supreme authority, obediently to receive, and truly to observe and keep, every man in their offices, degrees, and states, as they will avoid his displeasure, and the pains in the same injunctions hereafter expressed.

The first, that all deans, archdeacons, parsons, vicars, and ecclesiastical persons, shall faithfully keep and observe, and, as far as in them may lay, shall cause

(1) For these injunctions, see edition 1563, pp. 684—689. Also 'Iniuncsions given by the moste excellent prince Edward the Sixte,' &c. 8vo. Lond. 1547. To the Injunctions is appended 'The Fourme of biddyng the Common Prayers.' In which, three subjects are recommended for prayer; namely, first, the church and the king's majesty; secondly, the lord protector, the council, and clergy; and thirdly, what is somewhat remarkable, 'you shall pray *for* all them that are departed out of this world, in the faith of Christ, that they, with us, and we with them, at the day of judgment, may rest, both body and soul, with Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, in the kingdom of heaven.' —Ed.

to be observed and kept of others, all and singular the laws and statutes made as well for the abolishing and extirpation of the bishop of Rome's pretensed and usurped power and jurisdiction, as for the establishment and confirmation of the king's authority, jurisdiction, and supremacy of the church of England and Ireland.

And, furthermore, all ecclesiastical persons having cure of souls, shall, to the uttermost of their wit, knowledge, and learning, purely, sincerely, and without any colour or dissimulation, declare, manifest, and open, four times every year at the least, in their sermons and other collations, that the bishop of Rome's usurped power and jurisdiction, having no establishment or ground by the law of God, was of most just causes taken away and abolished: and that, therefore, no manner of obedience or subjection within his realms or dominions is due unto him: and that the king's power, within his realms and dominions, is the highest power under God, to whom all men within the same realms and dominions, by God's laws, owe most loyalty and obedience, afore and above all other powers and potentates in earth. Besides this, to the intent that all superstition and hypocrisy, crept into divers men's hearts, may vanish away, they shall not set forth or extol any images, relics, or miracles, for any superstition or lucre; nor allure the people, by any enticements, to the pilgrimage of any saint or image; but, reproving the same, they shall teach, that all goodness, health, and grace, ought to be both asked and looked for only of God, as of the very author and giver of the same, and of none other.

Ecclesiastical persons to preach quarterly against the bishop of Rome's usurped power. The king's supremacy to be preached four times a-year.

Item, That they, the persons above rehearsed, shall make, or cause to be made, in their churches and every other cure they have, one sermon every quarter of the year at the least, wherein they shall purely and sincerely declare the word of God, and in the same exhort the hearers to the works of faith, mercy, and charity, specially prescribed and commanded in Scripture; and that works devised by man's fantasies, beside Scripture: as wandering to pilgrimages, offering of money, candles, or tapers to relics or images, or kissing and licking of the same, praying upon beads, and such like superstition, have not only no promise of reward in Scripture for doing of them: but, contrariwise, great threats and maledictions of God, for that they be things tending to idolatry and superstition, which, of all other offences, God Almighty doth most detest and abhor; for that the same diminisheth most his honour and glory.

One sermon at least every quarter on other subjects.

Item, That such images as they know, in any of their cures, to be, or to have been, so abused with pilgrimage or offerings of any thing made thereunto, or that shall be hereafter incensed unto, they, and none other private persons, shall, for the avoiding of that most detestable offence of idolatry, forthwith take down and destroy the same; and shall suffer from henceforth no torches, nor candles, tapers, nor images of wax, to be set afore any image or picture, but only two lights upon the high altar before the sacrament, which, for the signification that Christ is the very true light of the world, they shall suffer to remain still; admonishing their parishioners, that images serve for no other purpose but to be a remembrance, whereby men may be admonished of the holy lives and conversation of them that the said images do represent; which images, if they do abuse for any other intent, they commit idolatry in the same, to the great danger of their souls.

Images to be taken down.

Item, That every holy-day throughout the year, where they have no sermon, they shall, immediately after the gospel, plainly recite to their parishioners in the pulpit, the pater-noster, the creed, and the ten commandments in English, to the intent the people may learn the same by heart: exhorting all parents and householders to teach their children and servants the same, as they are bound by the law of God, and in consequence, to do.

Instructions on holy-days.

Item, That they shall charge fathers and mothers, masters and governors, to bestow their children and servants, even from their childhood, either in learning, or to some honest exercise, occupation, or husbandry, exhorting and counselling, and by all their ways and means they may, as well in their sermons and collations as others, persuading their said fathers and mothers, masters, and other governors, diligently to provide and foresee, that the youth be in no manner of wise brought up in idleness, lest at any time afterward, for lack of some craft, occupation, or other honest mean to live by, they be driven to begging, stealing, or some other unthriftiness: forasmuch as we may daily see, through sloth and idleness, divers valiant men fall some to begging, and some to theft and murder, which after, brought to calamity and misery, do blame their

Charge to parents and masters.

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parents, friends, and governors, which suffered them to be brought up so idly in their youth: whereas, if they had been well brought up in good learning, some occupation, or craft, they should, being rulers of their own household, have profited as well themselves, as divers other persons, to the great commodity and ornament of the commonwealth.

The sacraments to be duly administered.

Also, That the said parsons, vicars, and other curates, shall diligently provide, that the sacraments be reverently and duly ministered in their parishes. And if at any time it happen them, in any of the cases expressed in the statutes of this realm, or of special license given by the king's majesty, to be absent from their benefices, they shall leave their cure not to a rude and unlearned person, but to an honest, well learned, and expert curate, that can, by his ability, teach the rude and unlearned of their cure, wholesome doctrine, and reduce them to the right way that do err; and which will also execute their injunctions, and do their duty otherwise, as they are bound to do in every behalf; and accordingly may and will profit their cure no less with good example of living, than with the declaration of the word of God; or else their lack and default shall be imputed unto them, who shall straitly answer for the same, if they do otherwise. And always let them see, that neither they, nor their curates, do seek more their own profit, promotion, or advantage, than the profit of the souls that they have under their cure, or the glory of God.

The Bible in English to be provided for public use.

Also, That they shall provide, within three months next after this visitation, one book of the whole Bible of the largest volume in English, and within one twelvemonth next after the said visitation, the paraphrase of Erasmus, also in English, upon the Gospels, and the same set up in some convenient place within the said church that they have cure of, where their parishioners may most commodiously resort unto, and read the same; the charges of which books shall be rateably well borne, between the person or proprietary, and the parishes aforesaid; that is to say, the one half by the person or proprietary, and the other half by the parishioners. And they shall discourage no man, authorized and licensed thereunto, from the reading of any part of the Bible either in Latin or English, but shall rather conform and exhort every person to read the same as the very lively Word of God, and the special food of man's soul, that all christian persons are bound to embrace, believe and follow, if they look to be saved, whereby they may the better know their duties to God; ever gently and charitably exhorting them, and in his majesty's name straitly charging and commanding them, that, in the reading thereof, no man to reason or contend, but quietly to hear the reader.

The clergy not to haunt taverns.

Also, the said ecclesiastical persons shall in no wise, at any unlawful time, nor for any other cause than for their honest necessity, haunt or resort to any taverns or ale-houses; and after their dinner or supper they shall not give themselves to drinking or riot, spending their time idly, by day or by night, at dice, cards, tables-playing, or any other unlawful game: but, at all times as they shall have leisure, they shall hear or read somewhat of Holy Scripture, or shall occupy themselves with some honest exercise; and that they always do the things which appertain to honesty with endeavour to profit the common weal, having always in mind, that they ought to excel others in purity of life, and should be examples to the people to live well and christianly.

Questions to be put at confession.

Item, That they shall, in confessions every Lent, examine every person that cometh to confession, whether they can recite the Articles of their Faith, the Pater-Noster, and the Ten Commandments in English; and hear them say the same particularly: wherein if they be not perfect, they shall declare, then, that every christian person ought to know the said things before they should receive the blessed sacrament of the altar; and monish them to learn the said necessary things more perfectly; or else they ought not presume to come to God's board without perfect knowledge and will to observe the same; and if they do, it is at the great peril of their souls, and also to the worldly rebuke that they might incur hereafter by the same.

Preachers to be licensed.

Also, that they shall admit no man to preach within any their cures, but such as shall appear unto them to be sufficiently licensed thereunto by the king's majesty, his grace the lord protector, the archbishop of Canterbury, the archbishop of York in his province, or the bishop in his diocese: and such as shall be so licensed they shall gladly receive, to declare the Word of God without any resistance or contradiction.

Also, if they have heretofore declared to their parishioners any thing to the extolling or setting forth of pilgrimages, relics, or images, or lighting of candles, kissing, kneeling, decking of the same images, or any such superstition, they shall now, openly, before the same, recant and reprove the same; showing them, as the truth is, that they did the same upon no ground of Scripture, but were led and seduced by a common error or abuse, crept into the church through the sufferance and avarice of such as felt profit by the same. Errors to be corrected.

Also, if they do or shall know any man, within their parish or elsewhere, that is a letter of the Word of God to be read in English, or sincerely preached, or of the execution of these the king's majesty's injunctions, or a favourer of the bishop of Rome's pretensed power, now by the laws of this realm justly rejected, extirped, and taken away, utterly they shall detect and present the same to the king, or his council, or to the justice of the peace next adjoining. Letters and hinderers of God's Word, to be detected.

Also, that the parson, vicar, or curate, and parishioners of every parish within this realm, shall, in their churches and chapels, keep one book or register, wherein they shall write the day and year of every wedding, christening, and burial, made within their parish for their time; and so every man succeeding them likewise; and also therein shall write every person's name, that shall be so wedded, christened, or buried; and, for the safe keeping of the same book, the parish shall be bound to provide, of their common charges, one big coffer, with two locks and keys, whereof the one to remain with the parson, vicar, or curate, and the other with the wardens of every parish, church, or chapel, wherein the said book shall be laid up: which book they shall every Sunday take forth, and, in the presence of the said wardens or one of them, write and record in the same all the weddings, christenings, and burials, made the whole week before; and, that done, to lay up the book in the said coffer, as before: and, for every time that the same shall be omitted, the party that shall be in fault thereof, shall be forfeit to the said church 3*s.* 4*d.*, to be employed to the poor men's box of that parish. A register to be kept in every parish-church, concerning all church-matters of the parish.

Furthermore, because the goods of the church are called the goods of the poor, and, at these days, nothing is less seen, than the poor to be sustained with the same, all parsons, vicars, pensioners, prebendaries, and other beneficed men within this deanery, not being resident upon their benefices, who may dispend yearly 20*l.* and above, either within this deanery or elsewhere, shall distribute hereafter among their poor parishioners, or other inhabitants there, in the presence of the churchwardens or some other honest men of the parish, the fortieth part of the fruits and revenues of their said benefices, lest they be men worthily noted of ingratitude, who, reserving so many parts to themselves, cannot vouchsafe to impart the fortieth portion thereof among the poor people of that parish, that is so fruitful and profitable to them. Non-residents whose fruits come to 20*l.* and above, to distribute to the poor the fortieth part.

And, to the intent that learned men may hereafter spring the more for the execution of the premises, every parson, vicar, clerk, or beneficed man within this deanery, having yearly to dispend, in benefices and other promotions of the church, a 100*l.*, shall give competent exhibition to one scholar; and for as many hundred pounds more as he may dispend, to so many scholars more, shall give like exhibition in the university of Oxford or Cambridge, or some grammar school; which, after they have profited in good learning, may be pertainers of their patron's cure and charge, as well in preaching, as otherwise in the execution of their offices; or may, when need shall be, otherwise profit the common weal, with their counsel and wisdom. Every benefice of 100*l.* to find a scholar at the university.

Also, that all proprietaries, parsons, vicars, and clerks, having churches, chapels or mansions within this deanery, shall bestow yearly, hereafter, upon the same mansions or chancels of their churches being in decay, the fifth part of their benefices, till they be fully repaired; and the same, so repaired, shall always keep and maintain in good estate. Of priests' mansions and chancels.

Also, that the said parsons, vicars, and clerks, shall, once every quarter of the year, read these injunctions given unto them, openly and deliberately, before all their parishioners; to the intent that both they may be the better admonished of their duty, and their said parishioners the more moved to follow the same for their part.

Also, forasmuch as, by a law established, every man is bound to pay his tithes, no man shall, by colour of duty omitted by the curates, detain their tithes, and so redouble and requite one wrong with another, or be his own

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judge; but shall truly pay the same as he hath been accustomed, to the parsons, vicars, and curates, without any restraint or diminution. And such lack and default as they can justly find in their parsons and curates, to call for the reformation thereof, at their ordinary's, and other superior's hands; who, upon complaint and due proof thereof, shall reform the same accordingly.

Case of default of curates.

Also, that no parson, from henceforth, alter or change the order and manner of any fasting-day that is so commanded, nor of Common Prayer, or divine service, otherwise than is specified in these Injunctions, until such time as the same shall be otherwise ordered and transposed by the king's authority.

Of fasting-days.

Churchmen to have the Testament both in Latin and English, with the paraphrase.

Also, that the parson, vicar, curate, chantry-priest, and stipendiary, being under the degree of a bachelor of divinity, shall provide and have of his own, within three months after this visitation, the New Testament, both in Latin and English, with paraphrase upon the same of Erasmus; and diligently study the same, conferring the one with the other. And the bishops and ordinaries, by themselves or their officers, in their synods and visitations, shall examine the said ecclesiastical persons, how they have profited in the study of Scripture.

The gospel and epistle to be read in the hearing of the people.

Also, in the time of high mass, within every church, he that sayeth or singeth the same, shall read, or cause to be read, the epistle and gospel of that mass, in English, and not in Latin, in the pulpit, or in such convenient place as the people may hear the same. And also every Sunday and holy-day, they shall plainly and distinctly read, or cause to be read, one chapter of the New Testament in English, in the said place at matins, immediately after the lessons; and at evensong, after Magnificat, one chapter of the Old Testament. And, to the intent the premises may be more conveniently done, the king's majesty's pleasure is, that when nine lessons should be read in the church, three of them should be omitted and left out, with their responds; and at evensong-time, the responds, with all the memories, shall be left out, for that purpose.

Also, because those persons which be sick and in peril of death, be oftentimes put in despair by the craft and subtlety of the devil, who is then most busy, and specially with them that lack the knowledge, sure persuasion, and stedfast belief, that they may be made partakers of the great and infinite mercy which Almighty God, of his bountiful goodness and mere liberality, without our deserving, hath offered freely to all persons that put their full trust and confidence in him: therefore, that this damnable vice of despair may be clearly taken away, and firm belief and steadfast hope surely conceived by all their parishioners being in any danger, they shall learn, and have always in a readiness, such comfortable places and sentences of Scripture, as do set forth the mercy, benefits, and goodness of Almighty God towards all penitent and believing persons; that they may, at all times when necessity shall require, comfort promptly their flock with the lively Word of God, which is the only stay of man's conscience.

Processions laid down.

Also, to avoid all contention and strife, which heretofore hath risen amongst the king's majesty's subjects in sundry places of his realms and dominions, by reason of fond courtesy, and changing of places in procession, and also that they may the more quietly hear that which is said or sung, to their edifying, they shall not from henceforth, in any parish church, at any time use any procession about the church or church-yard, or other place; but immediately before high mass, the priests, with others of the choir, shall kneel in the midst of the church, and sing or say plainly or distinctly the Litany which is set forth in English, adding nothing thereto, but as the king's grace shall hereafter appoint; and, in cathedral or collegiate churches, the same shall be done in such places as our commissaries in our visitation shall appoint. And in the time of the litany, of the high mass, of the sermon, and when the priest readeth the Scripture to the parishioners, no manner of persons, without a just and urgent cause, shall depart out of the church; and all ringing and knolling of bells, shall be utterly foreborne for that time, except one bell, in convenient time, to be rung and knolled before the sermon.

The true using of the holy-day.

Also, like as the people be commonly occupied on the work-day with bodily labour, for their bodily sustenance, so was the holy-day, at the first beginning, godly instituted and ordained, that the people should that day give themselves wholly to God: and whereas, in our time, God is more offended than pleased, more dishonoured upon the holy-day, because of idleness, pride, drunkenness, quarrelling, and brawling, which are most used on such days (people, never-

theless, persuading themselves sufficiently to honour God on that day, if they hear Mass and Service, though they understand nothing to their edifying); therefore, all the king's faithful and loving subjects shall, from henceforth, celebrate and keep their holy-day according to God's holy will and pleasure; that is, in hearing the Word of God read and taught; in private and public prayers; in acknowledging their offences to God; in amendment of the same; in reconciling themselves charitably to their neighbours, where displeasure hath been; in oftentimes receiving the communion of the very body and blood of Christ; in visiting the poor and sick; in using all soberness and godly conversation. Yet, notwithstanding, all parsons, vicars, and curates, shall teach and declare unto their parishioners, that they may, with a safe and quiet conscience, in the time of harvest, labour upon the holy and festival days, and save the thing which God hath sent. And if, for any scrupulosity, or grudge of conscience, men should superstitiously abstain from working upon those days, that then they should grievously offend and displease God.

Harvest-time.

Also, forasmuch as variance and contention is a thing which most displeaseth God, and is most contrary to the blessed communion of the body and blood of our Saviour Christ, curates shall in no case admit to the receiving thereof, any of their cure and flock, who hath maliciously and openly contended with his neighbour, unless the same do first charitably and openly reconcile himself again, remitting all rancour and malice, whatsoever controversy hath been between them. And, nevertheless, their just titles and rights they may charitably prosecute before such as have authority to hear the same.

Diligent preparations to be had before the coming to the communion.

Also, that every dean, archdeacon, master of collegiate church, master of hospital, and prebendary, being priest, shall preach by himself personally, twice every year at the least, either in the place where he is entitled, or in some church where he hath jurisdiction, or else which is to the said place appropriate or united.

A godly charge to every beneficed minister.

Also, that they shall instruct and teach in their cures, that no man ought obstinately and maliciously to break and violate the laudable ceremonies of the church, by the king commanded to be observed, as yet not abrogated. And, on the other side, that whosoever doth superstitiously abuse them, doth the same to the great peril of his soul's health; as in casting holy water upon his bed, upon images and other dead things; or bearing about him holy bread, or St. John's Gospel; or making crosses of wood upon Palm Sunday, in time of reading of the passion; or keeping of private holy-days, as bakers, brewers, smiths, shoemakers, and such others do; or ringing of the holy bells, or blessing with the holy candle, to the intent thereby to be discharged of the burden of sin, or drive away devils, or to put away dreams and phantasies; or in putting trust and confidence of health and salvation in the same ceremonies, when they be only ordained to put us in remembrance of the benefits which we have received by Christ. And if any use them for any other purpose, he grievously offendeth God.

Distinctions as to ceremonies.

Also, that they shall take away, utterly extinct and destroy, all shrines, coverings of shrines, tables, candlesticks, trindles, or rolls of wax, pictures, paintings, and all other monuments of feigned miracles, pilgrimages, idolatry, and superstition, so that there remain no memory of the same on walls, glasses, windows, or elsewhere, within their churches or houses; and they shall exhort all their parishioners to do the like within their several houses.

All monuments of idolatry to be extinguished.

Also, that the churchwardens, at the common charge of the parishioners, in every church shall provide a comely and honest pulpit, to be set in a convenient place within the same, for the preaching of God's Word.

Also, they shall provide and have, within three months after this visitation, a strong chest, with a hole in the upper part thereof, to be provided at the cost and charge of the parish, having three keys, whereof one shall remain in the custody of the parson, vicar, or curate, and the other two, in the custody of the churchwardens, or any other two honest men, to be appointed by the parish from year to year; which chest you shall set and fasten near unto the high altar, to the intent the parishioners should put into it their oblations and alms for their poor neighbours. And the parson, vicar, or curate, shall diligently from time to time, and especially when men make their testaments, call upon, exhort, and move their neighbours, to confer and give, as they may well spare, to the said chest; declaring unto them that whereas, heretofore, they have been diligent to

A chest to be provided upon public charge to receive the alms for the poor, and the curate to call upon to give to the same.

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bestow much substance otherwise than God commanded, upon pardons, pilgrimages, trentals, decking of images, offering of candles, giving to the friars, and upon other like blind devotions, they ought, at this time, to be much more ready to help the poor and needy, knowing that to relieve the poor is a true worshipping of God, required earnestly upon pain of everlasting damnation; and that also whatsoever is given for their comfort, is given to Christ himself, and so is accepted of him; that he will mercifully reward the same with everlasting life, the which alms and devotion of the people, the keepers of the keys shall, at all times convenient, take out of the church, and distribute the same in the presence of the whole parish, or six of them, to be truly and faithfully delivered to their most needy neighbours; and if they be provided for, then to the reparations of the highways next adjoining. And also, the money which riseth of fraternities, guilds, and other stocks of the church, except by the king's majesty's authority it be otherwise appointed, shall be put into the said chest, and converted to the said use; and also the rents of lands, the profit of cattle, and money given and bequeathed to the finding of torches, lights, tapers, and lamps, shall be converted to the said use; saving that it shall be lawful for them to bestow part of the said profits upon the reparations of the church, if great need require, and where the parish is very poor, and not able otherwise to repair the same.

Corpses not to be fetched of the priest before they come to the church-yard.

And forasmuch as priests be public ministers of the church, and upon the holy-days ought to apply themselves to the common ministration of the whole parish, they shall not be bound to go to women lying in childbed, except in time of dangerous sickness; and not to fetch any corpse before it be brought to the church-yard: and if the woman be sick, or the corpse brought to the church, the priest shall do his duty accordingly in visiting the woman, and burying the dead person.

Simony forbidden in buying and selling of benefices.

Also, to avoid the detestable sin of simony, because the buying and selling of benefices is execrable before God, therefore all such persons as buy any benefices, or come to them by fraud or deceit, shall be deprived of such benefices, and be made unable at any time after to receive any other spiritual promotions: and such as do sell them, or by any colour do bestow them for their own gain and profit, shall lose the right and title of patronage and presentment for that time; and the gift thereof for that vacation shall appertain to the king's majesty.

Homilies to be set forth and read every Sunday, when no sermon.

Also because, through lack of preachers, in many places of the king's realms and dominions, the people continued in ignorance and blindness, all parsons, vicars, and curates, shall read in their churches every Sunday, one of the homilies which are and shall be set forth, for the same purpose, by the king's authority, in such sort as they shall be appointed to do, in the preface of the same.[1]

Ministers such as be unlearned, yet if they be well willing, not to be contemned.

Also, whereas many indiscreet persons do at this day uncharitably contemn and abuse priests and ministers of the church, because some of them (having small learning), have of long time favoured phantasies, rather than God's truth; yet, forasmuch as their office and function is appointed of God, the king's majesty willeth and chargeth all his loving subjects, that, from henceforth, they shall use them charitably and reverently, for their office and ministration' sake; and, especially, all such as labour in the setting-forth of God's holy Word.

An order what primer to pray on.

Also, that all manner of persons, who understand not the Latin tongue, shall pray on no other Primer but upon that which was lately set forth in English by the authority of King Henry the eighth, of most famous memory; and that no teachers of youth shall teach any other than the said Primer.[2] And all those who have knowledge of the Latin tongue, shall pray upon none other Latin Primer, but upon that which is likewise set forth by the said authority. And that all graces to be said at dinner and supper, shall be always said in the

(1) 'Certayne Sermons or Homilies, appoynted by the Kynge's Majestie,' &c. Lond. July 31, 1547. Imprinted by Richard Grafton. These Homilies are twelve in number, set forth, as the preface states, in consequence of 'the manifold enormities which heretofore have crept into his grace's realm, through the false usurped power of the bishop of Rome, and the ungodly doctrine of his adherents, not only unto the great decay of christian religion, but also (if God's mercy were not) unto the utter destruction of innumerable souls, which, through hypocrisy and pernicious doctrine, were seduced and brought from honouring the alone, true, living, and eternal God, unto the worshipping of creatures, yea of stocks and stones; from doing the commandment of God, unto voluntary works and phantasies invented of men; from true religion unto popish superstition.' —Ed. (2) And yet, now, colleges in universities be suffered to have Latin service.

English tongue. And that none other grammar shall be taught in any school or other place within the king's realms and dominions, but only that which is set forth by the said authority. *Edward VI.*

Item, that all chantry priests shall exercise themselves in teaching youth to read and write, and bring them up in good manners, and other virtuous exercises. A. D. 1547.

Item, when any sermon or homily shall be had, the prime and hours shall be omitted.* Teaching of youth.

Besides these general injunctions *and[1] laws ecclesiastical, set out by the godly prince, king Edward, with the consent of his uncle,* for the whole estate of the realm, there were also certain others particularly appointed for the bishops only, which, being delivered unto the commissioners, were likewise at their visitations committed unto the said bishops, with charge to be inviolably observed and kept, upon pain of the king's majesty's displeasure; the copies whereof here ensue in tenor and effect following:—

*Injunctions[2] given by the most excellent Prince, Edward the Sixth, to the Reverend Father in God, Thomas Bishop of Westminster, in his highness's visitation.

First, you shall, to your uttermost wit and understanding, see, and cause all, every, and singular the king's injunctions heretofore given, or hereafter to be given from time to time, in and through your diocese duly, faithfully, and truly, to be kept, observed, and accomplished.

Item, you shall personally preach in your diocese, every quarter of a year, once, at the least; that is to say, once in your cathedral church, and thrice in the year in other several places of your diocese, where to you shall seem most convenient and necessary; except you have a reasonable excuse to the contrary.

Item, you shall not retain into your service or household, any chaplain or chaplains but such as be learned, or able to preach the word of God; and those you shall cause to exercise the same.

Item, you shall not give orders to any person or persons, not being learned in holy Scripture, nor deny them that be learned in the same, and of honest conversation and living.

Item, you shall not, at any time or place, preach or set forth unto the people, any doctrine contrary or repugnant to the effect and content contained and set forth in the king's highness's homilies; neither yet admit, or give license to preach to, any within your diocese, but to such as you shall know, or, at least, assuredly trust will do the same. And if, at any time, by hearing or by report proved, you shall perceive the contrary, you shall, incontinent, inhibit that person so offending, and punish him, and revoke your licenses. All which and singular injunctions you shall inviolably observe and keep, upon pain of the king's majesty's displeasure, and as you will answer for the contrary.

Given, the 29th day of August, in the chapter-house of the cathedral church of St. Peter's of Westminster, *the first year of the reign of our said sovereign lord king Edward the Sixth.*

Anthony Cook; John Godsalve; John Gosnold; Christopher Nevinson; John Madew.

Injunctions given by the King's Majesty's Visitation, by us, Sir Anthony Cook, Knight; Sir John Godsalve, Knight; John Gosnold, Esquire; Christopher Nevinson, Doctor of Law; and John Madew, Doctor of Divinity; commissioners specially appointed by the King's Majesty to visit the Churches of Westminster, London, Norwich, and Ely: to the Right Reverend Father in God, Thomas, Bishop of Westminster.

In primis: In consideration, that above and before all other things, such ways and means are to be sought for, whereby the people may learn to know their duties

(1) See Edition 1563, p. 689.—Ed. (2) For this and the succeeding document, see Edition 1563, p. 689. Also Wilkins's 'Concilia,' vol. iv. p. 8.—Ed.

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to God, their sovereign lord, and one another: you shall cause, every Sunday, divine service to be done and ended in every parish-church within this city of Westminster, before nine of the clock the same days; to the intent that the priests and the laity of the city may resort to the sermon to be made in your cathedral church, except they have a sermon made and preached in your own parish churches.

Item, Whereas, by the ignorance of the clergy, not only God's glory is greatly obscured, but, also, the same clergy much disdained and evil spoken of by some of the laity, you shall cause that every parson, vicar, chantry-priest, and other stipendiary within this city of Westminster, be present at every lecture of divinity to be made within the college of St. Stephen, except they or any of them have some reasonable let, to be allowed and admitted by your chancellor, commissary, or other officer for that purpose, or the reader of the said lecture.

Also you, your chancellor, commissary, and others, exercising jurisdiction ecclesiastical under you, shall proceed in all kinds of causes summarily, and 'de plano, sine figura et strepitu judicii;' and shall give sentence in every cause within four assignations after the term 'ad audiendum sententiam finalem.' All which and singular injunctions you shall inviolably observe and keep, upon pain of the king's majesty's displeasure, and as you will answer for the contrary.

Given at Westminster the third day of September, in the first year of the reign of our sovereign lord Edward the Sixth, by the grace of God king of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith; and, in earth, of the church of England, and also in Ireland the supreme head.

Anthony Cook; John Godsalve; John Gosnold; Christopher Nevinson; John Madew.*

Now, during the time that the commissioners were occupied abroad in their circuits about the speedy and diligent execution of these godly and zealous orders and decrees of the king and his council, his majesty (with the advice of the same), yet still desiring a further reformation as well in this case of religion, as also in some others of his civil government, appointed a parliament of the three estates of his realm to be summoned against the 4th day of November, in the first year of his reign, A.D. 1547, which continued unto the 24th day of December then next following; in which session, forasmuch as his highness minded the governance and order of his people to be in perfect unity and concord in all things, and especially in the true faith and religion of God, and therewithal also duly weighed the great danger that his loving subjects were in, for professing the gospel of Christ, through many and divers cruel statutes made by sundry his predecessors against the same (which being still left in force, might both cause the obstinate to contemn his grace's godly proceedings, and also the weak to be fearful of their christianlike profession), he therefore caused it among other things, by the authority of the same parliament, to be enacted, "that all acts of parliament and statutes, touching, mentioning, or in any wise concerning, religion or opinions; that is to say, as well the statute made in the first year of the reign of king Richard II., and the statute made in the second year of the reign of king Henry V., and the statute made in the 25th year of the reign of king Henry VIII., concerning punishment and reformation of heretics and Lollards, and every provision therein contained; and the statutes made for the abolishment of diversity of opinions in certain articles concerning christian religion, commonly called the Six Articles, made in the 31st year of the reign of king Henry VIII., and also the statute made in the

A parliament called.

The bloody statute of the six articles repealed.

parliament begun the 16th day of January, in the 33d year of the reign of the said king Henry VIII., and, after, prorogued unto the 22d day of January, in the 34th year of his said reign, touching, mentioning, or in any wise concerning, books of the Old and New Testament in English, and the printing, uttering, selling, giving, or delivering of books or writings, and retaining of English books or writings, and reading, preaching, teaching, or expounding the Scriptures, or in any wise touching, mentioning, or concerning, any of the said matters; and also one other statute, made in the 35th year of the reign of the said king Henry VIII., concerning the qualification of the statute of the Six Articles, and all and every other act or acts of parliament,[1] concerning doctrine or matters of religion; and all and every branch, article, sentence, matter, pains, or forfeitures contained, mentioned, or in any wise declared, in any of the same acts and statutes, should from thenceforth be utterly repealed, made void, and of none effect."

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By occasion hereof, as well all such his godly subjects as were then still abiding within this realm, had free liberty publicly to profess the gospel; as also many learned and zealous preachers, before banished, were now both licensed freely to return home again, and also encouraged boldly and faithfully to travail in their function and calling, so that God was much glorified, and the people, in many places, greatly edified.

Moreover, in the same session his majesty, with the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons in the same parliament assembled, thoroughly understanding by the judgment of the best learned, that it was more agreeable unto the first institution of the sacrament of the most precious body and blood of our Saviour Christ, and also more conformable to the common use and practice both of the apostles, and of the primitive church, by the space of five hundred years and more after Christ's ascension, that the said holy sacrament should be ministered unto all christian people under both the kinds of bread and wine, than under the form of bread only; and also that it was more agreeable unto the said first institution of Christ, and the usage of the apostles and primitive church, that the people, being present, should receive the same with the priest, than that the priest should receive it alone: did, by their authority moreover enact in manner following:

'That the said holy sacrament should be from thenceforth commonly delivered and ministered unto the people, throughout the churches of England and Ireland, and other the king's dominions, under both the kinds of bread and wine, except necessity otherwise required; and, also, that the priest that should minister the same, should, at least one day before, exhort all persons who should be present, likewise to resort and prepare themselves to receive the same. And at the day prefixed, after some godly exhortation made by the minister, wherein should be further expressed the benefit and comfort promised to them that worthily receive this holy sacrament, and the danger and indignation of God, threatened to them that presume to receive the same unworthily, to the end

Communion under both kinds.

(1) Stat. an. 1. reg. Edw. VI. cap. 12. The statute made an. 1. reg. Rich. II.; an. 2. reg. Hen. V.; an. 25. reg. Hen. VIII.; item, an. 31. Hen. VIII.; an. 34. Hen. VIII.; an. 35. Hen. VIII repealed. Item, note for the statute, an. 2. reg. Hen. IV. cap. 15, because that statute was repealed by a statute made an. 25. Hen. VIII., therefore the same is here omitted. [It is mentioned however in the second clause of this act. See 'An Act for the Repeal of certain Statutes concerning Treason and Felonies,' an. 1. Edw. VI. cap. 12. in the Statutes at large. Lond. 1763. vol. ii. pp. 391—396. Also 'A Book of Statutes, made in the time of Edw. VI.' fol. Lond. 1553. fol. 19.—Ed.]

Edward VI. A.D. 1547. that every man might try and examine his own conscience before he should come thereto; the said minister should not, without a lawful cause, deny the same to any person that would devoutly and humbly desire it: any law, statute, ordinance, or custom contrary thereunto in any wise notwithstanding.'

Assembly held at Windsor.

After which most godly consent of the parliament, the king, being, no less desirous to have the form of administration of the sacrament truly reduced to the right rule of the Scriptures, and first use of the primitive church, than he was to establish the same by the authority of his own regal laws, appointed certain of the most grave and best learned bishops, and others of his realm, to assemble together at his castle of Windsor, there to argue and treat upon this matter, and to conclude upon, and set forth, one perfect and uniform order, according to the rule and use aforesaid.

And, in the mean time, while the learned were thus occupied about their conferences, the lord protector and the rest of the king's council, further remembering that that time of the year did then approach, wherein were practised many superstitious abuses and blasphemous ceremonies against the glory of God and truth of his word (determining the utter abolishing thereof), directed their letters unto the godly and reverend father Thomas Cranmer, then archbishop of Canterbury, and metropolitan of England, requiring him that, upon the receipt thereof, he should will every bishop within his province, forthwith to give in charge unto all the curates of their dioceses, that neither candles should be any more borne upon Candlemas-day, nor yet ashes used in Lent, nor palms upon Palm-Sunday.

Candles and ashes forbidden to be borne.

Whereupon the archbishop, zealously favouring the good and christianlike purpose of the king and his council, did immediately, in that behalf, write unto all the rest of the bishops of that province, and, amongst them, unto Edmund Bonner, then bishop of London; of whose rebellious and obstinate contumacy for that we have hereafter more to say, I thought not to stand now long thereupon, but only by the way somewhat to note his former dissimulation and cloked hypocrisy, in that he outwardly, at first, consented as well unto this, as also unto all other the king's proceedings; but whether for fear or for any other subtle fetch I know not; howbeit most like it is rather for one of them, or both, than for any true love. And therefore, receiving the archbishop's letters, as one of them seeming to allow the contents thereof, he did presently write unto the bishop of Westminster, and to others to whom he was appointed, requiring them to give such knowledge thereof in their dioceses, as thereunto appertained; as more plainly appeareth by these his own letters here inserted, which here do follow.

Edmund Bonner's contumacy.

A Letter missive of Edmund Bonner, sent to the Bishop of Westminster, with the tenor of the Archbishop's Letter for abolishing of Candles, Ashes, Palms, and other Ceremonies.

My very good lord, after most hearty commendations, these be to advertise your good lordship, that my lord of Canterbury's grace, this present 28th day of January, sent unto me his letters missive, containing this, in effect: that my lord protector's grace, with the advice of other the king's majesty's most honourable council, for certain considerations them moving, are fully resolved that no candles shall be borne upon Candlemas-day, nor also from henceforth

ashes or palms used any longer: requiring me thereupon, by his said letters, to cause admonition and knowledge thereof to be given unto your lordship, and other bishops, with celerity accordingly. In consideration whereof, I do send at this present these letters unto your said lordship, that you thereupon may give knowledge and advertisement thereof within your diocese, as appertaineth.[1] Thus I commit your good lordship to Almighty God, as well to fare as your good heart can best desire. *Edward VI.* A. D. 1548.

Written in haste, at my house in London, the said twenty-eighth day of January, 1548.

Your good lordship's to command,
Edmund London.

Contending amongst the people for images.

Now, about that present time, credible and certain report was made unto the lords of the council, that great contention and strife did daily arise among the common people, in divers parts of this realm, for the pulling down and taking away of such images out of the churches, as had been idolatrously abused by pilgrimage, offerings, or otherwise (according to the tenor of one of the injunctions given by the king in his late visitation), some affirming that that image was abused, others that this, and, most, that neither of them both; so that, if speedy remedy were not had therein, it might turn to further inconvenience. Wherefore they, by one advice, thinking it best (of good experience), for avoiding of all discord and tumult, that all manner of images should be clean taken out of all churches, and none suffered to remain, did thereupon again write their letters unto the archbishop of Canterbury, requiring his ready aid therein, in manner following.

Another Letter of the Council, sent to the Archbishop of Canterbury for the abolishing of Images.[2]

After our right hearty commendations to your good lordship: whereas now of late, in the king's majesty's visitations, among other godly injunctions commanded to be generally observed through all parts of this his highness's realm, one was set forth for the taking down of all such images as had at any time been abused with pilgrimages, offerings, or censings, albeit that this said injunction hath in many parts of this realm been quietly obeyed and executed, yet, in many other places, much strife and contention hath risen and daily riseth, and more and more increaseth, about the execution of the same (some men being so superstitious, or rather wilful, as they would, by their good will, retain all such images still, although they have been most manifestly abused); and in some places also the images, which by the said injunctions were taken down, be now restored and set up again; and almost in every place is contention for images, whether they have been abused or not: and while these men go on both sides contentiously to obtain their minds, contending whether this or that image hath been offered unto, kissed, censed, or otherwise abused, parts have, in some places, been taken in such sort, as further inconveniences be like to ensue, if remedy be not found in time. Considering therefore, that almost in no place of this realm is any sure quietness, but where all images be clean taken away and pulled down already, to the intent that all contention in every part of the realm, for this matter, may be clearly taken away, and that the lively image of Christ should not contend for the dead images, which be things not necessary, and without which the churches of Christ continued most godly many years; we have thought good to signify unto you, that his highness's pleasure, with the advice and consent of us the lord protector and the rest of the council, is, that immediately upon the sight hereof, with as conve-

(1) 'Mark here how Bonner, with his own letters, giveth his consent and admonition in abolishing these things.' See Edition 1563, p. 689.—Ed.

(2) See Wilkins's Concilia. Lond. 1737, fol. vol. iv. p. 22. Wilkins gives this document as copied from Cranmer's Registers, fol. 32, dating it Feb. 21, 1547 (that being the *ecclesiastical* year). He also gives the archbishop's own letter, dated Feb. 24, 'Anno Domini, juxta computationem Ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, 1547, et nostræ consecrationis anno 15.' The *historical* year is 1548, agreeing with Bonner's dates before and after.—Ed.

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nient diligence as you may, you shall not only give order, that all the images remaining in any church or chapel within your diocese be removed and taken away, but also, by your letters, signify unto the rest of the bishops within your province, his highness's pleasure, for the like order to be given by them and every of them, within their several dioceses. And in the execution hereof, we require both you and the rest of the said bishops, to use such foresight that the same may be quietly done, with as good satisfaction of the people as may be. Thus fare your good lordship heartily well.

From Somerset-place, the 11th of February, 1547.

Your lordship's assured loving friends,

Edward Somerset, John Russell,
Henry Arundel, Thomas Seymour,
Anthony Wingfield, William Paget.

The archbishop writeth to Bonner.

When the archbishop had received these letters, he forthwith directed his precept unto Bonner, bishop of London, requiring, and in the king's majesty's name commanding him, that, with all speed, he should as well give in charge unto the rest of the bishops within the province of Canterbury, to look immediately, without delay, unto the diligent and careful execution of the contents of the said letter through all places of their diocese; as also, that he himself should do the like within his own city and diocese of London. Whereupon he, seeming then, with like outward consent as before, to allow these doings, presently (by virtue of the said precept) did send out his 'mandatum' as well unto the rest of the bishops, as also again unto the bishop of Westminster, as is hereunder to be seen.[1]

(1) *The Letter of Edmund Bonner, sent with the Archbishop's Mandate, to the Bishop of Westminster, for the Abolishing of Images.*

Edmundus, permissione divina Londinensis episcopus, per illustrissimum in Christo principem et dominum nostrum, dominum Edwardum sextum, Dei gratia Angliæ Franciæ et Hiberniæ regem, fidei defensorem, et in terra ecclesiæ Anglicanæ et Hibernicæ supremum caput, sufficienter et legitime authoritatus, reverendo in Christo confratri nostro domino Thomæ, eadem permissione Westmonasteriensi Episcopo salutem et fraternam in Domino charitatem. Literas reverendissimi in Christo patris et domini, domini Thomæ, permissione divina Cantuariensis archiepiscopi, totius Angliæ primatis et metropolitani—tenorem literarum missivarum clarissimorum et prudentissimorum dominorum (de privatis consiliis dicti illustr. dom. regis) in se continentes—nuper cum ea qua decuit reverentia humiliter recepimus exequendas: in hæc verba.

* Thomas, permissione divina Cantuar. archiepiscopus totius Angliæ primas et metropolitanus, per illustrissimum in Christo principem et dominum nostrum, dominum Edwardum sextum, Dei gratia Angliæ Franciæ et Hiberniæ regem fidei defensorem, et in terra ecclesiæ Anglicanæ supremum caput, sufficienter et legitimè auctoritatus, venerabili confratri nostro domino Edmundo eadem permissione Londin. episcopo, vestrove vicario in spiritualibus generali et officiali principali, salutem et fraternam in Domino charitatem. Literas missivas clarissimorum et prudentissimorum dominorum (de privato consilio regiæ majestatis) manibus subscriptas, nobisque inscriptas et directas, nuper recepimus, tenorem subsequentem complectentes. [Then making a full recital of the council's letters above specified, page 717 he proceedeth with the archbishop's precept:]

Quibus quidem literis (pro nostro erga suam regiam majestatem officio), uti decet, obtemperare summo opere cupientes, vestræ fraternitati tenore præsentium committimus et regiæ majestatis vice et nomine, quibus in hac parte fungimur, mandamus, quatenus attente et diligenter, literarum hujusmodi tenore, omnibus et singulis confratribus coepiscopis nostris et ecclesiæ nostræ Christi Cant. suffrageneis, cum ea qua poteris celeritate accommoda, præcipiatis, ut ipsorum singuli (in suis cathedralibus necnon civitatum et diocesum suarum paroch. ecclesiis exposito publice literarum hujusmodi tenore), omnia et singula in literis præinsertis comprehensa deducta et descripta (quatenus eos concernunt) in omnibus et per omnia exequi et perimpleri sedulo et accurate curent et fieri non postponant: sicque a vobis (frater clarissime) in civitate et dioces. vestra Londin. per omnia fieri et perimpleri volumus et mandamus. Datum in manerio nostro de Lambehithe xxiv. die mens. Februarii, anno Domini, juxta computationem ecclesiæ Anglicanæ, 1547; et nostræ consecrationis anno decimo quinto.* [Then Bonner proceedeth, to the bishop of Westminster, in these words:]

Quocirca nos Edmundus episcopus antedictus, literis prædictis pro nostro officio obtemperare, uti decet, summopere cupientes, vestræ fraternitati (tam ex parte dicti excellentissimi domini nostri regis ac præfatorum clarissimorum dominorum de privatis suis consiliis, quam prædicti reverend. patris domini Cantuar. archiepiscopi), tenore præsentium committimus et mandamus, quatenus attentis et per vos diligenter consideratis literarum hujusmodi tenoribus, eas in omnibus et per omnia, juxta vim, formam, et effectum earundem, cum omni qua poteris celeritate accommoda, per totam dioces. vestram West. debite et effectualiter exequi faciatis et procuretis.

Datum in ædibus nostris London. vicesimo die Febr. A.D. 1548. et regni dicti illustrissimi domini nostri regis anno secundo.

[The portion of this note distinguished with asterisks, is from Edition 1563, pp. 689, 690, where, upon the letter of Bonner to the bishop of Westminster, Foxe observes, 'Bonnerus hic mandat quam accurate fieri ab aliis, quæ *nunc* ipse obstinate recusat facere. Quando sibi ipsi constabit hic Proteus!' As the archbishop's mandate was dated Feb. 24, this date (Feb. 20) for Bonner's letter, must be incorrect.—Ed.]

Now, by the time that these things were thus determined, the learned men whom the king had appointed (as ye have heard before) to assemble together for the true and right manner of administering the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, according to the rule of the Scriptures of God, and first usage of the primitive church, after their long, learned, wise, and deliberate advices, did finally conclude and agree upon one godly and uniform order of receiving the same, not much differing from the manner at this present used and authorized within this realm and church of England, commonly called, "The Communion." This agreement, being by them exhibited unto the king, and of him most gladly accepted, was thereupon publicly imprinted, and, by his majesty's council, particularly divided and sent unto every bishop of the realm, requiring and commanding them, by their letters on the king's majesty's behalf, that both they, in their own persons, should forthwith have diligent and careful respect to the due execution thereof, and also should, with all diligence, cause the books which they then sent them, to be delivered unto every parson, vicar, and curate within their diocese; that they, likewise, might well and sufficiently advise themselves for the better distribution of the same communion (according to the tenor of the said book), against the feast of Easter then next ensuing, as more fully appeareth by these their letters here following.

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A uniform order of the communion.

Letters Missive from the Council, to the Bishops of the Realm, concerning the Communion to be ministered in both kinds.

After our most hearty commendations unto your lordship: Whereas in the parliament late holden at Westminster, it was, amongst other things, most godly established, that, according to the first institution and use of the primitive church, the most holy sacrament of the body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ should be distributed to the people under the kinds of bread and wine: according to the effect whereof, the king's majesty, minding, with the advice and consent of the lord protector's grace, and the rest of the council, to have the said statute well executed in such sort, or like as is agreeable with the word of God (so the same may be also faithfully and reverently received of his most loving subjects, to their comforts and wealth), hath caused sundry of his majesty's most grave and well-learned prelates, and other learned men in the Scriptures, to assemble themselves for this matter; who, after long conference together, have, with deliberate advice, finally agreed upon such an order to be used in all places of the king's majesty's dominions, in the distribution of the said most holy sacrament, as may appear to you by the book thereof, which we send herewith unto you. Albeit, knowing your lordship's knowledge in the Scriptures, and earnest good will and zeal to the setting forth of all things according to the truth thereof, we be well assured, you will, of your own good will, and upon respect to your duty, diligently set forth this most godly order here agreed upon, and commanded to be used by the authority of the king's majesty: yet, remembering the crafty practice of the devil, who ceases not, by his members, to work by all ways and means the hinderance of all godliness; and considering furthermore, that a great number of the curates of the realm, either for lack of knowledge cannot, or for want of good mind will not, be so ready to set forth the same, as we would wish, and as the importance of the matter and their own bounden duties require—we have thought good to pray and require your lordship, and nevertheless, in the king's majesty's, our most dread sovereign lord's name, to command you, to have an earnest diligence, and careful respect, both in your own person, and by all your officers and ministers also, to cause these books to be delivered to every parson, vicar, and curate within your diocese, with such diligence as they may have sufficient

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time well to instruct and advise themselves, for the distribution of the most holy communion, according to the order of this book, before this Easter time; and that they may, by your good means, be well directed to use such good, gentle, and charitable instruction of their simple and unlearned parishioners, as may be to all their good satisfactions as much as may be; praying you to consider, that this order is set forth, to the intent there should be, in all parts of the realm, and among all men, one uniform manner quietly used. The execution whereof, like as it shall stand very much in the diligence of you and others of your vocation, so do we eftsoons require you to have a diligent respect thereunto, as ye tender the king's majesty's pleasure, and will answer for the contrary. And thus we bid your lordship right heartily farewell.

From Westminster the 13th of March, 1548.

Your lordship's loving friends,

Thomas Canterbury,	John Russell,	William Peter,
Richard Rich,	Henry Arundel,	Edward North,
William St. John,	Anthony Wingfield,	Edward Wooton.

By means as well of this letter, and the godly order of the learned, as also of the statute and act of parliament before mentioned, made for the establishing thereof, all private blasphemous masses were now, by just authority, fully abolished throughout this realm of England, and the right use of the sacrament of the most precious body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ truly restored instead of the same. But nevertheless, as at no time any thing can be so well done by the godly, but that the wicked will find some means subtilely to deface the same, so likewise, at this present, through the perverse obstinacy and dissembling frowardness of many of the inferior priests and ministers of the cathedrals, and other churches of this realm, there did arise a marvellous schism, and variety of fashions, in celebrating the common service and administration of the sacraments, and other rites and ceremonies of the church. For some, zealously allowing the king's proceedings, did gladly follow the order thereof; and others, though not so willingly admitting them, did yet dissemblingly and patchingly use some part of them; but many, carelessly contemning all, would still exercise their old wonted popery.

Privy hinderers of the gospel.

Division amongst the priests about the king's proceedings.

Hereof the king and his council having good intelligence, and fearing the great inconveniences and dangers that might happen through this division, and being therewithal loth, at first, to use any great severity towards his subjects, but rather desirous, by some quiet and godly order, to bring them to some conformity, did, by their prudent advices, again appoint the archbishop of Canterbury, with certain of the best learned and discreet bishops and other learned men, diligently to consider and ponder the premises; and thereupon, having as well an eye and respect unto the most sincere and pure christian religion taught by the holy Scriptures, as also to the usages of the primitive church, to draw and make one convenient and meet order, rite, and fashion of Common Prayer, and administration of the sacraments, to be had and used within this his realm of England, and the dominions of the same; who, after most godly and learned conferences, through the aid of the Holy Ghost, with one uniform agreement did conclude, set forth, and deliver unto the king's highness, a book in English, entitled, "A Book of the Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments, and other

rites and ceremonies of the church, after the use of the church of England." Which his highness receiving, with great comfort and quietness of mind, did forthwith exhibit unto the lords and commons of the parliament then assembled at Westminster, about the 4th of November, in the second year of his reign, and in the year of our Lord 1548, and continuing unto the 14th day of March, then next ensuing. *Edward VI.* A.D. 1549.

Whereupon the lords spiritual and temporal, and the commons of the said parliament assembled, well and thoroughly considering, as well the most godly travail of the king's highness, of the lord protector, and others of his majesty's council, in gathering together the said archbishop, bishops, and other learned men, as the godly prayers, orders, rites, and ceremonies in the said book mentioned,[1] with the consideration of altering those things which were altered, and retaining those things which were retained in the same book; as also the honour of God, and great quietness, which, by the grace of God, should ensue upon that one and uniform rite and order in such common prayer, rites, and extern ceremonies, to be used throughout England, Wales, Calais, and the marches of the same, did first give unto his highness most lowly and hearty thanks for the same, and then most humbly prayed him that it might be ordained and enacted by his majesty, with the assent of the lords and commons in that parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, as followeth: A parliament assembled. One uniform order of Common Prayer.

Substance of the Petition of the Lords and Commons, in Parliament assembled, to the King.

That not only all and singular person and persons that had hitherto offended concerning the premises (other than such as were then remaining in ward in the Tower of London, or in the Fleet) might be pardoned thereof; but also, that all and singular ministers in any cathedral or parish churches, or other places, within the realm of England, Wales, Calais, and the marches of the same, or other the king's dominions, should, from and after the feast of Pentecost next coming, be bound to say and use the matins, evensong, celebration of the Lord's supper, and administration of each of the sacraments, and all other common and open prayer, in such order and form as were mentioned in the said book, and none other or otherwise.

And, albeit that they were so godly and good that they gave occasion unto every honest and conformable man most willingly to embrace them, yet, lest any obstinate persons, who willingly would disturb so godly an order and quiet in this realm, should go unpunished, they further requested, that it might be ordained and enacted, by the authority aforesaid, that if any manner of parson, vicar, or whatsoever other minister that ought or should say or sing Common Prayer (mentioned in the said book), or minister the sacraments, should, after the said feast of Pentecost then next coming, refuse to use the said Common Prayer, or to minister the sacraments in such cathedral or parish churches, or other places, as he should use or minister the same, in such order and form as they were mentioned, and set forth in the said book; or should use wilfully, and obstinately standing in the same, any other rite, ceremony, form, or manner of mass, openly or privily, or matins, evensong, administration of the sacraments, or other open prayer than was mentioned and set forth in the said book; or should preach, declare, or speak, any thing in derogation or depraving of the said book, or any thing therein contained, or of any part thereof, and should be thereof lawfully convicted according to the laws of this realm by verdict of twelve men, or by his own confession, or by the notorious evidence of the fact,

(1) Stat. An. 2, 3 Reg. Edw. cap. 1. [For these Acts, see 'Actes made in the session of this present parliament, holden the 4th Nov. in the second year of Edward VI.' cap. 1. fol. 2. Lond. fol. 1553.—Ed.]

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should lose and forfeit unto the king's highness, his heirs and successors, for his first offence, one whole year's profit of such one of his benefices or spiritual promotions, as it should please the king's highness to assign and appoint; and also, for the same offence, should suffer imprisonment by the space of six months, without bail or mainprize. But, if any such person, after his first conviction, should eftsoons offend again, and be thereof, in form aforesaid, lawfully convicted, then he should, for his second offence, suffer imprisonment by the space of one whole year; and should also be deprived, 'ipso facto,' of all his spiritual promotions for ever, so that it should be lawful for the patrons and donors thereof, to give the same again unto any other learned man, in like manner as if the said party so offending were dead. And if any the said person or persons should again the third time offend, and be thereof, in form aforesaid, lawfully convicted, then he should, for the same third offence, suffer imprisonment during his life. If any such person or persons aforesaid, so offending, had not any benefice or spiritual promotion, that then he should, for his first offence, suffer imprisonment by the space of six months without bail or mainprize, and, for his second offence, imprisonment during his life.

Penalty.

This request, or rather actual agreement, of the lords and commons of the parliament, being once understood by the king, was also soon ratified and confirmed by his regal consent and authority; and thereupon the said book of Common Prayer was presently imprinted, and commanded to be exercised throughout the whole realm and dominions thereof, according to the tenor and effect of the said statute. Moreover, in the same session of the said parliament it was enacted and established by the authority thereof, as followeth:

Laws and constitutions against priests' marriage debarred.

That forasmuch as great, horrible, and not to be rehearsed inconveniences, had, from time to time, risen amongst the priests, ministers, and other officers of the clergy, through their compelled chastity, and by such laws as prohibited them the godly and lawful use of marriage; that therefore all and every law and laws positive, canons, constitutions, and ordinances theretofore made by the authority of man only, which did prohibit or forbid marriage to any ecclesiastical or spiritual person or persons, of what estate, condition, or degree soever they were, or by what name or names they were called, who, by God's law, may lawfully marry; in all and every article, branch and sentence, concerning only the prohibition of the marriage of the persons aforesaid, should be utterly void and of none effect. And that all manner of forfeitures, pains, penalties, crimes, or actions, which were in the said laws contained, and of the same did follow, concerning the prohibition of the marriage of the said ecclesiastical persons, should also be thenceforth clearly and utterly void, frustrate and of none effect.

Marriage of priests set free.

By occasion hereof, it was, thence after, right lawful for any ecclesiastical person, not having the gift of chastity, most godly to live in the pure and holy estate of matrimony, according to the laws and word of God.

But, if the first injunctions, statutes, and decrees of the prince were, by many, but slenderly regarded, with much less good affection were these, especially the book of Common Prayer, by divers now received; yea, and that by some of them, who had always before, in outward show, willingly allowed the former doings, as appeareth most plainly, amongst others, by Bonner the bishop of London; who, although, by his former letters and other mandates, he seemed hitherto to favour all the king's proceedings, yet did he, at that present (notwithstanding both the first statute for the establishing of the communion and the abolishing of all private masses, and also this statute of the ratifying and confirming of the book of Common Prayer), still suffer sundry idolatrous private masses of peculiar names, as the Apostles'

Mass, the Lady's Mass, and such like, to be daily solemnly sung within certain peculiar chapels of the cathedral church of Paul's, cloking them with the names of the Apostles' Communion, and Our Lady's Communion; not once finding any fault therewith, until such time as the lords of the council, having intelligence thereof, were fain, by their letters, to command and charge him to look better thereunto. And then, being therewith somewhat pricked forwards (perhaps by fear), he was content to direct his letters unto the dean and chapter of his cathedral church of Paul's, thereby requesting them forthwith to take such order therein, as the tenor of the council's said letters, therewithal sent unto them, did import; both which letters I have, for the more credit, here following inserted. *Edward VI.* A.D. 1549.

A Letter directed from the King's Council to Edmund Bonner, Bishop of London, for abrogating of Private Masses; especially the Apostles' Mass, within the Church of St. Paul, used under the name of the Apostles' Communion.[1]

After hearty commendations; having very credible notice that within that your cathedral church there be as yet the Apostles' Mass, and Our Lady's Mass, and other masses of such peculiar names, under the defence and nomination of Our Lady's Communion, and the Apostles' Communion, used in private chapels, and other remote places of the same, and not in the chancel: contrary unto the king's majesty's proceedings, the same being, for the misuse, displeasing to God; for the place, Paul's, in example not tolerable; for the fondness of the name, a scorn to the reverence of the communion of the Lord's body and blood: we, for the augmentation of God's honour and glory, and the consonance of his majesty's laws, and the avoiding of murmur, have thought good to will and command you, that, from henceforth, no such masses in this manner be in your church any longer used; but that the holy blessed communion, according to the act of parliament, be ministered at the high altar of the church, and in no other places of the same; and only at such time as your high masses were wont to be used, except some number of people desire, for their necessary business, to have a communion in the morning; and yet the same to be executed in the chancel, at the high altar, as it is appointed in the book of the public service, without cautel or digression from the common order. And herein you shall not only satisfy our expectation of your conformity in all lawful things, but also avoid the murmur of sundry that be therewith justly offended. And so we bid your lordship heartily farewell. The Apostles' Mass put down in Paul's.

From Richmond, the 24th of June, anno 1549.

Your loving friends,

Edward Somerset, R. Rich, Chancellor,
William Saint John, Francis Shrewsbury,
Edmund Montague, William Cecil.

A Letter of Edmund Bonner to the Dean and Chapter of Paul's, sent with the Order in Council.

To my right worshipful friends, and most loving good brethren, master dean of Paul's, with all the canons, residentiaries, prebendaries, subdeans, and ministers of the same, and every of them, with speed:

Right worshipful, with most hearty commendations. So it is, this Wednesday, the 26th of June, going to dinner, I received letters from the king's council by a poursuivant, and the same I do send now herewith unto you, to the intent you may peruse them well, and proceed accordingly;[2] praying you, in case all be

(1) See Heylin's History of the Reformation, p. 74.—Ed.

(2) 'Bonner, with his own hand, consenteth to the abrogation of the mass! If he did it of fear, where was then his conscience? If he did it of conscience, why is he now afraid?' See Edition 1563, p. 691.—Ed.

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not present, yet those that be now resident, and supplying the places, may, in their absence, call the company together of the church, and make declaration hereof unto them. Thus committing you to God, right well to fare.

Written with speed this 26th of June, at one of the clock.

Your loving brother,

Edmund London.

Over and besides all this, the lord protector, with the residue of the king's privy and learned council assembling together in the Star Chamber, about the same matter; that is, for the advancement and setting forward of the king's so godly proceedings, called before them all the justices of the peace, where was uttered unto them, by the lord Rich, then lord chancellor, an eloquent and learned admonition, the tenor whereof ensueth.

An Admonition addressed by the Lord Chancellor Rich to Justices of the Peace.

It hath been used and accustomed before this time, to call, at certain times, the justices of peace before the king's majesty's council, to give unto them admonition or warning, diligently (as is their duty) to look to the observing of such things as be committed to their charges, according to the trust which the king's majesty hath in them. Howbeit now, at this time, we call you before us, not only of custom, but rather of necessity: for hearing daily, and perceiving of necessity, as we do, the great negligence, and the little heed which is taken and given, to the observing of the good and wholesome laws and orders in this realm, whereupon much disorder doth daily ensue, and the king's majesty's proclamations and orders, taken by the council (as we are advertised) not executed, the people are brought to disobedience, and in a manner all his majesty's study and ours, in setting a good and most godly stay to the honour of God and the quiet of the realm, is spent in vain, and come to nothing: which, as we have great hope and trust not to be altogether so, yet, so much as it is, and so much as it lacketh of the keeping of the realm in a most godly order and stay, we must needs impute and lay the fault thereof in you, who are the justices of the peace in every shire; to whom we are wont to direct our writings, and to whose trust and charge the king's majesty hath committed the execution of all his proclamations, of his acts of parliament, and of his laws.

Justices slack in furthering religion.

We are informed that many of you are so negligent and so slack herein, that it doth appear you do look rather, as it were, through your fingers, than diligently see to the execution of the said laws and proclamations. For, if you would, according to your duties, to your oath, to the trust which the king's majesty hath in you, give your diligence and care toward the execution of the same most godly statutes and injunctions; there should no disobedience, nor disorder, nor evil rule, be begun or arise in any part of the realm, but it should, by and by, be repressed, kept down, and reformed. But it is feared, and the thing itself giveth occasion thereto, that divers of you do not only not set forth, but rather hinder, so much as lieth in you, the king's majesty's proceedings; and are content that there should arise some disobedience, and that men should repine against godly orders, set forth by his majesty (you do so slackly look to the execution of the same); so that in some shires, which be further off, it may appear that the people have never heard of divers of his majesty's proclamations; or, if they have heard, you are content to wink at it, and to neglect it, so that it is all one as though it were never commanded. But if you do consider and remember your duties, first to Almighty God, and then to the king's majesty, the wealth of the whole realm, and the safeguard of your own selves, you must needs see, that except such orders as the king's majesty hath set, and hereafter shall appoint, be kept, neither can the realm be defended, if the enemy should invade, nor can it in peace stand; but, upon the contempt of good and wholesome laws, all disorder and inconveniences will come, the people will be wild and savage, and no man sure of his own.

If, at any time, there was occasion and cause to be circumspect and diligent

about the same, there was never more time than now. How we stand in Scotland you know, and that other foreign power maketh great preparation to aid them, and indeed doth come to their aid; whereof we are surely informed and certified. Wherefore, if there should not be good order and obedience kept in the realm, the realm were like utterly to be destroyed. Never foreign power could yet hurt, or in any part prevail in this realm, but by disobedience and misorder within ourselves. That is the way wherewith God will plague us, if he mind to punish us. And so long as we do agree among ourselves, and be obedient to our prince, and to his godly orders and laws, we may be sure that God is with us, and that foreign powers shall not prevail against us, nor hurt us.

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The fruit of obedience in a realm.

Wherefore, once again, and still we must and do lay this charge upon you, that are the better of the shire, and justices of the peace, that with so convenient speed as you can, you do repair down into your countries; and you shall give warning to the gentlemen of the shire, who have not necessary business here, that they repair down each man to his country; and there, both you and they, who be reckoned the stay of every shire, to see good order and rule kept: you, that your sessions of gaol-delivery and quarter-sessions be well kept, and that therein your meetings be such that justice may be well and truly ministered, the offenders and malefactors punished according to the laws of this realm, without any fear of any man, or that for favour you should suffer those to escape, who, with their evil example, might bring others to the like mishap; and that all vagabonds, and lewd and light tale-tellers, and seditious bearers of false news of the king's majesty, or of his council, or such as will preach without license, be immediately by you repressed and punished.

Orders taken for justices.

And if there should chance any lewd or light fellows to make any routs or riots, or unlawful assemblies, any seditious meetings, uproars, or uprisings, in any place, by the seditious and devilish motion of some private traitors, that you and they appease them at the first, and apprehend the first authors and causers thereof, and certify us with speed. The lightness of the rude and ignorant people must be suppressed and ordered by your gravity and wisdom. And here you may not (if any such thing chance) dissemble with those such lewd men, and hide yourselves; for it shall be required of you, if such misorder be: and surely, without your aid and help, or your dissembling, such misorder cannot be. Nor do we say, that we fear any such thing, or that there is any such thing likely to chance; but we give you warning before, lest it should chance. We have too much experience in this realm, what inconvenience cometh of such matters. And though some light persons, in their rage, do not consider it, yet we do not doubt but you weigh it, and know it well enough. And if it should chance our enemies (who are maintained by other foreign power, and the bishop of Rome) should suddenly arrive in some place in England, either driven by tempest, or of purpose to do hurt, ye should see such order kept by firing of the beacons, as hath already been written unto you by our letters, to repulse the same in as good array as you can; as we do not doubt but you will, for the safeguard of your country, so that the enemy shall have little joy of his coming: and, for that purpose, you shall see diligently that men have horse, harness, and other furniture of weapon ready, according to the statutes and good orders of the realm, and the king's majesty's commandments. And so for this time ye may depart.

Provision against privy conspiracy and rebellion.

Provision against foreign power.

What zealous care was in this young king, and in the lord protector his uncle, concerning reformation of Christ's church, and sincere religion, by these injunctions, letters, precepts, and exhortations, as well to the bishops, as to the justices of the realm above premised, it may right well appear. Whereby we have to note, not so much the careful diligence of the king and his learned council; as the lingering slackness, and drawing back, on the other side, of divers of the said justices and lawyers, but especially of bishops, and old popish curates, by whose cloaked contempt, wilful winking, and stubborn disobedience, the book of the Common Prayer was, long after the publishing thereof, either not known at all, or else very irreve-

Singular zeal of the king and his uncle, in reforming religion.

Slackness of popish curates, in furthering these proceedings.

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rently used, throughout many places of the realm. This, when the king, by complaint of divers, perfectly understood, being not a little aggrieved to see the godly agreement of the learned, the willing consent of the parliament, and his grace's own zealous desire, to take so small effect among his subjects, he decreed presently, with the advice of his whole council, again to write unto all the bishops of his realm, for speedy and diligent redress therein; willing and commanding them thereby, that as well they themselves should, thenceforth, have a more special regard to the due execution of the premises, as also that all others, within their several precincts and jurisdictions, should, by their good instructions and willing example, be the more often and with better devotion, moved to use and frequent the same: as further appeareth by the contents of this letter here ensuing.

Another Letter, directed by the King and his Council to Bonner Bishop of London, partly rebuking him of negligence, partly charging him to see to the better setting-out of the Service-Book within his Diocese.

Right reverend father in God! right trusty and well-beloved! we greet you well: and whereas, after great and serious debating and long conference of the bishops and other grave and well learned men in the holy Scriptures, one uniform order for Common Prayers and administration of the Sacraments, hath been, and is, most godly set forth, not only by the common agreement and full assent of the nobility and commons of the late session of our late parliament, but, also, by the like assent of the bishops in the same parliament, and of all other the learned men of this our realm, in their synods and convocations provincial: like as it was much to our comfort, to understand the godly travail then diligently and willingly taken for the true opening of things mentioned in the said book, whereby the true service and honour of Almighty God, and the right ministration of the sacraments being well and sincerely set forth, according to the Scriptures and use of the primitive church, much idolatry, vain superstition, and great and slanderous abuses be taken away: so it is no small occasion of sorrow unto us, to understand, by the complaints of many, that our said book, so much travailed for, and also sincerely set forth (as is aforesaid), remaineth, in many places of this our realm, either not known at all, or not used; or at least, if it be used, very seldom, and that in such light and irreverent sort that the people, in many places, either have heard nothing, or, if they hear, they neither understand, nor have that spiritual delectation in the same, that to good Christians appertaineth. The fault whereof, like as we must of reason impute to you and other of your vocation, called by God, through our appointment, to have due respect to this and such like matters; so, considering that, by these and such like occasions, our loving subjects remain yet still in their blindness and superstitious errors, and, in some places, in an irreligious forgetfulness of God, whereby his wrath may be provoked upon us and them; and remembering withal, that amongst other cures committed to our princely charge, we think this the greatest, to see the glory and true service of Him maintained and extolled, by whose clemency we acknowledge ourselves to have all that we have; we could not but by advice and consent of our dearest uncle, Edward duke of Somerset, governor of our person, and protector of our realm, dominions, and subjects, and the rest of our privy council, admonish you of the premises. Wherein, as it had been your office to have used an earnest diligence, and to have preferred the same in all places within your diocese, as the case required; so have we thought good to pray and require you, and nevertheless straightly to charge and command you, that from henceforth ye have an earnest and special regard to the reduce of these things, so as the curates may do their duties more often, and in more reverent sort, and the people be occasioned, by the good advices and examples of yourself, your chancellor, archdeacons, and other inferior ministers, to come with oftener and more devotion to their said Common Prayers, to give thanks to God, and to be

The king's book neglected.

Bonner's negligence noted.

partakers of the most holy communion. Wherein showing yourself diligent, and giving good example in your own person, you shall both discharge your duty to the great Pastor, to whom we all have to account, and also do us good service: and, on the other side, if we shall hereafter (these our letters and commandment notwithstanding) have eftsoons complaint, and find the like faults in your diocese, we shall have just cause to impute the fault thereof, and of all that ensueth thereof, unto you; and, consequently, be occasioned thereby to see otherwise to the redress of these things; whereof we would be sorry. And, therefore, we do eftsoons charge and command you, upon your allegiance, to look well upon your duty herein, as ye tender our pleasure. *Edward VI.* A.D. 1549.

Given under our signet, at our manor of Richmond, the 23d day July, the third year of our reign, 1549.

The bishop of London, amongst the rest of the bishops, receiving these letters, did (as always before) in outward show willingly accept the same; and, therefore, immediately with the said letters directed this his precept unto the dean and chapter of his cathedral church of Paul's, commanding them to look to the due accomplishing thereof accordingly.

A Letter of Bonner to the Dean and Chapter of St. Paul's.

Edmund by the grace of God, &c.: to my well-beloved brethren the dean and chapter of the cathedral church of St. Paul in London, and to the other ministers there, and every of them, do send greeting. And whereas it is so, that of late I have received the said sovereign lord the king's majesty's letters, of such tenor as is hereunto annexed, and, according to my most bounden duty, am right well willing and desiring,[1] that the said letters should be in all points duly executed and observed, according to the tenor and purport of the same, as appertaineth: these therefore are to require, and also straitly to charge you, and every of you, on his majesty's behalf, &c., that you do admonish and command, or cause to be admonished or commanded, all and singular parsons, vicars and curates of your jurisdiction, to observe and accomplish the same from time to time accordingly: furthermore requiring and likewise charging you, and every of you, to make certificate herein to me, my chancellor, or others, my officers in this behalf, with such convenient celerity as appertaineth, both of your proceedings in the execution hereof, and also the persons and names of all such as, from henceforth, shall be found negligent in doing their duties in the premises, or any of them.

Given at my house at Fulham, the 26th of July, A.D. 1549, and in the third year of our said sovereign lord the king's majesty's reign.

Slackness of Bonner in furthering good proceedings.

Moreover, forasmuch as the king, at that instant, hearing the muttering of certain rebellion then stirring (whereof more shall be said, the Lord willing, hereafter), and also being credibly informed by divers, that, through the evil example, slackness of preaching and administering the sacraments, and careless contempt of Bonner, bishop of London, not only many of the people within the city of London, and other places of his diocese, were very negligent and forgetful of their duties to God, in frequenting the divine service then established and set forth by the authority of parliament, but also, that divers others, utterly despising the same, did in secret places of his diocese, often frequent the popish mass, and other foreign rites not allowed by the laws of this realm, he thought it

Popish mass privily frequented.

(1) If you were so 'well willing then and desiring' as you say, where is this well willing and desiring mind now? If ye did it then against your conscience, how were ye then so well willing? If ye did it with your conscience, why then burnt ye men in queen Mary's time, for that which, in king Edward's time, ye did yourself? [See Edition 1563, p. 692.—Ed.]

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therefore good (having thereby just cause to suspect his former dissembling doubleness) to appoint the lord protector and the rest of his privy council to call the said bishop before them, and according to their wise and discreet judgments, to deal with him for the same.

Bonner called before the council.

Whereupon, the 11th day of August, A.D. 1549, they sent a messenger for him, and, upon his appearance, made first declaration of such informations and complaints as had been heretofore made against him. And then, after sharp admonitions and reproofs for his evil demeanours in the premises, they delivered unto him from the king (for his better reformation and amendment) certain private injunctions, to be necessarily followed and observed of himself. And whereas, in the first branch of the said injunctions, he was personally assigned to preach at Paul's cross the Sunday three weeks then next ensuing (because both the dangerous and fickle estate of the time, and also partly his own suspicious behaviour so required), they further delivered unto him, in writing, such articles to treat upon in his sermon, as they thought then most meet and necessary for the time and causes aforesaid; *who,[1] for his not satisfying his duty therein, was denounced and arraigned before the king's commissioners, at length imprisoned, and also deprived: the process whereof, how he behaved himself before the judges, what his cause was, and his answers therein, with his repeals, recusations, appellations, and other circumstances, and blind shifts concerning the same, here also follow hereunto to be annexed: wherein whoso listeth to know Bonner, who never saw him before, here, by his doings, may easily understand the nature and disposition of the man. Such stoutness of heart and will, if it had been in a cause true and rightful, might, percase, be sufferable: but in what cause soever it be, being immoderate, beseemeth no man, much less one of that vocation. If his cause were good, why did he not take the wrong patiently, as the true canon law of the gospel did lead him? If it were (as it was indeed), naught and wrong, whereto served so bold, sturdy stoutness, but to show the impudency of the person, and to make the cause worse?

But, belike, he was so disposed to declare, if need were, what he was able to do in the law, in shifting of the matter by subtle dilatories and frivolous cavilling about the law; and, if that would not help, yet with facing and brazing, and railing upon his denouncers, with furious words and irreverent behaviour towards the king's commissioners, he thought to countenance out the matter before the people, that something might seem yet to be in him, whatever were in the cause. But, as the common saying goeth, "as good never a whit, as never the better," for all his crafty cautels and tergiversations alleged out of the law, yet neither his cause could be defended, nor his behaviour so excused, but that he was, therefore, both justly imprisoned and deprived; as by the process hereof may well appear to the reader.*

All the aforesaid injunctions and articles, for the further manifestation thereof, I have here inserted as followeth:

(1) See Edition 1563, pp. 692, 698.—Ed.

Certain private Injunctions, Admonitions, and Articles given to Bonner by the Privy Council.

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Forasmuch as we are advertised that, amongst other disorders of our subjects at this present, there be divers of our city of London, and other places within your diocese, which, being very negligent and forgetful of their duty to Almighty God, of whom all good things are to be looked for, do assemble themselves very seldom, and fewer times than they were heretofore accustomed, unto Common Prayer, and to the Holy Communion, being now a time when it were more needful, with heart and mind, to pray to our heavenly Father for his aid and succour; whereof as we be right sorry, so we do understand that, through your evil example, and the slackness of your preaching and instructing of our said people to do their duties, this offence to God is most generally committed. For whereas heretofore, upon all principal feasts, and such as were called 'majus duplex,' you yourself were wont to execute in person, now, since the time that we, by the advice of our whole parliament, have set a most godly and devout order in our church of England and Ireland, ye have very seldom or never executed upon such or other days; to the contempt of our proceedings and evil example of others. And, forasmuch as it is also brought to our knowledge, that divers as well in London, as in other places of your diocese, do frequent and haunt foreign rites and masses, and such as be not allowed by the orders of our realm, and contemn and forbear to praise and laud God, and pray unto his majesty, after such rites and ceremonies as, in this realm, are approved and set out by our authority; and further, that adultery and fornication are maintained and kept openly and commonly in the said city of London and other places of your diocese, whereby the wrath of God is provoked against our people; of the which things you, being heretofore admonished, yet hitherto have made no redress, as to the pastoral office, authority, and cure of a bishop doth appertain: we, therefore, to whom the supreme cure and charge of this church doth appertain, to avoid from us the high indignation of Almighty God, by the advice of our most entirely beloved uncle the lord protector, and the rest of our privy council, have thought it no less than our most bounden duty, now at this present, and eftsoons peremptorily, to admonish, charge, and warn you, that you do most straightly look upon the premises, and see them so reformed that there may appear no negligence on your behalf; upon such pain as, by our laws ecclesiastical and temporal, we may inflict upon you, unto deprivation or otherwise, as shall seem to us, for quality of the offence, reasonable. And to the intent you should the better see to the reformation of the said abuses, we have thought good to give you these injunctions following:

Bonner refraineth to execute all principal feasts, contrary to his wonted manner.

Noted of slackness in his duty, and of contempt of public laws.

First, ye shall preach at Paul's Cross in London, in proper person, the Sunday after the date hereof three weeks, and in the same sermon declare and set forth the articles hereunto annexed; and ye shall preach hereafter once every quarter of the year there, exhorting, in your sermon, the people to obedience, prayer, and godly living; and ye shall be present at every sermon hereafter made at Paul's Cross, if sickness, or some other reasonable cause, do not let you.

Bonner admonished to preach every quarter at Paul's cross.

Secondly, You yourself, in person, shall from henceforth every day which heretofore was accounted in this church of England a principal feast, or 'majus duplex,' and at all such times as the bishops of London, your predecessors, were wont to celebrate and sing high mass, now celebrate and execute the communion at the high altar in Paul's, for the better example of all others; except sickness do let.

Thirdly, Ye shall yourself, according to your duty and the office of a bishop, call before you all such as do not come unto and frequent the common prayer and service in the church, or do not come unto God's board, and receive the communion at least once a year; or whosoever do frequent or go unto any other right or service than is appointed by our book, either of matins, evensong, or mass, in any church, chapel, or other private places within your diocese; and ye shall see all such offenders convented before you, and punished according unto the ecclesiastical laws, with severe and straight punishment therefore. Likewise ye shall see one only order used in your diocese, according to our said book, and none other.

Fourthly, Ye shall, both by yourself and all your officers under you, search out and convent before you more diligently than heretofore ye have done (as

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appertaineth to your office) all adulterers, and see the same punished according to the ecclesiastical laws, and to the authority given you in that behalf.

Fifthly, We have heard also complaints, that the church of Paul's and other churches of London, are of late more neglected, as well in reparation of the glass, as other buildings and ornaments of the same, than they were heretofore wont; and that divers and many persons in the city, of malice deny the payment of their due tithe to their curates, whereby the curates are both injured, and made not so well able, and in manner discouraged, to do their duties: the which thing also, our will and commandment is, ye shall diligently look unto, and see redressed as appertaineth.

Bonner commanded to keep his own house.

Sixthly, And forasmuch as all these complaints be made, as most done and committed in London, to the intent you may look more earnestly, better, and more diligently, to the reformation of them, our pleasure is, that you shall abide and keep residence in your house there, as in the city, see, and principal place, of your diocese, and none otherwhere, for a certain time, until you shall be otherwise licensed by us.

The rebels in Cornwall and Devonshire.

And thus, having brought bishop Bonner home to his own house, there to leave him awhile, to take his ease in his own lodging till we return to him again, we will, in the mean time, make a little intercourse into Cornwall and Devonshire, to discourse some part of the disordered and disloyal doings of those men against their so meek and excellent a prince, having no cause ministered thereunto; yea, having cause rather to yield praise and thanks to the Lord for such a quiet and peaceable prince in his mercy given unto them. But such is the condition of unquiet natures, that they cannot skill of peace: and where due discretion lacketh, there lewd disposed persons cannot tell when they be well. Again, some be so crooked and so perversely given, that the more courteously they be treated, the worse they are; and when, by honest diligence, they list not to get their living, by public disturbance of commonwealths, they think to thrive. And so seemed it to fare with this seditious people of Cornwall and Devonshire, who, having so good and virtuous a king, that, if they should have sought him as Diogenes, they say, did seek for a man with a candle, a meeker and better sovereign they could not have found, a crueller they well deserved; yet were they not with him contented, but, contrary to all order, reason, nature, and loyalty, advanced themselves in a rebellious conspiracy against him, and against his proceedings, through the pernicious instigation, first (as it seemeth) of certain popish priests, who, grudging and disdaining against the injunctions and godly order of reformation set forward by the king, and especially mourning to see their old popish church of Rome to decay, ceased not, by all sinister and subtle means, first, under God's name and the king's, and under colour of religion, to persuade the people; then, to gather sides, to assemble in companies, and to gather captains; and at last to burst out in rank rebellion.

Popish priests first stirrers of this rebellion.

All wickedness beginneth under fair pretences.

Neither lacked there among the lay sort some as seditiously disposed as they, to mischief and madness, as well gentlemen as others. Of whom the chief gentlemen captains were, Humfrey Arundel, esquire, governor of the Mount, James Rosogan, John Rosogan, John Pain, Thomas Underhil, John Soleman, William Segar. Of priests who were principal stirrers, and some of them governors of the camps, and afterwards executed, there were to the number of eight, whose names were Robert Bochim, John Tompson, Roger Barret, John Wolcock, William Asa, James Mourton, John Barrow, Richard

Captains of the rebels.

Priests rebels and traitors against the king.

Benet, besides a multitude of other popish priests, which to the same faction was adjoined. The number of the whole rebellion, speaking with the least, mounted to little less than ten thousand stout traitors. *Edward VI.* A. D. 1549.

These, hearing first of the commotions which began about the same time in other parts to broil, as in Oxfordshire, Yorkshire, and especially in Norfolk and Suffolk, began to take therein some courage, hoping that they should have well fortified the same quarrel. But afterwards, they, perceiving how the mischievous mutterings and enterprises of their conspiracy did suddenly fail, either being prevented by time, or repressed by power; or that their cause, being but only about plucking down of inclosures, and enlarging of commons, was divided from theirs, so that either they would not or could not join their aid together, then began they again to quail, and their courage to abate. Notwithstanding, forasmuch as they had gone so far that they thought there was no shrinking back, they fell to new devices and inventions, for the best furtherance of their desperate purposes. Divers commotions in the king's time suppressed.

Their first intent was, after they had spoiled their own country most miserably, to invade the city of Exeter, and so, consequently, all other parts of the realm. But first, for Exeter they gaped, the gates whereof twice they burned, but gained nothing saving only gunshot, whereof they lacked no plenty. Being put from Exeter, they fell on spoiling and robbing, where or whatsoever they might catch. At length, laying their traitorous heads together, they consulted upon certain articles to be sent up. But herein such diversity of heads and wits was amongst them, that for every kind of brain there was one manner of article; so that there neither appeared any consent in their diversity, nor yet any constancy in their agreement. Some seemed more tolerable: others altogether unreasonable: some would have no justice: some would have no state of gentlemen. The priests ever harped upon one string, to ring in the bishop of Rome into England again, and to halloo home cardinal Pole their countryman. The city of Exeter invaded. Diversity of wits amongst the rebels.

After much ado, and little to the purpose, at last a few sorry articles were agreed upon, to be directed unto the king, with the names of certain set thereunto, the copy whereof here ensueth.

The Articles of the Commons of Devonshire and Cornwall, sent to the King.

First, Forasmuch as man, except he be born of water and the Holy Ghost, cannot enter into the kingdom of God, and forasmuch as the gates of heaven be not opened without his blessed sacrament of baptism, therefore we will that our curates shall minister this sacrament at all times of need, as well on the week-days, as on the holy-days. Sacrament of baptism.

Item, We will have our children confirmed of the bishop, whensoever we shall within the diocese resort unto him. Confirmation.

Item, Forasmuch as we constantly believe, that after the priest hath spoken the words of consecration, being at mass, there celebrating and consecrating the same, there is very really the body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, God and man, and that no substance of bread and wine remaineth after, but the very selfsame body that was born of the Virgin Mary, and was given upon the cross for our redemption; therefore, we will have mass celebrated as it hath been in times past, without any man communicating with the priests; forasmuch as many, rudely presuming unworthily to receive the same, put no difference between the Lord's body and other kind of meat, some saying that it is Consecration of the Lord's body.

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bread before and after, some saying that it is profitable to no man except he receive it; with many other abused terms.

Item, We will have in our churches reservation.

Item, We will have holy bread and holy water, in remembrance of Christ's precious body and blood.

Reservation.

Item, We will that our priests shall sing or say, with an audible voice, God's service in the choir of the parish churches, and not God's service to be set forth like a Christmas play.

Of the Lord's body consecrated.

Item, Forasmuch as priests be men dedicated to God, for ministering and celebrating the blessed sacraments and preaching of God's word, we will that they shall live chaste without marriage, as St. Paul did, being the elect and chosen vessel of God, saying unto all honest priests, 'Be ye followers of me.'

Holy bread and holy water.

Item, we will that the Six Articles which our sovereign lord, king Henry VIII., set forth in his latter days, shall be used, and so taken as they were at that time.

The single life of priests.

Item, We pray God save king Edward, for we be his, both body and goods.

The Articles to be renewed.

A Message or Answer sent by the King's Majesty to certain of his People assembled in Devonshire.

Although knowledge hath been given to us and our dearest uncle Edward duke of Somerset, governor of our person, and protector of all our realms, dominions, and subjects, and to the rest of our privy council, of divers assemblies made by you, which ought of duty to be our loving subjects, against all order, law, and otherwise than ever any loving and kind subjects have attempted against their natural and liege sovereign lord: yet we have thought it meet, at this very first time, not to condemn or reject you, as we might justly do, but to use you as our subjects; thinking that the devil hath not that power in you, to make you, of natural born Englishmen, so suddenly to become enemies to your own native country, or, of our subjects to make you traitors, or, under pretence to relieve yourselves, to destroy yourselves, your wives, children, lands, houses, and all other commodities of this your life. This we say: we trust that, although ye be by ignorance seduced, ye will not be upon knowledge obstinate: and though some amongst you (as ever there is some cockle amongst good corn) forget God, neglect their prince, esteem not the state of the realm, but, as careless, desperate men, delight in sedition, tumult, and wars: yet, nevertheless, the greater part of you will hear the voice of us your natural prince, and will, by wisdom and counsel, be warned, and cease your evils in the beginning, whose ends will be, even by Almighty God's order, your own destruction. Wherefore, as to you our subjects, by ignorance seduced, we speak, and be content to use our princely authority like a father to his children, for this time, to admonish you of your faults, not to punish them; to put you in remembrance of your duties, not to avenge your forgetfulness.

Unlawful assemblies.

First, your disorder to rise in multitudes, to assemble yourselves against others our loving subjects, to array yourselves to the war: who amongst you all can answer for the same to Almighty God, charging you to obey us in all things? or how can any English good heart answer us, our laws, and the rest of our very loving and faithful subjects, who, indeed, by their obedience, make our honour, estate, and degree?

Ye use our name in your writings, and abuse the same against ourself. What injury herein do you us, to call those which love us to your evil purposes by the authority of our name! God hath made us your king by his ordinance and providence, by our blood and inheritance, by lawful succession and our coronation; but not to this end, as you use our name. We are your most natural sovereign lord and king, Edward the Sixth, to rule you, to preserve you, to save you from all your outward enemies, to see our laws well ministered, every man to have his own, to suppress disordered people, to correct traitors, thieves, pirates, robbers, and such like, yea, to keep our realms from foreign princes, from the malice of the Scots, of Frenchmen, of the bishop of Rome. Thus, good subjects! our name is written; thus it is honoured and obeyed; this majesty it hath by God's ordinance, not by man's. So that of this your offence we cannot write too much; and yet doubt not but this is enough

The king's name abused.

from a prince to all reasonable people, from a king to all kind hearted and loving subjects, from a puissant king of England, to every natural Englishman.

Your pretences which you say move you to do this, and wherewith you seek to excuse this disorder, we assure you, be either all false, or so vain, that we doubt not but, after ye shall hereby understand the truth thereof, ye will all, with one voice, acknowledge yourselves ignorantly led, and by error seduced; and if there be any that will not, assure you the same be rank traitors, enemies of our crown, seditious people, heretics, papists, or such as care not for what cause they seek to provoke an insurrection, so they may do it; nor indeed can wax so rich with their own labours, and with peace, as they can do with spoils, with wars, with robberies, and such like; yea, with the spoil of your own goods, with the living of your labours, the sweat of your bodies, the food of your own households, wives, and children. Such they be, as for a time use pleasant persuasions to you, and, in the end, will cut your throats, for your own goods.

Their false pretences.

You be borne in hand, that your children, though necessity chance, shall not be christened but upon the holy days. How false this is, learn you of us: our book which we have set forth by the free consent of our whole parliament, in the English tongue, teacheth you the contrary, even in the first leaf, yea, the first side of the first leaf of that part which treateth of baptism. Good subjects! (for to others we speak not) look and be not deceived. They which have put this false opinion into your ears, they mean not the christening of children, but the destruction of you our christened subjects. Be this known unto you, our honour is so much, that we may not be found faulty of our word. Prove it; if by our laws ye may not christen your children, upon necessity, every day or hour in the week, then might you be offended; but, seeing you may do it, how can you believe them which teach you the contrary? What think you they mean in the rest, which move you to break your obedience against us your king and sovereign, upon these so false tales and persuasions in so evident a matter? Therefore you all which will acknowledge us your sovereign lord, and which will hear the voice of us your natural king, may easily perceive how ye be deceived, and how subtilely traitors and papists, with their falsehood, seek to achieve and bring their purpose to pass with your help. Every traitor will be glad to dissemble his treason, and feed it secretly; every papist his popery, and nourish it inwardly; and, in the end, make you, our subjects, partakers of treason and popery, which, in the beginning, was pretended a commonwealth and holiness.

Baptism.

False surmise of the rebels touching baptism refuted.

And how are you seduced by them, which put in your heads, That the blessed sacrament of Christ's body should not differ from other common bread! If our laws, proclamations and statutes, be all to the contrary, why shall any private man persuade you against them? We do, ourself in our own heart, our council in all their profession, our laws and statutes in all purposes, our good subjects in all their doings, most highly esteem that sacrament, and use the communion thereof to our most comfort. We make so much difference thereof from other common bread, that we think no profit of other bread, but to maintain our bodies; but of this blessed bread we take the very food of our souls to everlasting life. How think you, good subjects! shall not we, being your prince, your lord, your king by God's appointment, with truth more prevail, than certain evil persons with open falsehood? Shall any seditious person persuade you, that the sacrament is despised, which is by our laws, by ourself, by our council, by all our good subjects, esteemed, used, participated, and daily received? If ever ye were seduced, if ever deceived, if ever traitors were believed, if ever papists poisoned good subjects, it is now. It is not the christening of children, not the reverence of the sacrament, not the health of your souls that they shoot at, good subjects! It is sedition, it is high treason, it is your destruction they seek; how craftily, how piteously, how cunningly soever they do it. With one rule judge ye the end, which of force must come of your purposes. Almighty God forbiddeth, upon pain of everlasting damnation, disobedience to us your king; and in his place we rule in earth. If we should be slow, would God err? If your offence be towards God, think you it pardoned without repentance? Is God's judgment mutable? Your pain is damnation, your judge is incorruptible, your fault is most evident.

Sacrament.

The false surmise, touching the sacrament of the Lord's supper, solved.

Likewise are ye evil informed in divers other articles, as for confirmation of

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your children, for the mass, for the manner of your service of matins and even-song. Whatsoever is therein ordered, hath been long debated and consulted by many learned bishops, doctors, and other men of great learning in this realm concluded: in nothing were so much labour and time spent of late time, nothing so fully ended.

Matins and service in English.

As for the service in the English tongue, it hath manifest reasons for it. And yet, perchance, it seemeth to you a new service, and indeed is none other but the old. The selfsame words in English, which were in Latin, saving a few things taken out, so fond, that it had been a shame to have heard them in English, as all they can judge which list to report the truth. The difference is, we meant godly, that you, our subjects, should understand in English, being our natural country tongue, that which was heretofore spoken in Latin; then, serving only for them which understood Latin, and now, for all you which be born English.

Alteration of service from an unknown to a known tongue.

How can this with reason offend any reasonable man, that he shall understand what any other saith, and so consent with the speaker? If the service in the church was good in Latin, it remaineth good in English; for nothing is altered, but to speak with knowledge, that which was spoken with ignorance, and to let you understand what is said for you, to the intent you may further it with your own devotion: an alteration to the better, except knowledge be worse than ignorance. So that whosoever hath moved you to mislike this order, can give you no reason, nor answer yours, if ye understood it.

Wherefore, you our subjects! remember, we speak to you, being ordained your prince and king by Almighty God: if anywise we could advance God's honour more than we do, we would do it. And see that ye become subject to God's ordinances, obeying us your prince, and learn of them which have authority to teach you, which have power to rule you, and will execute our justice if we be provoked. Learn not of them whose fruits be nothing but wilfulness, disobedience, obstinacy, dissimulation, and destruction of the realm.

The mass.

For the mass, we assure you, no small study nor travail hath been spent by all the learned clergy therein; and, to avoid all contention, it is brought even to the very use as Christ left it, as the apostles used it, as holy fathers delivered it: indeed somewhat altered from that the popes of Rome, for their lucre, brought it to. And although ye may hear the contrary of some popish evil men, yet our majesty, which, for our honour, may not be blemished or stained, assureth you, that they deceive you, abuse you, and blow these opinions into your head, to finish their own purposes.

Confirmation.

Baptism saveth without any bishopping.

And so, likewise, judge you of confirmation of children; and let them answer you this one question: Think they, that a child christened is damned, because it dieth before bishoping? They be confirmed at the time of discretion, to learn that which they professed, in the lack thereof by baptism; taught in age, that which they received in infancy: and yet, no doubt but they be saved by baptism, not by confirmation; and made Christ's by christening, and taught how to continue by confirmation. Wherefore, in the whole, mark, good subjects! how our doctrine is founded upon true learning, and theirs upon shameless errors.

To conclude; besides our gentle manner of information to you, whatsoever is contained in our book, either for baptism, sacrament, mass, confirmation, and service in the church, is by our parliament established, by the whole clergy agreed, yea, by the bishops of the realm devised; and, further, by God's word confirmed. And how dare ye trust, yea, how dare ye give ear without trembling, to any singular person, to disallow a parliament, a subject to persuade against our majesty, a man of his singular arrogancy against the determination of the bishops and all the clergy, any invented argument against the word of God?

But now you, our subjects! we resort to a greater matter of your blindness, of your unkindness and great unnaturalness; and such an evil, that if we thought it had not begun of ignorance, and continued by persuasion of certain traitors amongst you, which we think few in number, but in their doings busy; we could not be persuaded but to use our sword, and do justice, and as we be ordained by God; that is, to redress your errors by avengement. But love and zeal yet overcome our just anger; but how long that will be, God knoweth, in whose hand our heart is; and rather for your own causes, being our christened subjects, we would ye were rather persuaded than vanquished, informed than forced, taught than overthrown, quietly pacified than rigorously persecuted.

Ye require to have the statute of the Six Articles revived, and know ye what ye

require? or know ye what ease ye have with the loss of them? They were laws made, but quickly repented; too bloody they were to be borne of our people, and yet at the first, indeed, made of some necessity. O subjects, how are ye trapped by subtle persons! We of pity, because they were bloody, took them away; and you now of ignorance, will ask them again. You know full well, that they helped us to extend rigour, and gave us cause to draw our sword very often; they were as a whetstone to our sword, and for your causes we left to use them. And since our mercy moved us to write our laws with milk and equity, how be ye blinded to ask them in blood! *Edward VI.* A.D. 1549.

But, leaving this manner of reasoning, and resorting to the truth of our authority, we let you wit, the same hath been annulled by our parliament, with great rejoicing of our subjects, and is not now to be called by subjects in question. Dare then any of you, with the name of a subject, stand against an act of parliament, a law of the whole realm? What is our power, if laws should be thus neglected? Yea, what is your surety, if laws be not kept? Assure yourselves most surely, that we, of no earthly thing under the heaven, make such a reputation, as we do of this one thing: to have our law obeyed, and this cause of God, which we have taken in hand, to be thoroughly maintained: from the which we will never remove a hair's breadth, nor give place to any creature living, much less to any subject; but therein will spend our own royal person, our crown, treasure, realm, and all our state; whereof we assure you of our high honour. For herein indeed resteth our honour, herein standeth our kingdom, herein do all kings acknowledge us a king. And shall any of you dare breathe or think against our honour, our kingdom, or crown? Notable zeal and a princely word of a king.

In the end of this your request (as we be given to understand) ye would have them stand in force until our full age. To this, we think, if ye knew what ye spake, ye would never have uttered that motion, nor ever have given breath to such a thought. For what think you of our kingdom? Be we of less authority for our age? Be we not your king now, as we shall be? or shall ye be subjects hereafter, and now are ye not? Have not we the right we shall have? If we would suspend and hang our doings in doubt until our full age, ye must first know, that as a king, we have no difference of years or time, but as a natural man and creature of God, we have youth, and, by his sufferance, shall have age. We are your rightful king, your liege lord, your king anointed, your king crowned, the sovereign king of England, not by our age, but by God's ordinance; not only when we shall be of twenty-one years, but when we are of ten years. We possess our crown, not by years, but by the blood and descent from our father king Henry the Eighth. You are our subjects, because we be your king; and rule we will, because God hath willed. It is as great a fault in us not to rule, as in a subject not to obey. The king's age. A king possesseth his crown, not by years, but by God's ordinance.

If it be considered, they which move this matter, if they durst utter themselves, would deny our kingdom. But our good subjects know their prince, and will increase, not diminish his honour; enlarge, not abate his power; acknowledge, not defer his kingdom to certain years. All is one, to speak against our crown, and to deny our kingdom, as to require that our laws may be broken unto twenty-one years. Be we not your crowned, anointed, and established king? Wherein, then, be we of less majesty, of less authority, or less state, than were our progenitors, kings of this realm, except your unkindness, your unnaturalness, will diminish our estimation? We have hitherto, since the death of our father, by the good advice and counsel of our dear and entirely beloved uncle, kept our state, maintained our realm, preserved our honour, defended our people from our enemies; we have hitherto been feared and dreaded of our enemies, yea, of princes, kings, and nations; yea, herein we be nothing inferior to any our progenitors (which grace we acknowledge to be given us from God), and how else, but by good obedience of our people, good counsel of our magistrates, due execution of our laws? By authority of our kingdom, England hitherto hath gained honour; during our reign, it hath won of the enemy, and not lost.

It hath been marvelled, that we, of so young years, have reigned so nobly, so royally, so quietly. And how chanceth it that you our subjects of that our country of Devonshire, will give the first occasion to slander this our realm of England, to give courage to the enemy, to note our realm of the evil of rebellion? to make it a prey to our old enemies? to diminish our honour, which Youth hinders not the royal government.

Edward VI. A. D. 1549.

God hath given, our father left, our good uncle and council preserved unto us? What greater evil could ye commit, than even now, when our foreign enemy in Scotland, and upon the sea, seeketh to invade us, to rise in this manner against our law? to provoke so justly our wrath, to ask our vengeance, and to give us occasion to spend that force upon you, which we meant to bestow upon our enemies? to begin to slay you with that sword which we drew against the Scots and other enemies? to make a conquest of our own people, which otherwise should have been of the whole realm of Scotland?

Thus far, ye see, we have descended from our high majesty for love, to consider you in your base and simple ignorance, and have been content to send you an instruction like a fatherly prince, who, of justice, might have sent you your destruction like a king to rebels. And now we let you know, that as ye see our mercy abundant, so, if ye provoke us further, we swear to you by the living God, by whom we reign, ye shall feel the power of the same God in our sword, which how mighty it is, no subject knoweth; how puissant it is, no private man can judge; how mortal it is, no English heart dare think. But surely, surely, as your lord and prince, your only king and master, we say to you, Repent yourselves, and take our mercy without delay; or else, we will forthwith extend our princely power, and execute our sharp sword against you, as against very infidels and Turks, and rather adventure our own royal person, state, and power, than the same shall not be executed.

And, if ye will prove the example of our mercy, learn of certain which lately did arise, pretending some griefs, and yet, acknowledging their offences, have not only received most humbly their pardon, but feel also, by our order, to whom all public order only pertaineth, redress devised for their griefs. In the end we admonish you of your duties to God, whom ye shall answer in the day of the Lord; and of your duties towards us, whom ye shall answer by our order; and take our mercy whilst God so inclineth us; lest, when ye shall be constrained to ask, we shall be too much hardened in our heart to grant it you; and whereas ye shall now hear of mercy—mercy and life!—ye shall then hear of justice—justice and death!

Given at Richmond, the eighth day of July, the third year of our reign.

Besides the articles of these Devonshire men above mentioned, the said rebels sent up also, not long after, a supplication to the king, whereunto answer again was made by the king's learned council, which here, to make short, leisure serveth not to rehearse.

False rumours by popish priests stirred up against the king.

Over and besides, to behold the malicious working of those popish priests, to kindle more the spark of sedition in the people's hearts, what bruits and rumours did they raise up against the king and his council, making the vulgar multitude to believe, that they should be made to pay, first for their sheep, then for their geese and pigs also, and other like things; and whatsoever they had in store, or should put in their mouths, they must fine there-for to the king! of all which matter never a word was either thought or meant. But this seemed matter fit for such priests, whereby to set the prince and his subjects together by the ears.

Sir John Russell.

Against this seditious company of rebels, was appointed and sent by the king and his council, sir John Russell, knight, lord privy seal, as lieutenant general of the king's army, on whom chiefly depended the charge and achievance of that voyage in the west parts. To him also were adjoined, as in part of ordinary council in those affairs under him, sir William Herbert, sir Johan Pawlet, sir Hugh Pawlet, sir Thomas Speck, with the lord Gray, and others beside.

Thus the said lord privy seal, accompanied with the lord Gray, advancing his power against the rebels, although in number of soldiers not equally furnished like to the others, yet, through the gracious

assistance of the Lord's help, fighting in his cause, and giving the adventure against the enemy, about the latter end of July, A.D. 1549, gave them the repulse; who, notwithstanding, recovering themselves again with such stomachs as they had, encountered the second time with the aforesaid lord privy seal, about the beginning of August following, by whom, through the Lord's mighty power, they, with their whole cause of false religion, were utterly vanquished and quite overthrown. *Edward VI.* A. D. 1549. The rebels discomfited.

In that victory a great work of God's mighty power undoubtedly did appear; for, although the number of the rebels did surmount, in great quantity, the power and strength of the lord privy seal, and their stomachs were so fiercely set upon all desperate adventures; and though the power of sir William Herbert (being the same time at Bristol) was not yet presently come, which should have joined with the lord privy seal; yet, all this notwithstanding, the goodness of the Lord so wrought on the king's behalf, more than any industry of man (which in all respects in handling that matter was very raw, and far behind) that the victory fell to the king's part, under the valiant guiding of the aforesaid lord privy seal; so that the popish rebels not only lost the field, but a great part of them also lost their lives, lying there slain miserably in the chase, to the compass of two miles' space. Where also were taken and apprehended the chieftains and ringleaders of that mischievous dance, whereof the principal were Humfrey Arundel, Berry, Thomas Underhil, John Soleman, William Segar; Tempson and Barret two priests; Henry Bray and Henry Lee, two mayors; with divers others more above specified; all who, accordingly, afterwards were executed.[1] Great goodness of God in the victory against them. Laudable service of the lord privy seal.

These rebels, to make their part more sure by the help and presence of their consecrated god and maker, brought with them, into the battle, the pix under his canopy; and instead of an altar, where he was hanging before, set him now riding in a cart. Neither were there lacking masses, crosses, banners, candlesticks, with holy bread also, and holy water plenty, to defend them from devils, and all adversary power; who, in the end, neither could help their friends, nor yet could save themselves from the hands of their enemies, but, eftsoons, both the consecrated god, and all the trumpery about him, were taken in the cart, and there lay all in the dust, leaving to them a notable lesson of bitter experience, how to put their confidence hereafter in no such vain idols, but only in the true living God and immortal Maker, to be served according to his prescribed word; and that only in the faith of his Son, and not after their own dreaming fantasies. False trust of the Devonshire men in their popish idols disappointed. The sacrament in the pix brought to the battle in a cart.

The story whereof putteth me also in remembrance of another like popish field called Musselborough field, fought in Scotland the year before this, where the Scots likewise encamping themselves against the lord protector, and the king's power sent into Scotland, did, in semblable wise, bring with them to the battle, the consecrated gods of their altars, with masses, crosses, banners, and all their popish stuff of idolatry; having great affiance, by virtue thereof, to have a great day against the English army, as indeed, in man's judgment, it Musselborough field in Scotland.

(1) In a work entitled 'All suche Proclamacions, as have been sette furthe by the Kynges Maiestie,' &c., [Lond. 1550. 8vo. Printed by Richard Grafton,] is the Proclamation for the punishment of these rebels.—Ed.

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might seem not unlike. For the number of the Scots' army so far exceeded ours, and they were so appointed with their pikes in the first front against our horsemen (who gave the first onset), that our men were fain to recule, not without the loss of divers gentlemen. Notwithstanding, the mighty arm of the Lord so turned the victory, that the Scots, in the end, with all their masses, pixes, and idolatrous trinkets, were put to the worse: of whom in that field were slain between thirteen and fourteen thousand, and not passing a hundred Englishmen. The cause of this was the promise of the said Scots, made before to king Henry, for the marriage of the young Scottish queen to king Edward, which promise the said Scots afterwards brake, and paid thereafter.

God's mighty arm fighting against the Scots, who trusted in their masses and sacrament of the altar.

In that victory this is also to be noted, that the same day and hour when the images were burned openly in London, the Scots were put to flight in Musselborough, as is credibly noted in records.

A stir in Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire.

During this hurly-burly amongst the popish rebels in Cornwall and Devonshire, the like commotion at the same time, by such like popish priests as Holmes and his fellows, began to gender in the parts of Oxford and Buckingham; but that was soon appeased by the lord Gray, who, coming down that way into Devonshire, chased the rebels to their houses; of whom two hundred were taken, and a dozen of the ringleaders delivered unto him, whereof certain were after executed.

Rebellion in Norfolk.

In Norfolk and parts thereabout, albeit the original of their tumultuous stirring was not for the like cause, yet the obstinate hearts of that unruly multitude seemed no less bent upon mischief, to disturb public peace, which was also in the month of July, the year above-said. For repression of that rebellion, first was sent the lord marquis of Northampton, with special instruction to avoid the fight; and so, by order, was appointed with a number of horse to keep the field and passages, whereby they, being stopped from victual, might the sooner be brought to acknowledge their folly, and to seek their pardon; who then, following other policy than by order was given, came and pinned himself within the city of Norwich, which afterwards they were fain to abandon, the rebels pressing upon the city so on every side, that at length they obtained the same. Nevertheless, in all that conflict there were but a hundred on both sides slain, and otherwise no great loss, but only the loss of the lord Sheffield.

Instructions given to the lord marquis.

The lord Sheffield slain at Norwich.

The rebels of Norfolk suppressed.

Then was sent down against them the earl of Warwick, with sufficient force and number of soldiers, besides the convoy of two thousand Almains, by whom the rude and confused rabble were there overthrown and slain, to the number, as is supposed, of four thousand at least: and, in fine, both the Kets, chief stirrers and authors of that commotion, were taken and put to execution, and one of them hanged up in chains.

Another rebellion in Yorkshire.

Moreover, besides these inordinate uproars and insurrections above mentioned, about the latter end of the said month of July the same year, which was 1549, another like stir or commotion began at Seamer, in the North Riding of Yorkshire, and continued in the East Riding of the same, and there ended. The principal doers and raisers up of this insurrection were one William Ombler of East Allerton, yeoman;

and Thomas Dale, parish clerk of Seamer; with one Stevenson of Seamer, neighbour to Dale, and nephew to Ombler. This Stevenson was a mean or messenger between the said Ombler and Dale, being before not acquainted together, and dwelling seven miles one from the other; who at last, by the travail of the said Stevenson and their own evil disposition, inclined to ungraciousness and mischief knowing before, one the other's mind by secret conference, were brought to talk together on St. James's day, A.D. 1549. *Edward VI.* A.D. 1549.

The causes moving them to raise this rebellion, were these: First and principally, their traitorous hearts, grudging at the king's most honourable proceedings, in advancing and reforming the true honour of God, and his religion. Another cause also was, for trusting to a blind and a fantastical prophecy, wherewith they were seduced, thinking the same prophecy should shortly come to pass, by hearing the rebellions of Norfolk, Devonshire, and other places. The tenor of which prophecy, and purpose together of the traitors was, "That there should no king reign in England; that the noblemen and gentlemen should be destroyed, and the realm should be ruled by four governors, to be elected and appointed by the commons holding a parliament; in a commotion to begin at the south and north seas of England," &c.: supposing that this their rebellion in the North, and the other of the Devonshire men in the West, meeting (as they intended) at one place, should be the mean how to compass this their traitorous devilish device. And therefore, laying their studies together, how they might find out more company to join with them in that detestable purpose, and so set forward this device they framed, as to stir in two places, the one distant seven miles from the other; and, at the first rush, to kill and destroy such gentlemen and men of substance about them, as were favourers of the king's proceedings, or who would resist them. But, first of all, for the more speedy raising of men, they devised to burn beacons, and thereby to bring the people together, as though it were to defend the sea-coasts; and, having the ignorant people assembled, then to pour out their poison; first, beginning with the rudest and poorest sort, such as they thought were pricked with poverty, and were unwilling to labour, and therefore the more ready to follow the spoil of rich men's goods, blowing into their heads that God's service was laid aside, and new inventions, neither good nor godly, put in place; and so, feeding them with fair promises to reduce into the church again their old ignorance and idolatry, they thought, by that means soonest, to allure them to rage and run with them in this commotion. And furthermore, to the intent they might give the more terror to the gentlemen at their first rising, lest they should be resisted, they devised that some should be murdered in churches, some in their houses, some in serving the king in commission, and others as they could be caught; and to pick quarrels with them for alteration of service on the holy-days. And thus was the platform cast of their device, according as afterwards, by their confession at their examinations, it was testified, and remaineth in true record.

Causes moving the Yorkshire men to rebellion.

A blind prophecy amongst the Northern men.

Device of the rebels how to compass their purpose.

False lies forged of God's true religion.

Thus they being together agreed, Ombler and Dale, and others by their secret appointment, so laboured the matter in the parishes of Seamer and Wintringham, and in the towns about, that they were

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infected with the poison of this confederacy in such sort, that it was easy to understand whereunto they would incline, if a commotion were begun. The accomplishment thereof did shortly follow; for, although by the words of one drunken fellow of that conspiracy, named Calvered, at the alehouse in Wintringham, some suspicion of that rebellion began to be smelled before by the lord president and gentlemen in those parts, and so prevented in that place where the rebels thought to begin; yet they gave not over so, but drew to another place at Seamer, by the sea-coast; and there, by night, rode to the beacon at Saxton, and set it on fire. And so, gathering together a rude rout of rascals out of the towns near about, being in a stir, Ombler, Thomas Dale, Barton, and Robert Dale, hasted forthwith with the rebels to Master White's house, to take him, who notwithstanding, being on horseback, minding to have escaped their hands, Dale, Ombler, and the rest of the rebels, took him, and Clopton his wife's brother, one Savage a merchant of York, and one Bury servant to sir Walter Mildmay; which four, without cause or quarrel, saving to fulfil their seditious prophecy in some part, and to give a terror to other gentlemen, they cruelly murdered, after they had carried them one mile from Seamer, towards the Wold; and there, after they had stripped them of their clothes and purses, left them naked behind them in the plain field, for crows to feed on, until White's wife and Savage's wife, then at Seamer, caused them to be buried.

The conspiracy of the rebels uttered in drunkenness.

Four men cruelly murdered by the rebels.

Long it were, and tedious, to recite what revel these rebels kept in their raging madness, who, ranging about the country from town to town, to enlarge their ungracious and rebellious band, taking those with force who were not willing to go, and leaving in no town where they came any man above the age of sixteen years, so increased this number, that, in short time, they had gathered three thousand to favour their wicked attempts; and had like to have gathered more, had not the Lord's goodness, through prudent circumspection, interrupted the course of their furious beginning.

Number of the rebels in Yorkshire.

For, first, came the king's gracious and free pardon,[1] discharging and pardoning them, and the rest of the rebels, of all treasons, murders, felonies, and other offences done to his majesty, before the 21st of August, A. D. 1549; which pardon, although Ombler contemptuously refused, persisting still in his wilful obstinacy, dissuading also the rest from the humble accepting the king's so loving and liberal pardon, yet, notwithstanding, with some it did good.

The king's free pardon sent to the rebels.

Ombler refuseth it, and is taken.

To make short, it was not long after this, but Ombler, as he was riding from town to town, twelve miles from Hunmanby, to charge all the constables and inhabitants where he came, in the king's name, to resort to Hunmanby, by the way he was espied, and by the circumspect diligence of John Wood the younger, James Aslabe, Ralph Twinge, and Thomas Constable gentleman, he was had in chase, and at last by them apprehended, and brought in the night in sure custody unto the city of York, to answer to his demerits. After whom, within short time, Thomas Dale and Henry Barton, the first chieftains and ringleaders of the former commotion, with John Dale, Robert Wright, William Peacock, Wetherel, and Edmund Buttry, busy stirrers in this sedition, as they travelled from place to place to

Names of the rebels executed at York.

(1) See 'All Suche Proclamacions,' &c. Lond. 1550, fol. 61.—Ed.

draw people to their faction, were likewise apprehended, committed to ward, lawfully convicted, and lastly, executed at York the 21st of September, A.D. 1549.[1] *Edward VI.* A.D. 1549.

To these pestiferous commotions, raised up against king Edward by his own subjects in this year aforesaid, within the realm, I might also adjoin the busy stirring and raging of the French king, against our young and innocent prince, without the realm: who, hearing of these tumults and violent insurrections of the king's subjects in divers and sundry quarters of the realm, supposing to take the time for his most advantage, thought, likewise, for his part, not to be unoccupied. Who, after he had by his ambassador made open breach with the king, immediately after the revocation of the said ambassador from hence, intending to annoy the king, and make his first invasion against the isles of Jersey and Guernsey, thought to have surprised our ships and the said isles with a certain number of his ships and galleys; in which his assault he was so hotly saluted by the king's ships and the island, that, by the confession of them that saw it, and by the report written unto the lord protector, the Frenchmen lost at least a thousand men. Their ships and galleys were so spoiled, that being forced to return home, they were not able then to set out again. The stirring and rising of the French king.

Furthermore, out of France credible word was brought to the lord protector (which yet in letters appeareth), that into one town, in one vessel, were brought, at least, three score gentlemen to be buried; and also an inhibition specially given out by the king, not to speak of the success in that journey. This was about the beginning of August, 1549. The like also might be noted of the losses of the said French king at Boulogne, the 8th day of August, the same year, as by the lord Clinton's letters may well appear; but for spending of time I pass it over. What the meaning of the French king was in these voyages, or how he intended further to proceed, I have not herein to deal. This is certain and evident, that the mighty arm of God mercifully fought for king Edward his servant, to defend and deliver him from so many hard dangers, so dangerous and sundry commotions, stirred up in so many quarters within this realm, and also without the realm, and all within the compass of one year; and yet the Lord above, fighting for his true servant, dispatched them all, as in story here ye have heard declared, and is no less worthy of all posterity to be noted. The wonderful protection of the Lord in defending king Edward.

Matter concerning Edmund Bonner, Bishop of London,

WITH DECLARATION OF THE ACTS AND PROCESS ENTERED AGAINST HIM IN KING EDWARD'S TIME.[2]

And thus much hitherto having discoursed touching the manifold troubles and tumults raised up on every side against king Edward by his unkind and unnatural subjects, and yet, notwithstanding, the gracious goodness of the Lord ever giving him the victory; now let us return again to Bonner, bishop of London, where we left him 1547 to 1549.

(1) Ex actis judicii publici registro receptis et notatis.

(2) The best evidence that can be adduced for the authenticity of Foxe's account of Bishop Bonner, is that it is quoted, very generally, as well by papists as by protestants.—Ed.

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before, that is, in his own house, where he was by the council commanded to remain, as is above signified.

And now, forasmuch as we have to enter into the story of the said Bonner, for the better understanding of the whole order thereof, it shall be requisite to rip up and declare the matter, with the circumstances and occasions thereof, from the first beginning of king Edward's time. Where is to be understood, that king Edward, in the first year of his reign, A.D. 1547, the first day of September, for the order of his visitation, directed out certain commissioners, as sir Anthony Cook and sir John Godsalve, knights, John Godsalve and Christopher Nevinson, doctors of the law, and John Madew, doctor of divinity; who, sitting in Paul's church upon their commission, the day and year aforesaid, there being present at the same time, Edmund bishop of London, John Royston, Polydore Virgil, Peter Van, and others of the said cathedral church, after the sermon made, and the commission being read, ministered an oath unto the said bishop of London, to renounce and deny the bishop of Rome with his usurped authority, and to swear obedience unto the king, according to the effect and form of the statute made in the 31st year of king Henry VIII.; also, that he should present and redress all and singular such things as were needful within the said church to be reformed.

Sitting of the king's commissioners in Paul's church.

An oath ministered to Bonner to forswear the pope.

Bonner requireth to see their commission.

Whereupon the said bishop humbly and instantly desired them that he might see their commission, only for this purpose and intent (as he said), that he might the better fulfil and put in execution the things wherein he was charged by them or their commission: unto whom the commissioners, answering, said, they would deliberate more upon the matter. And so they called the other ministers of the said church before them, and ministered the like oath unto them, as they did to the bishop before. To whom moreover, there and then, certain interrogatories and articles of inquisition were read by Peter Lilly the public notary. This done, after their oaths taken, the said commissioners delivered unto the bishop aforesaid, certain injunctions, as well in print as written, and homilies set forth by the king; all which things the said bishop received, under the words of this protestation, as followeth:

Bonner's protestation.

'I do receive these injunctions and homilies with this protestation, that I will observe them, if they be not contrary and repugnant to God's law and the statutes and ordinances of the church.'[1]

And immediately he added, with an oath, that he never read the said homilies and injunctions. This protestation being made in manner and form aforesaid, the said Edmund Bonner bishop of London instantly desired and required Peter Lilly, the registrar aforesaid, there and then to register and enact the same. And so the said commissioners, delivering the injunctions and homilies to Master Bellassere, archdeacon of Colchester, and Gilbert Bourn, archdeacon of London, Essex, and Middlesex; and enjoining them, in most effectuous manner, under pains therein contained, to put the same in speedy execution, and also reserving other new injunctions to be ministered afterwards, as well to the bishop, as to the archdeacons aforesaid, according as they should see cause, &c., did so continue

(1) See Burnet, vol. ii. part 2. quoted 'Ex libro Conciliorum, fol. 110.'—Ed.

the said visitation till three of the clock the same day in the afternoon. *Edward VI.* A.D. 1547 to 1549.

At the which hour and place assigned, the commissioners being set, and the canons and priests of the said church appearing before them, and being examined upon virtue of their oath, for their doctrine and conversation of life, first one John Painter, one of the canons of the said cathedral church, there and then openly confessed, that he, viciously and carnally, had often the company of a certain married man's wife,[1] whose name he denied to declare: in the which crime divers other canons and priests of the aforesaid church, confessed in like manner, and could not deny themselves to be culpable.

And after the commissioners aforesaid, had delivered to Master Royston prebendary, and to the proctor of the dean and of the chapter of the said cathedral church of St. Paul, the king's injunctions, and the book of homilies, enjoining them to see the execution thereof, under pain therein specified, they prorogued their said visitation until seven of the clock the next day following.

By this visitation, above specified, it appears, gentle reader, first how Bonner made his protestation after the receiving of the king's injunctions, and also how he required the same to be put in public record. Furthermore, thou hast to note the unchaste life and conversation of these popish votaries and priests of Paul's. Now, what followed after this protestation of the bishop made, remaineth further, in the sequel of the story, to be declared; wherein, first thou shalt understand that the said bishop, shortly after his protestation, whether for fear, or for conscience, repenting himself, went unto the king, where he submitted himself, and recanting his former protestation, craved pardon of the king for his inordinate demeanour toward his grace's commissioners, in the former visitation: which pardon, notwithstanding it was granted unto him by the king for the acknowledging of his fault, yet for the evil example of the fact, it was thought good that he should be committed to the Fleet, as by the tenor of the council's letter sent to the commissioners may appear; which, together with the form also of the bishop's protestation and of his recantation, here under followeth.

Things in this visitation to be noted.

Bonner repenteth his evil demeanour.

Is sent to the Fleet.

The King's Letter to the Commissioners concerning the Recantation and Pardoning of Bonner.

To our very loving friends, sir Anthony Cook, knight, and the rest of the commissioners for the visitation at London, in haste.

After our hearty commendation: This shall be to signify unto you, that we have received your letters, and in the same enclosed the copy of the protestation made by the bishop of London in the time of your visitation at Paul's: your wise proceedings wherein, and advertisements from you, we take in very thankful part towards us. And because the said bishop, who, being here before us, hath acknowledged his indiscreet demeanour, did at that time, at Paul's, require the registrar of your visitation, to make record and entry of his protestation, and now, upon better consideration of his duty, maketh means to have the same revoked, as shall appear unto you by the true copy of his writings enclosed, the original whereof, remaining with us, he hath subscribed; we pray you to cause the registrar to make entry of this his revocation, according to the tenor

Bonner recanteth his protestation.

(1) Note the corrupt life of these unmarried priests and popish votaries.

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of this his said writing: further signifying unto you, that in respect of his offence, and the evil ensample that might thereupon ensue, we have thought meet to send him to the prison of the Fleet, whither he hath been conveyed by Master Vice-chamberlain. And whereas sundry things for the king's majesty's service do now occur here, which require the present attendance of you, sir John Godsalve, as well for your office of the signet, as of the prothonotory-ship, we pray you that, leaving the execution of the visitation to the rest of your colleagues, you make your repair hither with convenient diligence. Thus fare you right heartily well.

From Hampton Court, the 12th of September, 1547.

Your assured loving friends,

Thomas Canterbury,	Thomas Seymour,	William Peter,
William Saint John,	William Paget,	Anthony Dennie,
John Russell,	Anthony Brown,	Edward North.

The Form of Bonner's Recantation.

Bonner requireth his recantation to be registered.

Whereas I, Edmund bishop of London, at such time as I received the king's majesty's injunctions and homilies of my most dread sovereign lord, at the hands of his highness's visitors, did unadvisedly make such protestation as now, upon better consideration of my duty of obedience, and of the evil example that might ensue unto others thereof, appeareth to me neither reasonable, nor such as might well stand with the duty of an humble subject: forasmuch as the same protestation, at my request, was then, by the registrar of that visitation, enacted and put in record, I have thought it my duty not only to declare before your lordships, that I do now, upon better consideration of my duty, renounce and revoke my said protestation; but also most humbly beseech your lordships, that this my revocation of the same may be likewise put in the same records, for a perpetual memory of the truth; most humbly beseeching your good lordships, both to take order that it may take effect, and also that my former and unadvised doings may be, by your good mediations, pardoned by the king's majesty.

Edmund London.

The registers of these affairs of Bonner's, remain in the hands of Peter Lilly, then being registrar to the aforesaid commissioners.[1]

The order of Bonner's doings in the beginning of this reign.

Thus far thou hast heard, loving reader, first the popish protestation of Bonner; then how he, calling himself home again, solemnly recanted the same, requiring further the said his revocation to be committed to public record, for a perpetual remembrance. Also, how he, upon his humble submission, received his pardon of the king, and yet, for example' sake, was commanded to the Fleet; where he nevertheless did not long continue, but, according to the effect of the king's pardon before granted, was restored both to house and living again; which was in the first year of the king, A.D. 1547.

After this ye have heard also, in the story above, in the second year, and a great part of the third year of the king, how he demeaned himself, although not most forward in advancing the king's proceedings, yet in such sort, as no great advantage by any law could be taken against him, both in swearing his obedience to the king, and in receiving his injunctions; also in confessing his assent and consent touching the state of religion then; and, furthermore, in directing out his letters, according to the archbishop of Canterbury's precepts, to Cloney his sumner, to the bishop of Westminster, and to other bishops, for abolishing of images, for abrogation of the mass, for bibles to be set up, and for ministering in both kinds, with such

(1) Burnet gives two documents of Bonner's respecting the question of the Injunctions: the one, addressed to sir John Godsalve, (copied from MS. col. CC. Cantab.); the other, part of a letter to the protector (Cotton Libr. Vesp. D. 18). See Burnet, Hist. Ref. Lond. 1820. vol. ii. part 2, pp. 157—161.—Ed.

other like matters of reformation; till at length he, hearing of the death of the lord admiral, the lord protector's brother, and after that of the stirring and rising of the king's subjects in sundry tumults against the king, began somewhat, as he durst, to draw back and slack his pastoral diligence, so that in many places of his diocese, and in London, the people not only were negligent in resorting to divine service, but also did frequent and haunt foreign rites of masses, and other orders than in this realm were appointed; and he also himself, contrary to his wonted manner, upon principal feasts refused in his own person to execute. Whereupon he, being suspected and complained of, and convented before the king's council (as ye heard before), after sharp admonitions and reproofs, had certain private injunctions to him enjoined.

Edward VI. A.D. 1549.

Bonner beginneth to slack his diligence.

Matters put to Bonner to redress.

1. That he should personally preach within three weeks after at Paul's Cross.
2. That according as his predecessors were wont to celebrate mass, he at such wonted times should execute and administer the communion.
3. That he should call before him and correct more diligently such transgressors as absented themselves from the order of service, and ministration of the Lord's board, appointed then in churches by the king's ordinance.
4. That he should see more carefully and vigilantly to the punishment of adulterers and fornicators.
5. That he, in the meanwhile, should be resident within his own house during the time while he should make his sermon at Paul's above mentioned, which was A.D. 1549.

In this sermon certain special points were prefixed unto him, whereupon he should treat; which here in order follow, and are these:

Special Points and Articles to be treated of by Bonner, Bishop of London, in his Sermon.

1. That all such as rebel against their prince, get unto them damnation, and those that resist the higher power, resist the ordinances of God; and he that dieth therefore in rebellion, by the word of God is utterly damned, and so loseth both body and soul. And therefore those rebels in Devonshire and Cornwall, in Norfolk, or elsewhere, who take upon them to assemble a power and force against their king and prince, against the laws and statutes of the realm, and go about to subvert the state and order of the commonwealth, not only do deserve therefore death as traitors and rebels, but do accumulate to themselves eternal damnation, even to be in the burning fire of hell with Lucifer, the father and first author of pride, disobedience, and rebellion, what pretences soever they have, and what masses or holy water soever they pretend, or go about to make among themselves; as Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, for rebellion against Moses, were swallowed down alive into hell, although they pretended to sacrifice unto God.

2. Likewise, in the order of the church, and extern rites and ceremonies of divine service, forasmuch as God requireth humility of heart, innocency of living, knowledge of him, charity and love towards our neighbours, and obedience to his word and to his ministers and superior powers, these we must bring to all our prayers, to all our service; and this is that sacrifice which Christ requireth, and these be those that make all things pleasant unto God. The extern rites and ceremonies be but exercises of our religion, and appointable by superior powers; in choosing whereof we must obey the magistrates; which things also we do see ever have been and shall be (as the time and place is) diverse, and yet all hath pleased God so long as these before spoken inward things be there. If any man shall use the old rites, and thereby disobey the

What things be necessary to be joined in all God's service.

Extern rites and ceremonies, how far they serve.

Edward VI. A. D. 1549.

superior power, the devotion of his ceremonies is made naught by his disobedience: so that which else (so long as the law did so stand) might be good, by pride and disobedience now is made naught; as Saul's sacrifice, Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, and Aaron's two children were. But whoso joineth to devotion, obedience, he winneth the garland. For else it is a zeal, 'sed non secundum scientiam;' a will, desire, zeal, and devotion, but not after wisdom; that is, a foolish devotion, which can require no thanks or praise. And yet again, where ye obey, ye must have devotion, for God requireth the heart more than the outward doings; and, therefore, he that taketh the communion, or saith or heareth the service appointed by the king's majesty, must bring devotion and inward prayers with him, or else his prayers are but vain, lacking that which God requireth, that is, the heart and mind to pray to him.

Foolish devotion.

The heart maketh true devotion.

3. Further, ye shall, for example, on Sunday come seventh night, after the aforesaid date, celebrate the communion at Paul's church.

4. Ye shall also set forth in your sermon, that our authority of royal power is (as of truth it is) of no less authority and force in this our young age, than is or was that of any our predecessors, though the same were much older, as may appear by example of Josias, and other young kings, in Scripture; and therefore all our subjects to be no less bound to the obedience of our precepts, laws, and statutes, than if we were of thirty or forty years of age.

Bonner's preaching much looked for of the people.

The delivery of these injunctions and articles unto the bishop (with the time of his appointed preaching), was soon after known abroad among the citizens, and other the commons within the city of London, so that every man expected the time thereof, wishing to hear the same; which time being once come, the bishop, according to the tenor of the injunctions, publicly preached at the cross of Paul's the first day of September. Howbeit, as hypocrisy never lurketh so secretly in the hearts of the wicked, but that at one time or other, God, in his most righteous judgment, maketh it open unto the world; so, at this present, was that long, coloured, perverse obstinacy, and the infestered hatred of this double-faced dissembler against the king's godly proceedings, most plainly manifested by his disobedient demeanour in this his sermon. For, whereas he was commanded to treat only upon such special points as were mentioned in his articles, he yet, both besides the council's commandment, and to the withdrawing of the minds of the common people, as much as in him lay, from the right and true understanding of the holy sacrament, ministered in the holy communion then set forth by the authority of the king's majesty (according to the true sense of the holy Scripture), did spend most part of his sermon about the gross, carnal, and papistical presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament of the altar; and also, contrary thereunto, did not only slenderly touch the rest of his articles, but, of a rebellious and wilful carelessness, did utterly leave out unspoken the whole last article, concerning the as effectual and as lawful authority of the king's highness during his young age, as if he were thirty or forty years old; notwithstanding the same (because it was the traitorous opinion of the popish rebels) was, by special commandment, chiefly appointed him to treat upon.

Disobedient stubbornness of Bonner in his sermon.

Latimer and Hooper against Bonner.

This contemptuous and disobedient dealing, as it greatly offended most of the king's faithful and loving subjects there present, so did it much mislike the minds, and was far from the good expectation, as well of that faithful and godly preacher Master John Hooper, afterwards bishop of Worcester and Gloucester, and lastly, a most constant martyr for the gospel of Christ, and also of Master Hugh Latimer, bachelor of divinity: and therefore they, well weighing the foulness

of the fact, and their bounden allegiances unto their prince, did thereupon exhibit unto the king's highness, under both their names, a bill of complaint or denunciation against the said bishop, in form following: *Edward VI.* A.D. 1549.

The Denunciation of John Hooper and Hugh Latimer, against Bonner, to the King's Majesty, for leaving undone the points beforementioned, which Bonner was charged to preach upon.

In most humble wise show unto your majesty Hugh Latimer and John Hooper, that whereas of late, as we be certainly informed from your majesty, by the hand of the right high and noble prince Edward duke of Somerset, governor of your royal person, and protector of all your highness's realms, dominions, and subjects, and the rest of your privy council, there were certain injunction given to the bishop of London that now is, with articles to be insinuated and preached unto your subjects at a certain day limited, the which injunction and articles did only tend to the honour of God, and the better instructions of your highness's people to obedience, and hatred of rebellion and mutiny, wherewith of late this your majesty's realm hath been marvellously vexed, to the danger of your highness's person, and the state of the whole realm; and, therefore, a thing at this time most necessary to be taught unto the people, that they might know their duty unto your majesty, and unto Almighty God; and especially to acknowledge your majesty in these years and age to be a perfect high and sovereign lord and king, and supreme head, whose laws, proclamations, and commandments we are bound to obey, as well as any prince's subjects are bound to obey the laws, proclamations, and commandments of their natural and sovereign lord, notwithstanding that nature hath not yet given unto your person such age as, we trust, she shall, nor so many years, which we wish to be so many as any prince ever had, the which years do not make you king or prince, but the right of your birth, and lawful succession whatsoever it be, so that we all must as well acknowledge your majesty to be our king and prince, at these years, as if you were at the age of thirty or forty years, and your laws and statutes no less to be feared and obeyed, than if your highness were fifty or a hundred years old (the which thing not only is most certainly true, but also at this time most necessarily to be taught, especially when divers rebels have openly declared, that they would not obey your highness's laws, nor acknowledge the statutes made by your majesty to be available, till you come to the age of twenty years): and this not only being so, but the same thing being commanded by your said majesty, amongst other injunctions and articles given in writing to the said Edmund Bonner, to be preached in his last sermon, as by the same injunctions may appear, of the which the true copy we have, when need is, to be showed: yet all this notwithstanding, the said Bonner, of what zeal or mind we cannot tell, whether favouring the opinion of the said rebels, or contemning your highness's commandment declared unto him, hath not only left out to declare the said article, which we most and chiefly expected and looked for, but also, in all the rest of his sermon, did not so fully and apertly declare the said injunctions and articles, as to our judgment did appear they ought to have been declared, and was of no light ground looked for, entreating of others far distant and diverse from the articles upon the which he was commanded to entreat, and such as most should move and stir up the people to disorder and dissension; willingly leaving out those things which should have made quiet and obedience. Wherefore, not moved of any malice, grudge, envy, or evil will to the person of the bishop, but constrained by the love and zeal which we bear towards your highness, and of our duty and allegiance to your majesty, whose honour and safety, with tranquillity, quietness, and good governance of this your realm, we do most desire, and for the discharge of our most bounden duties, to avoid all the dangers that might ensue of the concealment thereof, we most humbly do denounce and declare the same to your highness, to the intent that your majesty, by the advice aforesaid, may, if it please your highness, at this our humble denunciation, call the said bishop to answer to the premises, the which we are ready to avow and prove; and then your highness may take further order herein, as to your princely wisdom

Years and age do not make a king, but the right of succession.

Bonner left out of his sermon the article of the king's authority.

Edward VI. shall seem most convenient, whose long life and most prosperous government God Almighty long continue, for the which we shall pray during our lives.

A. D. 1549. The king's majesty having thus, by the information of these two credible persons, perfect intelligence of the contemptuous and perverse negligence of this bishop, in not accomplishing his highness's commandment given him by injunction, thought it most necessary, with all convenient speed (for the avoiding of further inconveniences), to look more severely unto the due punishment of such dangerous rebellious obstinacy; and, therefore, by the advice of the lord protector, and the rest of his honourable council, immediately he directed forth his commission under his broad seal unto the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of Rochester, and to other grave and trusty personages and councillors, appointing and authorizing all them, or certain of them, by virtue of the same, to call before them, as well the bishop of London, as also the aforesaid denouncers, and upon due examination and proof of the premises, or any other matter otherwise to be objected, further to proceed against him summarily "et de plano," according to law and justice, either to suspension, excommunication, committing to prison, or deprivation (if the quality of the offence so required): or otherwise, to use any other censure ecclesiastical, which, for the better hearing and determining of that cause, might to their wisdoms seem more pertinent, as appeareth more amply by the tenor of the commission here ensuing.

Commission directed by the king against Bonner.

The Copy of the King's Commission sent down upon the Denunciation aforesaid, for the Examination of Bonner, bishop of London.[1]

Edward the Sixth, &c. To the most reverend father in God, Thomas, archbishop of Canterbury, metropolitan and primate of England, the right reverend father in God, Nicholas bishop of Rochester, our trusty and right well-beloved councillors, sir William Peter and sir Thomas Smith, knights, our two principal secretaries, and William May, doctor of the law civil, and dean of Paul's, greeting: It is come to our knowledge, that where we, by the advice of our most entirely beloved uncle Edward, duke of Somerset, governor of our person, and protector of all our realms, dominions, and subjects, and the rest of our privy council, did give to the right reverend father in God Edmund, bishop of London, upon certain complaints before made unto us, and other great considerations, certain injunctions to be followed, done, and executed; and, in a sermon appointed to him to preach by us with certain articles, and for the more sure knowledge, keeping, and observing, did exhibit the same in writing unto him by the hands of our said uncle, in the fulfilling of our counsel: all this notwithstanding, the said bishop hath, in contempt of us (as it may appear), overslipped and not observed certain of the said things so by us enjoined, and others so perversely and negligently done, that the things minded of us to reformation, and for a good quiet of our subjects and our whole realm, be converted, by the wilful negligence or perversity of him, to a great occasion of slander, tumult, and grudge amongst our people, as it hath been denounced to us in writing by certain honest and discreet persons, and otherwise called. The which things if they be so, we, tendering the health, quietness, good order, and government of our people, have not thought convenient to be let past unpunished and unreformed, and therefore, by the advice aforesaid, have appointed you five, four, or three, upon whose fidelities, wisdoms, dexterities, and circumspections, we have full confidence, to call before you as well the denouncers of the said faults, as also the said bishop; and, with due examinations and process, according to the law and justice, to hear the said matter, and all other matters, of what kind, nature, or condition soever they shall be, objected against the

(1) See the Records of the Tower, Patent 3. Edward VI. p. 11. m. 3. dor.—Ed.

said bishop, summarily, 'et de plano' or otherwise, as to your discretions shall be thought most meet, with full power and authority to suspend, excommunicate, commit to prison, or deprive the said bishop, if the offence shall so appear to merit, or to use any other censure ecclesiastical, which, for the better hearing and determining of the cause shall be requisite and appertain: any law, statute, or act to the contrary notwithstanding. In witness whereof we have caused these our letters to be made patents.

Witness ourself at Westminster, the eighth of September, in the third year of our reign. [A.D. 1549.]

The commission delivered.

The commission, being sealed with the king's broad seal, was by his highness's council forthwith delivered at the court unto Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, and the rest of the commissioners mentioned in the same, being there all together, present; who, upon the receipt thereof, determined, by virtue of the same, to sit at the archbishop's house at Lambeth, the Wednesday then next ensuing, which was the tenth day of that present month of September, and therefore appointed the bishop of London to be summoned to appear before them, as at that time and place. The manner of whose behaviour at his appearance, because it both declareth the froward nature and stubborn condition of the person, and also what estimation and authority he thought the commissioners to be of, I thought it not unmeet first, before I enter into the process, somewhat to note and describe unto you.

Stubborn behaviour of Bonner before the commissioners.

At his first entry into the place within the archbishop's house at Lambeth, where the archbishop and others of the commissioners sat, he passed forth directly by them with his cap upon his head (making as though he saw them not), until one plucked him by the sleeve, willing him to do reverence unto the commissioners: whereat he laughingly turned himself, and spake unto the archbishop on this wise: "What, my lord! are you here? by my troth I saw you not." "No," said the archbishop, "you would not see." "Well," quoth he, "you sent for me: have you any thing to say to me?" "Yea," said the commissioners, "we have here authority from the king's highness to call you to account for your sermon you made lately at Paul's Cross, for that you did not there publish to the people the article which you were commanded then to preach upon." At which words the bishop, either for that he did not greatly delight to hear of this matter, or else because he would make his friends believe that he was called to account only for his opinion in religion (as afterwards in the sequel of this process it more plainly appeareth), began to turn his talk unto other matters, and said unto the archbishop, "In good faith, my lord, I would one thing were had in more reverence than it is." "What is it?" said the archbishop. "The blessed mass," quoth he, "you have written very well of the sacrament: I marvel you do no more honour it." The archbishop of Canterbury, therewith perceiving his subtlety, and seeing his gross blindness, to commend that which was utterly contrary to his opinion, said unto him again: "If you think it well, it is because you understand it not." The other then, adding unto his former gross ignorance an obstinate impudency, answered, "I think I understand it better than you that wrote it." Unto which words the archbishop replied, "Truly I will easily make a child that is but ten years old to understand therein as much as you. But what is this to the matter?"

He speaketh for the mass.

Edward VI. A.D. 1549.

Moreover, at what time as they began to enter the judicial prosecuting of their commission, and had called forth the denouncers to propound such matter as they had to object against him, he, hearing them speak, fell to scorning and taunting of them, saying to the one, that he spake like a goose: and to the other, that he spake like a woodcock, utterly denying their accusations to be true. Whereupon the archbishop seeing his peevish malice against the denouncers, asked him, if he would not believe them, whether he would credit the people there present? and therewithal (because many of them were also at the bishop's sermon at Paul's) he stood up and read the article of the king's authority during his young age; saying unto them, "How say you, my masters! did my lord of London preach this article?" whereunto they answered, "No, no." At which words the bishop turning himself about, deriding said, "Will you believe this fond people?"

He falleth to scorning and taunting his denouncers.

Bonner's judgment of the people.

Besides this, at all his appearings he used many irreverend, uncomely, obstinate, and froward words and behaviours towards the commissioners and others (in defacing their authority with the terms of pretensed commissioners, pretensed witnesses, and unjust, unlawful, and pretensed proceedings, with recusation of some, and terming others daws, woodcocks, fools, and such like), which I will here omit, for they do more manifestly appear in the sequel of the story in the time and place as they happened; adding yet this much by the way, that although such stoutness of heart and will, if it had been in a cause true and rightful, might have perchance seemed, in some men's judgment, to be somewhat sufferable, yet, to say the truth, in what case soever it be, being immoderate, as this shall appear, it beseemed no wise man, and therefore much less one of his calling. For, if his cause had been good, why did he not take the wrong patiently and meekly, as the true canon law of the gospel doth teach him? If it were (as it was indeed) naught and wrong, whereto served so bold sturdy stoutness, but to show the impudency of the person, and to make the case worse, which was bad enough before? But belike he was disposed to declare, if need were, what he was able to do in the law, in shifting off the matter by subtle dilatories, and frivolous cavilling about the law. And if that would not help, yet with facing and bracing, and railing upon the denouncers with furious words, and irreverent behaviour toward the king's commissioners, he thought to countenance out the matter before the people, that something might seem yet to be in him, whatsoever was in the cause. For to conclude, for all his crafty cautels and tergiversations alleged out of the law, yet neither his cause could be so defended, nor his behaviour so excused, but that he was therefore both justly imprisoned, and also, in the end, most lawfully deprived; as by the sequel of this process may well appear, the manner whereof is as followeth.

Full of his pretenses, daws, woodcocks, fools, and such like.

His demeanour not tolerable for his calling, though meet for his birth.

His frivolous shifts.

THE FIRST ACTION OR SESSION AGAINST BONNER, BEFORE THE KING'S COMMISSIONERS.

Upon Wednesday, the 10th day of September, in the year of our Lord 1549, and in the third year of the reign of king Edward VI., Thomas Cranmer, archbishop of Canterbury, metropolitan and pri-

mate of all England, associated with Nicholas Ridley then bishop of Rochester, sir William Peter, knight, one of the king's two principal secretaries, and Master William May, doctor of the civil law, and dean of Paul's, by virtue of the king's commission, sat judicially upon the examination of Edmund Bonner, bishop of London, within the archbishop's chamber of presence, at his house in Lambeth, before whom there then also personally appeared the said bishop. At which time the commissioners, first showing forth their commission, requested sir William Peter, that he would openly publish and read the same. That done, the archbishop, in the name of the rest, declared unto the bishop, that a grievous complaint had been heretofore made and exhibited against him in writing, unto the king's majesty and his most honourable council, and that therefore his highness, with their advice, had committed the examination thereof unto him, and other his colleagues there present; as also, unto sir Thomas Smith, knight, the other of his majesty's two principal secretaries, though then absent: and therewithal showed also forth a bill of complaint, exhibited unto the king by Hugh Latimer and John Hooper, ministers; which they likewise requested sir William Peter to read.

Edward VI. A.D. 1549.

Sir Thomas Smith absent.

These things ended, the bishop, like a subtle lawyer, having most like some secret intelligence before of these matters (whatsoever he pretended to the contrary), pulled out of his bosom a solemn protestation ready written, which he then exhibited unto the commissioners, requesting that the same might be there openly read; the copy whereof is in tenor and form hereunder to be seen.[1]

This protestation being read, he requested the commissioners that he might have the bill of complaint delivered him; which when he had well perused, he said, that the same was very general, and so general, as that he could not directly answer thereunto. Whereunto the archbishop answered, that the special cause of the complaint against him was, for that he had transgressed the king's commandment, given unto him by his council, in that he, in his late sermon made at Paul's Cross, did not set forth unto the people the king's highness's royal power in his minority, according to the tenor of the

(1) *The tenor and form of the Protestation of Edmund Bonner Bishop of London; exhibited to the King's Commissioners at his first appearing.*

Edmundus Lond. Episcopus primo et ante omnia protestor, quod per hanc meam comparitionem seu per aliqua per me hic dicta seu dicenda, allegata seu alleganda, proposita seu proponenda, exhibita seu exhibenda, gesta seu gerenda, objecta seu objicienda, exercita seu exercenda, facta seu fienda, petita seu petenda, non intendo in vos dominos judices præsentes tanquam in judices mihi in hac parte competentes et idoneos aliquo modo consentire, aut vestram jurisdictionem præsentem in hac parte aliquatenus prorogare, nisi prout ac quatenus de jure ad hoc tenear et astringar rationique consonum videatur: et sub protestatione prædicta et ea semper mihi salva (a qua recedere non intendo, sed eandem in omnibus et singulis deinceps in hoc negotio prætenso per me agendis pro repetita haberi volo) dico et allego quod literæ commissionales prætensæ (vobis ut dicitur in hac parte directæ), seu earum vera et legitima copia, nunquam antehac mihi ostensæ aut monstr. fuerunt, nec a me aliquo modo visæ, lectæ aut cognitæ, vel mihi traditæ. Itaque contra formam et tenorem earundem, vel contra personas aliquorum vestrum, ea quæ de jure ac naturali ratione mihi competunt in hac parte cum reverentia (qua decet) objicere, ac in debita juris forma proponere, non possum in præsenti, ut deberem. Quare ut defensio congrua, quæ nulli hominum deneganda est, mihi reservetur, liquidoque sciam cujusmodi exceptiones mihi in hac parte competere possint ac debeant, utque eas suis loco et tempore juxta juris exigentiam pro necessaria defensione mea proponam, contra vel prætensas literas commissionales hujusmodi vel contra personas aliquorum vestrum; quatenus liceat et expediat sub protestatione prædicta, facultatem dictas prætensas literas commissionales in forma originali inspiciendi, ac earum veram, integram, et fidelem copiam debite exinde mihi fieri, humiliter peto et postulo prout juris est in hac parte, tenore præsentium; nihilominus testatum manifeste relinquens, quod observantiam et reverentiam, ac obedientiam et honorem, ac cætera quæcunque, serenissimæ Regiæ Majestati Domino meo supremo has literas prætensas vobis (ut dicitur) committenti; qualitercunque decet in omnibus et per omnia perpetuo humilime recogniturus sum, habiturus et præstiturus, et his exceptionibus et defensionibus legitimis mihi de jure et natura competentibus ad defensionem meam necessariam et legitimam, ac non aliter, in hac parte usurus.

Edward VI. A.D. 1549.

article delivered unto him by them for that purpose; and for proof thereof called forth Hugh Latimer and John Hooper, preachers, who before that time had put up the bill of complaint unto the king against him.

Bonner inveigheth against his denouncers.

Upon whom when the bishop had earnestly looked, and well beheld them, he said, "As for this merchant Latimer, I know him very well, and have borne with him, and winked at his doings a great while, but I have more to say to him hereafter. But as touching this other merchant Hooper, I have not seen him before, howbeit I have heard much of his naughty preaching." And then, turning himself again unto the archbishop (of purpose, most like, to make his friends think that he was not called thither to answer for his contemptuous disobedience, but for matters of religion), said unto him, "Ah, my lord! now I see that the cause of my trouble is not for the matter that you pretend against me, but it is for that I did preach and set forth in my late sermon the true presence of the most blessed body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ to be in the sacrament of the altar. For as for these my accusers, as they be evil, infamed, notorious, and criminous persons, so are they manifest and notable heretics and seducers of the people, especially touching the sacrament of the altar; and most of all this Hooper. For whereas, in my late sermon at Paul's cross, I preached, that in the blessed sacrament of the altar, after the words of consecration, there is the true body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, the selfsame in substance that was hanged and shed upon the cross, he, the same day at afternoon, having a great rabblement with him of his damnable sect, openly in the pulpit, within my diocese, did preach erroneously to the people against it; and, maliciously inveighing against my sermon, denied the verity and presence of Christ's true body and blood to be in the same sacrament, and also falsely and untruly interpreted and expounded my words. And especially, where I preached and affirmed the very true body and blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ to be in the said sacrament, the selfsame in substance that was hanged and shed upon the cross, he, like an ass (as he is an ass indeed), falsely changed and turned the word 'that' into 'as,' like an ass, saying, that I had said *as* it hanged, and *as* it was shed upon the cross."

Translateth his cause to the matter of the sacrament.

Maketh exception of his accusers.

Bonner's gross opinion of the sacrament.

He rails against Hooper.

The archbishop hereupon, perceiving the bishop's drift, and hearing him talk so much of the presence of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament, said unto him, "My lord of London! ye speak much of a presence in the sacrament; what presence is there, and of what presence do you mean?" Wherewith the bishop, being somewhat stirred and moved in his mind (as appeared by his choleric countenance), spake again to the archbishop very earnestly, and said, "What presence, my lord? I say and believe that there is the very true presence of the body and blood of Christ. What believe *you*, and how do *you* believe, my lord?" Upon which words the archbishop, because he saw his answer dark and subtle, and minding somewhat to nip the gross absurdities of the papists, asked him further, whether he were there, face, nose, mouth, eyes, arms and lips, with other lineaments of his body? Whereat the bishop shaking his head, said, "Oh! I am right sorry to hear your grace speak these words;" and therewith boldly urged the archbishop to show his mind

Talk between the archbishop and Bonner about the sacrament.

A question to Bonner.

therein; * the[1] aforenamed sir William Peter, at that time beholding and looking very earnestly upon the archbishop, but saying nothing to it. And then my lord of Canterbury, being further provoked by the bishop of London to declare what, and how, he believed in the sacrament of the altar,* wisely weighing the fond presumption of the party, with the place and occasion of their assembly, refused then so to do, saying, that their being there at that time was, not to dispute of those matters, but to prosecute their commission committed to them by their prince; and therefore willed him to answer them unto such things as were objected against him. *Edward VI.* A. D. 1549.

Whereupon, under his protestation, he required to have a copy both of the commission, and also of the denunciation given unto him, with time to answer thereto; which the commissioners willingly granted, assigning him there to appear again before them upon Friday then next following, at eight o'clock before noon; and then to answer the tenor of the denunciation. And so, for that day (he, complaining somewhat of the shortness of his time to answer), they all together departed. Days given to him to answer for himself.

THE SECOND APPEARANCE OF BONNER IN THE CHAPEL OF LAMBETH, BEFORE THE ARCHBISHOP AND OTHER FOUR COMMISSIONERS, THE BISHOP OF ROCHESTER, SECRETARY PETER, SECRETARY SMITH, AND THE DEAN OF PAUL'S.

Upon Friday the 13th of September aforenamed, four commissioners, associated then also with sir Thomas Smith, knight, the other of the king's two principal secretaries, and joint commissioner with them, sat judicially in the archbishop's chapel, within his house at Lambeth; before whom (according to their former assignment) there and then appeared the bishop of London. To whom the archbishop, in the name of the rest, first said, "My lord of London! the last time you were before us, we laid certain articles and matter to your charge touching your disobedience to the king's majesty, and you have this day to make your answer thereunto: wherefore now show us what you have to say for your defence."

Whereto the bishop, first asking the archbishop if he had all said and done, and he again saying, "Yea," made this answer: "My lord, the last day that I appeared before you, I remember there sat in the king's majesty's commission, your grace, you my lord of Rochester, you Master Secretary Peter, and you Master Dean of Paul's; but now, I perceive, there sitteth also Master Secretary Smith, who, because he sat not at the beginning, nor took there the commission upon him, ought not so to do: for by the law, they that begin, must continue the commission." Whereupon the archbishop first answered, that he was no lawyer, and therefore could not certainly show what the law willeth in that case; "But," saith he, "if the law be so indeed, surely I take it to be an unreasonable law." A precise point of law, whether a new commissioner may sit afterward, which sat not at the beginning.

"Well," said the bishop, "there be here that know the law, and yet I say not this to the intent to stand or stick much in this point

(1) See Edition 1563, page 699.—Ed.

Edward VI. A.D. 1549.

with you, but to tell it you as it were by the way; for I have here mine answer ready."

The words of secretary Peter to Bonner.

Then said Master Secretary Peter to the bishop, "My lord! in good sooth I must say unto you, that although I have professed the law, yet, by discontinuance and disuse thereof, and having been occupied a long time in other matters from study of the law, I have perhaps forgotten what the law will do precisely in this point. But, admit the law were so as you say, yet yourself know, my lord, that this is our certain rule in law, 'quod consuetudo est juris interpres optimus;' and I am sure you will not, and cannot deny, but that the custom is commonly in this realm in all judgments and commissions used to the contrary; and, in very deed, we all together at the court, having the commission presented unto us, took it upon us; and therefore, for you to stick in such trifling matters, you shall rather in my judgment hurt yourself and your matter, than otherwise."

"Truly, Master Secretary!" said the bishop, "I have also of long while been disused in the study of law, but having occasion, partly by reason of this matter, to turn my books, I find the law to be as I say; and yet, as I said, I tell you hereof but by the way, not minding to stick much with you in that point."

Words of secretary Smith.

At which words, Master Secretary Smith said also unto the bishop, "Well, my lord of London! as cunning as you make yourself in the law, there be here that know the law as well as you: and for my part I have studied the law too, and I promise you these be but quiddities and quirks invented to delay matters, but our commission is to proceed summarily, and 'de plano,' and to cut off such frivolous allegations."

"Well," said the bishop again, "look well on your commission, and you shall find therein these words, 'To proceed according to the law and justice:' and I ask both law and justice at your hands."

Words of secretary Peter.

Then Master Secretary Peter willed him to stand no more thereupon, but to proceed unto his answer: whereupon he took forth a writing, wherein was contained his answer to the denunciation exhibited the day before by Latimer and Hooper, and delivering it unto the archbishop, said, that it was of his own hand-writing, and for lack of sufficient time written so hastily and coarsely, that it could scarcely be read by any other, and therefore he desired to read it himself; and so taking it again, read it openly, the copy whereof here followeth; *which,[1] as here may appear, contained, among other, much matter and causes against Latimer and Hooper, the denouncers, why they ought not in law to be heard or admitted against him, but utterly to be repelled.*

The Answer of Bishop Bonner to the Denunciation of Latimer and Hooper.

I Edmund, bishop of London, concerning Hugh Latimer, and John Hooper, the pretensed denunciators of this matter here now before you, and for answer unto the unlawful, untrue, and uncharitable, pretensed denunciation of them, lately indeed, contrary to justice and good reason, exhibited here and read before you, under protestation heretofore made by me, and read unto you,

(1) See Edition 1563, page 700.—Ed.

remaining in the acts of this court, unto which I refer me, and have the same here again for repeated and rehearsed to all purposes agreeable to the law, do, for my necessary defence and help, allege and say as followeth. *Edward VI.* A. D. 1549.

I. First, I do allege and say, that the said Hugh Latimer, and John Hooper, or either of them, were not, nor now are, to be admitted in any wise, by virtue of this or any other commission, as denunciators against me their bishop; especially, for that they and either of them have, as well before the time of their pretensed denunciation, and also then and since, been and be vile and infamed, notorious criminous persons, and also open and manifest notable heretics, especially concerning the sacrament of the catholic church, and namely concerning the blessed sacrament of the altar;[1] by reason of which their heresies, they were and be, by the order of the said catholic church, here in this realm of England, justly and duly excommunicated and accursed, and have divided themselves thereby from the unity and integrity of Christ's catholic church; and for such persons they have been and are named, reputed, and taken openly, notoriously, and commonly, amongst the catholic people of this realm of England, and especially of this city of London; familiarly haunting and conversant with sacramentaries, and openly known condemned heretics, and favourers and abettors of the same, and their detestable and pestilent doctrine and heresy. Allegations or rather cavillations of Bonner against his denunciators.

II. Item, That the said John Hooper, amongst other his poisoned and venomous doctrine, and amongst other his erroneous, detestable, and abominable errors and heresies taught and spread abroad here within this realm, infecting and poisoning the king's subjects therewith, hath, before the time of the said pretensed denunciation, damnably and detestably made divers erroneous and heretical books, especially one, entitled, 'A Declaration of Christ, and of his Office,' printed (as he falsely surmiseth) in Zurich, by Augustine friars, wherein he, in many places, heretically and damnably denieth the true presence of Christ's body in the blessed sacrament of the altar, and also, in effect, denieth the verity of Christ's blessed body upon the cross, calling it 'mathematical,'[2] and excluding thereby the true and very substance thereof.

III. Item, That the said John Hooper doth persevere, and continueth still, in his said poisoned and wicked venomous doctrine, in all points maintaining and defending the same, and every part thereof, all the ways he can, especially against the presence of Christ's blessed body in the sacrament of the altar; and his said books, especially the said declaration of Christ and of his office, he doth yet allow and maintain as good and catholic, whereas indeed it is heretical, wicked, and damnable: the contents of which doctrine and book so entitled, the said Latimer, especially touching the heresy against the verity of Christ's body, and his true presence in the sacrament of the altar, hath heard, taught, read, preached, believed, holden, maintained and kept; and so, at this present, doth yet believe, hold, maintain, and keep; contrary to the faith of Christ's catholic church, and the unity of the same observed amongst all true christian people; incurring thereby heresy, excommunication, and schism, to the loss both of their souls, and of their believers'. If all truth were away, he had spoken more truly.

IV. Item, That the said Latimer and Hooper, and either of them, being of these vile and detestable qualities, and consequently, by the ordinance of the catholic church of Christ, as well of this realm, as also throughout all Christendom, being so excommunicated and cast out thereby from the said church, are not to this pretensed denunciation against me their bishop, nor to any judicial act, to be admitted, nor yet to be accompanied withal, or answered unto; but are, by Scripture, and the order of Christ's catholic church here in this realm, utterly and truly to be excluded, avoided, detested, eschewed, and abhorred, in all manner of wise, of all faithful and true christian people, fearing God, and desiring the advancement of the truth.

V. Item, That whereas the said Latimer and Hooper, in their said pretensed denunciation, amongst other things, do untruly deduce that they have made their said pretensed denunciation, not moved of any malice or evil will, but for the good tranquillity and governance of this realm, which, as they pretend in their gay and glorious proem, they would seem to have a great care and solicitude of, whereas in very deed they and such as they are, by sundry ways,

(1) How fain would this man find a fault, if he could tell how.
(2) See note 1, p. 764.—Ed.

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and especially by their corrupt doctrine, and heretical naughty preaching, and infecting of the king's majesty's people, have disturbed and greatly inquieted the good tranquillity and governance of this realm, as evidently and notoriously it is well known; the truth is, that this their saying is evidently and plainly false; for notorious it is, and lawfully shall be proved, that the said Hooper, conspiring with the said Latimer, and other heretics of their factious sect and damnable opinion, did, the first day of September last past, after that I, the said bishop of London, had made the sermon at Paul's Cross, assemble maliciously, uncharitably, and unlawfully, a great rabblement of such as himself is, within my diocese and jurisdiction, and, under the colour of reading, did openly and manifestly rail and inveigh against me the said bishop, for my said sermon; not for any such matter, pretence, or cause, as is falsely and untruly surmised in the said pretensed denunciation, but only and chiefly for that I, the said bishop, as became a christian man, and especially him that had and hath cure and charge of his flock, faithfully and truly to teach them, did, taking occasion of the communion not frequented nor reverenced, but neglected and contemned, confess and declare my faith and belief openly before my audience, touching the blessed sacrament of the altar ministered in the same communion, affirming, as the catholic church affirmeth and teacheth, that in the blessed sacrament of the altar there is the very true body of our Saviour Christ, the selfsame in substance that hanged upon the cross, and the very true blood of our Saviour Christ, the selfsame in substance that was shed upon the cross.[1] Against which affirmation and assertion, being catholic and true, the said John Hooper (albeit now colourably, and falsely, and foolishly, he pretendeth another matter more plausible in his opinion and judgment in sundry places of the city and suburbs of London) hath since that time maliciously[2] inveighed and taught, learning and teaching his audience heretically (being many in number, and assembling in great routs) to reprove, contemn, and despise, the said blessed sacrament of the altar, and not to have a true and faithful belief of it, as hitherto always the catholic church hath ever had,[3] the said William Latimer, and the rabblement of his complices, conspiring and agreeing in points therein, and inducing others to do the same; not making any such pretence at all (as they, in their said pretensed denunciation, do falsely surmise and deduce); but only and chiefly offended for my said assertion, and affirmation of the verity of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament of the altar.

Item, That whereas the said Hugh Latimer and John Hooper, in their said pretensed denunciation, do further deduce, and falsely surmise, that I, the said bishop of London, had delivered to me from the king's majesty, by the hands of the lord protector's grace, and the rest of the king's majesty's council, certain injunctions with articles to be insinuated and preached to the king's majesty's subjects, at a certain day limited, and after such sort, form, and manner, as is in the said pretensed denunciation surmised untruly and deduced: it is notorious and evident, as well by the tenor and continue of that writing which was to me, the said bishop of London, delivered by the hands of sir Thomas Smith, knight, one of the two principal secretaries to the king's majesty, as otherwise, that the said surmise, in such sort and fashion as it is deduced and made, is not true in this behalf, referring me to the tenor of the said writing, which neither was signed with the king's majesty's hand, nor sealed with any his majesty's seal or signet,[4] nor yet subscribed by any of the said council, or delivered after such sort as is alleged and pretended, as more evidently hereafter shall appear, and sufficiently be proved, for my lawful necessary defence in this behalf.

VI. Item, That in case any such injunctions, with articles after such form and fashion, had so been delivered unto me as is surmised and pretended, yet false and untrue it is that I, the said bishop, either left out, or refused to

(1) But what and where were your proofs?

(2) As though he could not both confute your error then, and also say the truth now, without all malice or affection.

(3) 'Ever,' that is since pope Innocentius the Third's time, four hundred years ago.

(4) Though the bill of articles bears no seal or signet, yet you be but a caviller, knowing that you were sent for, and in the presence of the lord protector, in the council-chamber received the copy of the injunctions, with the articles promised to be sent to you in writing, as they were indeed; neither are ye able to deny the same, though ye list to shift out the matter with vain terms of uncertainty and obscurity, when the purpose of the thing maketh clean against you, according as it appeareth in the articles hereafter ministered against you the second time.

declare the same for any such cause or causes falsely and untruly surmised in the said pretensed denunciation, or else so perversely and negligently did, as likewise in the said pretensed denunciation is deduced; which thing may well appear in the discourse of my said sermon, where, in substance and effect, I declared faithfully and truly these points specially following; that is to wit, that all such as rebel against their prince, get unto them damnation, and those that refuse the higher power resist the ordinance of God; and he that dieth therefore in rebellion, is by the word of God utterly damned, and so loseth both body and soul, alleging for this purpose the 13th chapter of St. Paul to the Romans, and it at large declaring unto the audience. Furthermore, speaking of the rebels in Devonshire, Cornwall, Norfolk, and elsewhere within this realm; standing in doubt whether I might put them in the place of those that put trust in themselves and despised all others, or in the place of both, doing as they did; forgetting God, not duly considering the king's majesty, their supreme head next and immediately under God; forgetting their wives, their children, their kinsfolk, their alliance, acquaintance, and friends, yea themselves, and their native country, and most unnaturally rebelling against their sovereign lord and king, whom, by God's law they were bound to love, serve, and faithfully obey; I did, to the best of my power, dissuade rebellion, and exhort the audience unto true obedience being thus commanded: And all rebellion being, in like manner, forbidden, under pain of eternal damnation, all these rebels in Cornwall, Devonshire, Norfolk, or elsewhere, who take upon them to assemble a power and force against their king and prince, against the laws and statutes of the realm, and went about to subvert the order of the commonwealth, did not only deserve therefore death, as rebels and traitors, but also did accumulate unto themselves eternal damnation, even to be in the burning fire of hell, with Lucifer, the father and first author of pride, disobedience, and rebellion.

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And here I did ask, who had induced the said rebels thus to do? To which I answered by another question, demanding who moved and induced Eve to take the apple and break her obedience against God's commandment? who moved also and induced Cain to kill his brother Abel? yea, who moved Judas the apostle to betray his master Christ? Was it not the devil? Yes truly, and he it is (said I) that of his great malice and hatred to men and good order hath moved and induced these rebels to this unnatural rebellion against their prince and sovereign lord. Whereupon I asked, what pretences they had, and, answering thereto, said, that amongst others they had masses and holy water; upon which I, exclaiming against them, said, Good Lord! is not this a marvellous thing, to palliate, colour, excuse, and maintain rebellion and inobedience, to pretend mass or holy water? as who saith that these things had been instituted and ordained to defend, maintain, and excuse rebellion, treason, and inobedience; which I told the audience they could not do. And thereupon I brought four texts of Scripture to prove this thing that I said, alleging Numbers xvi., 1 Kings xx., Leviticus x., and the fourth, that myself added also, St. Luke xiii., setting them forth the best I could, as one not much exercised in preaching, but restrained therefrom. And here I concluded, that whatsoever pretences these rebels had of masses, holy water, or such other, it could not in anywise excuse or defend their rebellion and inobedience, referring myself herein to the indifferent hearers in the said audience.

And here, pulling out a writing, sent from the king's majesty's privy council unto me, touching the victory against the said rebels, which for brevity of time my memory would not serve to declare without book, I did rehearse it in writing word by word; in doing whereof it well appeared, that I did not favour the opinion of the said rebels, or maintain their enterprise, but contrariwise did detest them and all their doings, declaring obedience to be better than sacrifice; and that in disobedience and rebellion nothing could or did please Almighty God. Further, taking occasion of the proud Pharisee and the humble Publican ascending into the temple to pray, and noting the outward and extern doing of them both, with the success thereof, I declared to the audience touching the order of the church and the extern rites and ceremonies of the divine service, that forasmuch as God requireth humility of heart, innocency of living, knowledge of him, charity and love to our neighbour, and obedience to his word, to his ministers, and to the superior powers, we must bring all these

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things to all our prayers, to all our service; and that this is the sacrifice that Christ requireth, and that these be the things that make all other things pleasant to Almighty God: further saying, that the extern rites are but exercises of religion, and appointed by superior powers, and that in the choosing thereof we must obey the magistrates, and that we also do see that those things ever have been, and shall be, diverse, as the time and place is; and yet all hath pleased God, so long as humility of heart, innocency of living, knowing of God, charity and love to our neighbour, with obedience to God's word, God's ministers, and the superior powers, are concurrent and present therewith.

VII. Moreover, I then said, that if any man should use rites, and disobey thereby the superior powers, the devotion of his ceremony was made evil by his disobedience; insomuch that that which (standing the law) might be good, was, by pride, disobedience, and rebellion, made evil and unprofitable; putting example in the fact of Saul, reserving the fat sheep for sacrifice; and in Korah, Dathan, and Abiram, and also in Nadab and Abihu, Aaron's two children, and in the Galileans, whose blood Pilate did mix with their sacrifices. And thereupon I told the audience that they must do herein especially two things: the first, they must join to and with their devotion faithful obedience, and then they shall win the garland, and otherwise have a zeal, 'sed non secundum scientiam,' deserving no thank or praise of God; and also they must, with and to their obedience, join devotion, knowing that God more doth require and consider the heart, than the outward doing. And thereupon I exhorted the audience, that when they came to take the communion, or to hear or say the service, appointed by the king's majesty, they must bring devotion and inward prayer with them, or else their prayers shall be but vain, as wanting and lacking that thing which God requireth, that is, the heart and mind to pray to him. And herein, because I marvelled that the communion was no more frequented now-a-days, and lamenting the irreverent coming to it and using of it; fearing that it proceeded of an evil opinion and belief touching the sacrament of the altar, ministered and distributed at the same communion; and to the intent to make the people have better opinion of it than they seemed to have, I did faithfully, truly, and plainly declare my belief of the said sacrament, wherewith the said Latimer and Hooper, with their complices, were so much offended and aggrieved.

VIII. Item, That whereas the said Hugh Latimer and John Hooper do further, in the said pretensed denunciation, untruly, and uncharitably deduce and allege, that I, in my said sermon, did treat of such things as most should move and stir up the people to disorder and dissension,[1] it doth hereby evidently and clearly appear, that either the said pretensed denunciators do take and esteem a declaration faithfully made of the loyal obedience of subjects to the king's majesty, the supreme and sovereign lord, and the great peril and danger of rebellion committed by subjects against their king and prince and sovereign lord, to be a moving, provoking, and stirring-up of people to discord and dissension; or else that the affirmation and assertion catholic of the verity of Christ's body and blood in the blessed sacrament of the altar, set forth by me as afore, doth effect and work such disorder and dissension. For evident it is to all those who indifferently heard my said sermon, that I (grounding myself upon Scripture, and taking occasion of the Sunday then occurrent) did speak specially and earnestly of these two things, without taxing of any man specially by name, or other circumstance, to slander them thereby; and I did both set forth the obedience and duty of all subjects generally to their king, and specially, of subjects of this realm to the king's majesty that now is, whose minority to all people of this realm is more than manifest, and is also apparent or evidently known to all the whole world beside. And also, I did then declare and lay open the imminent danger and great peril of rebellion in subjects against the high powers and authority, and also specially of the rebellion late committed by them of Devonshire, Cornwall, Norfolk, and elsewhere, against the king's majesty that now is, which I would not have done, except I both had believed[2] that all the king's subjects without exception were bound to obey the king's majesty, even as he now is, was, and shall be, during his life, which our Lord

(1) But where was any mention made of the king's power in his minority, as it was enjoined you to treat of?

(2) If ye did believe it, why did ye not fully approve and declare the same to the people?

long preserve to all our comforts and wealth! and also that the rebellion of late so committed against his majesty was damnable, and utterly detestable and condemned by God's law: and herein I refer me to the indifferent hearers of this my sermon, wishing that this Latimer and Hooper, with all the rest of these new preachers, did mean as faithfully, truly, obediently and catholicly, as I always have done, towards the king's majesty, his honour, authority, royal power, and surety of his person and realm; and did not more move, encourage, and stir the king's majesty's subjects to sedition, tumult, and inobedience, by their erroneous doctrine and teaching, than I did at any time encourage, move, or stir any of them in any wise, or give occasion to any of the same. *Edward VI.* A.D. 1549.

IX. Item, whereas the said Hugh Latimer and John Hooper do falsely surmise in their pretensed denunciation, that it was of no light ground looked for, that I, the said bishop of London, should more apertly have declared the injunctions and articles aforesaid, and that it did so appear unto their judgments; I do say, that their judgments are corrupted and only set to slander and picking of quarrels in this behalf, being well assured and so credibly informed, that all the worshipful and honest catholic persons of my said audience were fully satisfied, both as touching obedience to the king's majesty in his tender age and minority, and also touching the penalty and great peril of punishments of the rebellion so lately committed against the said majesty by the aforesaid rebels. And, moreover, I do say, that before my lord protector's grace, and the rest of the king's majesty's most honourable council then present,[1] I made my excuse, and alleged many impediments for my not preaching at the cross; and did not further promise but to do the best I could, which of my fidelity and conscience I did; not omitting any thing of purpose or evil will, that might be to the satisfaction of all people, both good and bad, in every condition and point; specially, in this behalf, collecting and gathering together, with all diligent study, all that might make, in my judgment and opinion, for the better setting forth of the same. Bonner's writing exhibited to the commissioners, answering to the denunciation.

Thus have you Bonner's answer to the denunciation aforesaid: wherein first he alleged, or rather shamelessly and slanderously cavilled:

That those his denouncers were vile, infamed, and notorious criminous persons, and also open and manifest heretics, as well against the rest of the sacraments of the church, as chiefly against the sacrament of the altar; and were for the same, by the orders of the church, excommunicated and accursed, and were so taken of all the catholics of this realm, and especially by Hooper; who, besides other his poisoned doctrine and heresy amongst the people, had also, before the time of the denunciation, made divers erroneous and heretical books against the true presence of Christ's body in the sacrament of the altar, and did also continue in the same, allowing and maintaining it as good and catholic: which books and doctrine (chiefly against the sacrament of the altar) Hugh Latimer had, and then likewise did allow, believe, and teach, to the loss of both their own souls, and also of their believers'; and therefore were not now, nor ought at any time, to be admitted either in this their denunciation against him, or in any other judicial act; and that the rather also, because that although they pretend, in their denunciation, that they made not the same of any malice or evil will towards him, but for the good tranquillity and quiet governance of this realm, yet was it notoriously known, that as well the same day at afternoon in which he the said bishop preached at the cross of Paul's, as also at sundry other times, they two, conspiring with others of their faction, did maliciously and unlawfully within his diocese assemble together a great rabblement of such as themselves were, and there, under colour of reading, did openly rail and inveigh against him, not for any the causes pretended in their denunciation, but because he had in his sermon declared (as the catholic church taught), that in the sacrament of the altar there was the very true body and blood of Christ, the same in substance that was hanged and shed upon the cross. Exceptions laid by Bonner against Hooper. Frivolous quarrelling of Bonner against him.

(1) Ergo, by your own confession it appeareth that these injunctions were given you by my lord protector's own mouth, though not with his own hands: which article you will not grant.

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Then, after these vain and frivolous allegations against the denouncers, he cometh and answereth to the substance of their denunciation, and saith:

Bonner put to a bare shift.

That whereas they, in the same, do falsely surmise, that there were delivered unto him from the king's majesty, by the hands of the lord protector and the rest of his highness's council, certain injunctions and articles to be published and declared unto the people at a day limited in the same, their information, in such sort as it was deduced, was most false and untrue, for that the articles delivered unto him by sir Thomas Smith, one of the king's secretaries, were neither signed with the king's own hand, nor sealed with his highness's seal or signet, nor yet subscribed by any of his council, &c.

Bonner's vain cavillation to no purpose.

Where mark, I beseech you, the subtlety of a disloyal papist, who, because the articles were not sealed by the king and his council, would therefore make them not to be of any such force as that the breach thereof should cause him to incur the danger of contemptuous disobedience. But admit they were not signed nor sealed (of which thing, by the way, in the denunciation there is no mention yea or nay), yet it is manifest by the second bill of articles ministered unto him by the commissioners, in the fourth act of his process, that, at such time as he was before the council, those articles were, by the commandment of the lord protector, openly there read unto him by one of the secretaries, and, after addition of the article concerning the king's lawful power and authority during his young years, were also delivered unto him by the hands of the lord protector, in the presence of the rest of the council; who, thus receiving them, promised there faithfully to accomplish all the contents thereof. After which, they were again delivered unto secretary Smith, to amend such things therein as the lord protector and the rest of the council had there appointed: which being accordingly done (as the bishop himself at the last receipt thereof confessed), they were finally delivered unto him by the secretary; and therefore was this but a poor shift. Now after this, he maketh this supposition:

Bonner's supposition.

That in case it were true, that the injunctions were delivered him according to their information, yet was it untrue that he did omit or refuse to declare the same for any such causes as they had alleged against him; and that did well appear in the discourse of his sermon, which tended principally (as he said) to

Bonner against therebels.

the disallowing and condemnation of all rebels, and chiefly of the rebels in Norfolk, Suffolk, Devonshire, and Cornwall, or elsewhere within this realm of England, who, forgetting their allegiance and duty unto their prince, assigned to them by God's word as their supreme head, their natural love and care for their country, wives, children, and kinsfolk, did both deserve death bodily as traitors, and also accumulate unto themselves damnation of body and soul eternally, with Satan the father and first mover of all rebellion and disobedience. And herewithal further exclaiming against the pretences of those rebels, who, amongst other things, pretended the mass and holy water, with such like, which were never ordained for the purpose, to colour and maintain rebellion (as, he said, he then proved out of Numbers xvi., 1 Kings xx., Leviticus x., Luke xiii., and Acts vi., in the best manner that he could, as one not exercised greatly in preaching, but restrained therefrom), but having humility of heart, innocency of living, knowledge of God, love to our neighbours, with obedience to God's word, ministers,

External rites and ceremonies.

and superior powers concurrent with them, they, being external rites and ceremonies of the church, were exercises of religion, and appointable by superior powers; and yet that which (standing the law) might be good, was by pride and disobedience made evil and unprofitable.

And here he further said thus:

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Because he saw the people slack in coming to the communion and divine service,[1] set forth by the king's majesty, and to the intent he would make them have a better opinion of the sacrament than he thought they had, he then faithfully did declare his belief therein. Wherewith his denouncers being offended, they uncharitably and untruly deduced, in their pretensed denunciation, that in his sermon he did treat of such things as most should stir up unto dissension and tumult; whereby it appeared unto him, that his denouncers either took his catholic assertion of the verity of Christ's body and blood in the sacrament of the altar, or else his faithful declaration made of the obedience of subjects unto the king's majesty their supreme and sovereign lord, with the peril and danger of rebellion committed against him, to be the cause of disorder and dissension; for that (saith he) of these two points he chiefly spake, and especially of obedience to the king, whose minority was more than manifestly known, as well amongst the people of this realm, as elsewhere, throughout the world besides: which he would not have done except he had believed that both all his subjects were bounden to obey him, even as he then was and should be during his life; and also that the rebellion of late committed against him was detestable, and condemned by God's word: and therefore he wished that his two denouncers, with all the rest of the new preachers, did mean as faithfully, obediently, and catholicly, towards the king's honour, royal power, and surety of person, as he did; and had not more moved the people to tumults and disobedience by their erroneous doctrine and teaching, than he had at any time given any occasion thereunto.

Bonner flieth still to the sacrament of the altar.

Bonner's purgation of himself.

Then finally he concluded and said thus:

That whereas his aforesaid denouncers surmise, that it was of no light ground looked for, as it appeared in their judgments, that he should more apertly have declared the contents of the injunctions and articles than he did, that their judgments were in that behalf corrupted, and set to slander and picking of quarrels; for he was well assured, and credibly informed, that all his honest and catholic audience were fully satisfied, both touching their obedience to the king's majesty in his tender age, and also concerning the great penalty and peril that the late rebels incurred by their disobedience. And, besides that, when he was before the lord protector and the rest of the council, after he had made his excuse, and alleged many impediments for his not preaching at the cross, he did not then further promise but to do the best he could; which he hath of his fidelity and conscience accomplished, not omitting any thing of purpose or evil will, that might satisfy the people in any point concerning the premises.

Whilst he was thus reading these answers, objecting against his denouncers such causes and quarrels as he before alleged, for which he would have earnestly had the denouncers to be repelled of the commissioners, the archbishop of Canterbury replied, that if there were any such law, he thought it not to be a good or godly law, but a law of the bishop of Rome. "For," said he, "if my matter and cause be good, what should I care who accuse me, yea although he were the devil of hell?"

The archbishop replieth against Bonner.

"No, sir," said the bishop of London, "it is the king's law used in the realm?"

"Well, my lord," said the archbishop, "ye be too full of your law: I would wish you had less knowledge in that law, and more knowledge in God's law, and of your duty."

"Well," answered the bishop again, "seeing your grace falleth to wishing, I can also wish many things to be in your person."

Bonner.

Then spake secretary Peter to the bishop, as touching these denouncers: "We are not so straited in this matter, but that we may

(1) As justly they might; the same being heretical and blasphemous against the humanity of Christ.

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proceed against you, either at their promotion or without them, at our pleasure."

"A God's name, then," said Bonner, "put them by, and then do as your pleasure shall be, so you do me right, for I ask but right."

"Nay," said secretary Smith, "you ask you wot not what: you would have us follow your mind in these quiddities and quirks; and all is nothing else but to delay justice. And you do herein as thieves, murderers, and traitors, not to have the truth known."

"Say you so to me," quoth the bishop? "I thank you. Well, I could say somewhat to you also, were ye not in the place ye be, but let it pass. As for my matter, I fear it not, it is not so evil as you make it; for I have your own hand-writing for my discharge, which when I shall see time, I shall show forth."

"My hand," quoth the secretary. "Let me see it, and let it be read openly." "So it shall," said the bishop, "when I shall see time."

Then said Master Smith, "You do use us thus, to be seen a cunning lawyer."

"Indeed," quoth the bishop, "I knew the law, ere you could read it."[1]

*With that, secretary Peter willed the bishop to proceed in reading of his answers; who so did, and when he had finished, Latimer delivered up a writing in paper unto the archbishop and the rest of the commissioners; who then said unto the bishop of London, "Here be certain articles which we intend to minister unto you."

The bishop therewith said, "Do you minister them of your office, or at the promotion of these men (pointing to Latimer and Hooper), for I perceive they gave them unto you?"

"Nay," said secretary Peter, "we will minister them unto you, 'ex officio mero.'"

*The[2] copy of which articles here followeth:

Articles ministered to Bonner bishop of London the first time, for him jointly and severally to answer unto.

I. It is reported that you have received from the king's majesty, by the hands of my lord protector's grace, sitting in the council chamber at council with the rest of the lords of the council, the eleventh of August, certain injunctions to be done and followed by you, and articles to be preached there by you; that you did there and then accept the said injunctions, and promise to observe and follow the same.

II. Item, That you have not truly, sincerely, and wholly, declared all the articles enjoined to you, in your last sermon, as they were put unto you.

III. Item, Whether ye have written your sermon or no? and if ye have written it, whether of your own counsel only, or by whose help; and who hath seen the same written before and since ye did preach it?

IV. Item, That ye have not declared in your sermon, that the old rite of prayers, as matins and mass, said after that sort in this realm, by reason of disobedience is naught, although a man have devotion unto it; according as it is in your articles.

V. Item, That you have not, in your sermon, declared the articles of the king's majesty's power in his minority, as it was commanded you, to the refutation of the evil opinion and error of the rebels; and, if you have declared it, how and after what sort ye have declared it?

(1) Well cracked, Master Bonner.

(2) These articles are introduced from the first Edition, 1563, pp. 703, 704.—Ed.

VI. Item, Whether ye will take upon you to defend the said rebels' opinion or no?

VII. Item, That ye know, or have heard say, that certain persons within your diocese, since the time that the said injunctions were given unto you, have heard, been at, or celebrated, mass or evensong in the Latin tongue, and after the old rite and manner, other than according to the king's majesty's book.

VIII. Item, That ye have not convented them before you, nor inflicted punishment unto them.

IX. Item, That ye know or have heard say, that there be notable adulterers, fornicators, or incestuous parsons in your diocese; and you cited none of them, or have seen them punished.

X. Item, That ye were at Master Dr. Cox's the king's almoner's sermon at Paul's cross, about Midsummer was twelve months, wherein he declared the great contempt of the bishop of Winchester in not observing the injunction given unto him. And, especially, in that he did not treat as he ought to have done, and was commanded, of the king's majesty's authority in his minority, additionally.

XI. Item, That the rites of the common service of the church, now set forth, be, in some parts of your diocese, diversely used; and you, knowing or hearing of the same, have not called any ministers of the service before you for a redress of such diversity, nor corrected the misusers thereof.*

Bonner requireth respite to answer.

Hereupon, after an oath given unto the bishop "de fideliter respondendo," he desired a copy of the articles, requiring also a competent time to be given unto him to make answer thereunto.

To whom secretary Peter replied, saying, "My lord, here be certain of the articles touching your own fact, which you may answer unto forthwith; as whether you wrote your sermon or not before you preached it."

Whereunto the bishop answered, that he wrote it not, but he drew certain notes of it.

"Then whose counsel," said he, "and advice, used you in making your sermon?"

To which he also answered, that he had therein used his own counsel and books; "and yet my chaplains," quoth he, "be much suspected for my doings in many things, and sometimes I for theirs, when there is no cause why."

These words ended, the commissioners assigned him Monday, the 16th of September then next following, to appear before them, and to make his full answers unto all the articles ministered unto him by them this day; the contents whereof are as followeth.

THE FORM AND TENOR OF THE ARTICLES MINISTERED UNTO THE BISHOP OF LONDON, BY THE KING'S COMMISSIONERS, AT THE THIRD SESSION.

Monday, the 16th of September, the archbishop, associated with the bishop of Rochester, secretary Smith, and Dr. May, dean of Paul's, sat judicially within his chapel at Lambeth; before whom there and then appeared the bishop of London, according as he was assigned in the last session; at which time he exhibited unto the commissioners in writing his answers unto the last former articles. But before the same were there read, the archbishop said unto him, that his late answer, made the 13th of September, unto the denunciation, was very obscure, and therewith also contained much matter

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of slander against Latimer and Hooper, and much untruth; and therefore they desired there to purge themselves. Whereupon Latimer, first obtaining leave to speak, said to this effect:

Hooper and Latimer desire to purge themselves against Bonner's slanders.

'That the bishop of London had most falsely, untruly, and uncharitably accused him, laying to his charge many feigned and untrue matters in his former answers to the denunciation, and such as he should never be able to prove. For whereas in his said answer he alleged, that Hugh Latimer and John Hooper, with other heretics conspiring against him, did the first day of September, after the bishop's sermon, assemble themselves together unlawfully against the said bishop, that saying of his was most untrue. For neither that day, nor yet before that day, nor until certain days after, he ever knew or spake with Hooper. And as touching his own preaching there, openly accused by the bishop, he said, he never held, taught, or preached any thing concerning the blessed sacrament, otherwise than he ought to do, nor otherwise than according to the Scriptures, and true catholic faith of Christ's church; and therefore offered himself to be tried by the archbishop, or other such learned men as it should please the king's majesty, or the said commissioners to appoint; and further to suffer, to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, if the bishop could justly prove true the things that he had there shamefully laid to his charge.'

Bonner reproved of untruth.

Latimer purgeth himself.

Then Master Hooper, upon like license obtained, said to this effect:

Hooper cleareth himself against Bonner.

'This ungodly man,' pointing to the bishop, 'hath most uncharitably and ungodly accused me before your grace and this audience, and hath laid to my charge, that I am a heretic: whereas, I take God to record, I never spake, read, taught, or preached any heresy, but only the most true and pure word of God. And whereas he saith, I frequent the company of heretics, I do much marvel of his so saying; for it hath pleased my lord protector's grace, my singular good lord and master, and my lady's grace, to have me with them, and I have preached before them, and much used their company, with divers other worshipful persons; and therefore I suppose this man meaneth them. And further, whereas he saith that I have made heretical books against the blessed sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, calling it mathematical,[1] I perceive that this man knoweth not what this word 'mathematical' there meaneth, and therefore understandeth not my book, which, I take God to be my judge, I have made truly and sincerely, and according to his holy word; and by the same his holy word and scriptures, I am always (and shall be) ready to submit myself to your grace's judgment and the superior powers, to be tried.'

Which ended, with many such more words of like importance, the archbishop, to shorten this matter, asked the bishop how he could prove that Hooper and Latimer assembled together against him the first of September, as he had alleged, seeing they now denied it; and therefore willed him to answer forthwith thereunto.

The bishop then answered that he would duly prove it, so that he might be admitted to do it according to law: and with that he pulled out of his sleeve certain books, saying, "I have this varlet's books which he made against the blessed sacrament, which you shall hear." Then, as he was turning certain leaves thereof, Hooper began again to speak; but the bishop turning himself towards him, tauntingly said, "Put up your pipes; you have spoken for your part; I will meddle no more with you:" and therewith read a certain sentence upon the book. This done, he said, "Lo! here you may see his opinion, and what it is." At which words the people standing

Bonner chargeth Hooper of heresy.

(1) This term 'mathematical,' is referred of Master Hooper not to the substance of Christ's body upon the cross, but to the papistical accidents, without substance upon the altar.

behind, and seeing his irreverent and unseemly demeanour and railing, fell suddenly into great laughing; whereat the bishop being moved, and not perceiving the cause wherefore they did laugh, turned him towards them in a great rage, saying, "Ah woodcocks! woodcocks!" *Edward VI.* A. D. 1549.

The people laugh Bonner to scorn.

Then said one of the commissioners, "Why say you so, my lord?" "Marry," quoth he, "I may well call them woodcocks, that thus will laugh, and know not whereat; nor yet heard what I said or read."

"Well, my lord of London," said the archbishop, "then I perceive you would persuade this audience, that you were called hither for preaching of your belief in the sacrament of the altar, and therefore you lay to these men's charge [meaning Hooper and Latimer], that they have accused you of that: howbeit, there was no such thing laid to your charge; and therefore this audience shall hear openly read the denunciation that is put up against you, to the intent they may the better perceive your dealing herein." And therewithal he said unto the people, "My lord of London would make you believe, that he is called hither for declaring and preaching his opinion touching the sacrament of the altar: but, to the intent you may perceive how he goeth about to deceive you, you shall hear the denunciation that is laid in against him read unto you:" and thereupon he delivered the denunciation unto sir John Mason, knight, who there read it openly. This done, the archbishop said again unto the audience, "Lo! here you hear how the bishop of London is called for no such matter as he would persuade you."

The words of the archbishop to the people.

Sir John Mason readeth the denunciation.

With this the bishop, being in a raging heat, as one clean void of all humanity, turned himself about unto the people, saying, "Well, now hear what the bishop of London saith for his part." But the commissioners, seeing his inordinate contumacy, denied him to speak any more, saying, that he used himself very disobediently; with more like words of reproach.

Bonner in a rage.

Not suffered to speak to the people.

Notwithstanding he, still persisting in his unreverent manner of dealing with the commissioners, pulled out of his sleeve another book, and then said unto the archbishop, "My lord of Canterbury, I have here a note out of your books that you made touching the blessed sacrament, wherein you do affirm the verity of the body and blood of Christ to be in the sacrament, and I have another book also of yours of the contrary opinion; which is a marvellous matter."

He chargeth the archbishop with contrariety.

To this the archbishop answered, that he made no books contrary one to another, and that he would defend his books, howbeit he thought the bishop understood them not: "For I promise you," quoth he, "I will find a boy of ten years old, that shall be more apt to understand that matter than you my lord of London be."

The archbishop purgeth himself and his books.

Thus, after much multiplying of like words, the commissioners, thinking not good to spend any more waste time with him, willed him to show forth his answers unto the articles objected the last day against him: whereupon he, having them ready, did read the same openly to them; wherein, after many words of his former protestation recited, with a marvellous lamentation to see that one of his vocation, at the malicious denunciation of vile heretics, should be used after such strange sort, having nevertheless done the best he could to declare

Bonner commanded to answer to the articles.

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his obedience unto the king's majesty for the repressing and discouraging of rebellion and rebels, and also for the advancement of the verity of Christ's true body and his presence in the sacrament of the altar, for which only the malicious denouncers with their complices had studied to molest and trouble him, he then cometh to answering the articles, and saith, that to the first, second, and fourth, he hath already, in the former answers to the denunciation, sufficiently answered, and therefore was not bound by law to answer any further. As to the third and fifth, he said to this effect:

Bonner answereth to the articles.

That he began to write his sermon, but being soon weary, he did only make certain notes thereof, without help of any other, saving that he showed them to his chaplains, requiring them to put him in remembrance thereof. Amongst the which, for the better setting forth of the king's majesty's power and authority in his minority, he had collected as well out of histories, as also out of the Scriptures, the names of divers young kings, who, notwithstanding their minority, were faithfully and obediently honoured, and reputed for very true and lawful kings: as Henry III., being but nine years old; Edward III., being but thirteen years; Richard II., being but eleven years; Henry VI., being not fully one year; Edward V., being but eleven years; Henry VIII., being but eighteen years of age. And out of the Old Testament, Osias and Achas, who were but sixteen years old; Solomon and Manasseh, being but twelve years; Josias, Joachim, and Joash, being but eight years of age when they entered their reigns. All which notes, with many others, he had purposed to declare, if they had come into his memory,[1] as indeed they did not, because the same was disturbed, partly for lack of use of preaching, and partly by reason of a bill that was delivered to him from the king's council, to declare the victory then had against the rebels in Norfolk and Devonshire, which being of some good length, confounded his memory; and partly also for that his book in his sermon time fell away from him, wherein were divers of his notes which he had collected for that purpose: so that he could not remember what he would, but yet, in generality, he persuaded the people to obedience to the king's majesty, whose minority was manifestly known to them and to all others.

Examples of kings that were young, and yet sufficient.

Bonner excuseth his oblivion.

His book of notes, fell from him at his sermon.

Then, as to the sixth (he said), he knew not the rebels' opinion,[2] and therefore could not answer thereunto. And as for answer to the seventh, eighth, ninth, and eleventh articles, which touched his pastoral office, he said that notwithstanding his manifold and great troubles, as well by his own business and his family's sickness, as also by uncharitable informations made against him, yet he hath not failed to give order unto his officers straitly to look unto such matters; and such as he hath known, which were very few or none, he caused to be punished according to the laws. All which answers, with others written with his own hand hereunder follow.

The Answers of Bonner unto the Articles objected to him by the King's Commissioners the first time.

I, Edmund, bishop of London, under protestation heretofore by me made, exhibited, and repeated before you, which, in all my sayings and doings, I intend to have repeated and rehearsed again, to all lawful effects and purposes, for my honest and necessary defence; with protestation also of the nullity and iniquity of your process I had made in this behalf; and likewise of the generality, uncertainty, obscurity, contrariety, repugnancy, variety, insufficiency, and invalidity of the things alleged and deduced before you against me, as well in the commission and denunciation in divers parts, as also touching the articles

(1) A good prelate, that had lost his memory for lack of preaching.
(2) Bonner knew not the rebels' opinion, if you will believe him.

and interrogatories so ministered unto me: lamenting not a little, that one of my vocation, at the malicious denunciation of vile, heretical, and detestable persons,[1] should be used after this strange sort; having done the best I could to declare mine obedience unto the king's most excellent majesty, for the repressing and discouraging of rebellion and rebellious persons, and for the advancement of the verity of Christ's true body and his presence in the most blessed sacrament of the altar: for which only the malicious denunciators with their complices have studied to molest and trouble me; although colourably they would be seen to pretend other causes, especially the good and tranquillity of this realm, which our Lord God knoweth they care nothing for, but contrariwise do let and impeach the same; corrupting and infecting with their poisoned and false doctrine, and teaching the king's subjects in this realm, to the great peril and danger thereof many ways: do answer unto certain pretensed articles and interrogatories ministered by you indeed unto me the said bishop, the 13th day of September, 1549, as followeth:[2] *Edward VI.* A.D. 1549.

To the first article objected against me, beginning thus: 'First it is reported,' &c., and ending thus, 'to observe and follow the same,' I do say, and for answer do refer me unto my former answers heretofore, that is to wit, the 13th of September, made and exhibited by me before you unto the said pretensed denunciation, touching this matter: alleging withal, that a report of things doth not absolutely prove, nor necessarily infer things to be in very deed true after such a sort, fashion, manner, and form as sometimes they be reported and rehearsed.

To the second, beginning thus: 'Item, whether that you,' &c., and ending thus: 'as they were put unto you;' I do answer and say, that this article doth depend on the first article next before, which, after such sort, fashion, manner, and form as it is deduced, was justly by me, in my answer made unto the same, denied; and I therefore now am not bounden by the law eftsoons to make other answer thereunto.

To the third, being an interrogatory, and beginning thus: 'Item, whether,' &c., and ending, 'thus ye did preach;' I do answer and say, that I began to write a piece of my sermon, and being soon weary thereof, I did leave off, and did make only certain notes of my said sermon, and put the same notes in writing of mine own hand, without help or counsel of any other; and the same notes did show unto my chaplains Master Gilbert Bourn and Master John Harpsfield, both before and also since my said sermon, only desiring them to put me in remembrance of my said notes and process to be made thereupon, and also to search out for me the names of such kings as were in their minority when they began to reign.

To the fourth article, beginning thus: 'Item, that ye have not declared,' &c., and ending thus, 'as it is in your article;' I do answer and say, that this article doth depend upon the first and second articles here before denied, deduced in such sort, manner, and form as is expressed in the same; and moreover I say, that already answer is made hereunto by me, in my former answers made to the said pretensed denunciation.

To the fifth article, beginning thus: 'Item, that ye have not,' &c., and ending thus, 'declared it;' I do answer and say, that this article also doth depend upon the first and second articles; and that answer is made thereunto by me already in my former answers made unto the said pretensed denunciation. And moreover I do say, that for the better advancement and setting forth of the king's majesty's royal power and authority, even in his minority, and for the due obedience of his majesty's subjects unto his highness, even during the said minority, I had collected together, as well out of histories as also out of the scripture of the Old Testament, the names of divers kings being in minority, who, notwithstanding their said minority, were faithfully, duly, and reverently obeyed, honoured, served, taken, and reputed, for very true and lawful kings, as Henry III., being but nine years old when he entered to reign and govern as king; Edward III., being but thirteen years of age; Richard II., being but eleven years old; Henry VI., being not fully one year of age; Edward V., being but eleven years old; Henry VIII., being about eighteen years old; and

(1) He meaneth the bishop of Canterbury.

(2) After his long period well blown up with much waste wind of words, at length he beginneth to answer to the articles before objected.

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so all these kings, being in their minority as the king's majesty that now is, and yet having authority and power regal, as appertaineth; and in the Old Testament, Osias and Achaz were very true kings in their minority, being but sixteen years of age; Solomon and Manasses being but twelve years of age; Josias and Joachim being but eight years of age; and Joash being but eight years old: all which things, I say, I had collected in notes, communicating the same with my said two chaplains; and praying them to put me in remembrance, if in numbering of them, or in setting forth in my other notes, at the time of my sermon, I did fail, or have default of memory in any wise. And all these things I would have specially set forth in my said sermon, if they had come to my memory, as indeed they did not, partly for disturbance of my memory not accustomed to preach in that place, partly also by reason of a certain writing that was sent to me from the king's majesty's privy council, being of good length, to declare unto the people touching the victory against the rebels, especially in Norfolk, Devonshire, and Cornwall; confounding my memory in things which before I had set in good order; and partly also for the falling away of my book in the time of my said sermon, in which were contained divers of my said notes touching the king's majesty's minority, as is aforesaid, having yet nevertheless otherwise, in generality and speciality, persuaded the people to obedience unto the king's said majesty, whose minority to them and all others is notoriously and manifestly known; and his majesty, saving of these late rebels, faithfully, truly, and reverently obeyed of all the rest of his subjects.

Bonner pleadeth oblivion.

To the sixth, which beginneth, 'Whether ye will,' &c., and ending thus, 'the opinion or no;' I do answer and say, that not knowing certainly of which rebels the article meaneth, nor yet what their opinion is indeed, I ought not to be driven to make answer hereunto, nor yet can make good and perfect answer therein though I would.

To the seventh article, beginning thus: 'Item, that ye know,' &c., and ending thus, 'the king's majesty's book;' I do answer and say, that albeit I have by the space of these five weeks last past and more, been in manner continually in business and trouble, as well in providing for my said sermon, as otherwise, specially by reason of my family, much vexed with sickness, to my great disquietness and charge, and also by reason that I have been so much troubled and cumbered by informations and complaints unjustly and uncharitably made against me, over and besides the having of divers and sundry persons, which daily resort and come unto me for their suits and business, both in matters of justice and otherwise, yet I have not omitted to send forth to my archdeacons and other my officers, to inquire and search diligently in this behalf, and to certify me accordingly; and yet I cannot hear certainly of any that have heard, been at, or celebrated masses or evensongs in the Latin tongue, after the old rite and manner, except it be in the house of my Lady Mary's grace, or in the houses of the ambassadors, nor yet there, nor in any of them, but by flying and not assured report; and without knowing the names and persons that so have heard, been at, or celebrate the same: and in this behalf how far I can and ought to proceed, and after what sort, I do refer me unto the statute late made in that behalf.

The eighth article, beginning thus: 'Item, that ye have,' &c., and ending thus, 'punishment unto them;' I do answer and say, that this article doth depend on the next article going before; and so consequently answer is already thereunto made.

To the ninth article, beginning thus: 'Item, that ye know,' &c., and ending thus, 'nor see them punished;' I do answer and say, that touching such as either have been denounced or detected for such criminous and culpable persons to me or my officers, there hath been process already made before my said officers, as it appeareth in my register, and the acts of my court; and moreover, I have given express commandment to my said officers, to inquire and search for more such offenders, and to certify me thereof, that I may proceed against them accordingly.

To the tenth article, beginning thus: 'Item, ye were,' &c., and ending thus, 'the king's majesty's authority in his minority;' I do answer and say, that as touching the time mentioned in the article, and the declaration to be made by Dr. Cox, I do not well remember either the same time, or yet the

special points and substance of the said Dr. Cox's declaration. Truth it is, I was at a sermon made at Paul's cross by the said Dr. Cox, wherein he inveighed against my lord of Winchester; and, as far as I can now call to my remembrance, it was touching disobedience wherewith my lord of Winchester by the said Dr. Cox seemed to be charged; and for a sermon also that my lord of Winchester was seeming to have made before the king's majesty in the court of Winchester. *Edward VI.* A. D. 1549.

To the eleventh article, being by itself delivered unto me the 14th of this present September, 1549, in the night, at my house of London, beginning thus, 'Item, that the rites,' &c., and ending thus, 'the misuses thereof;' I do answer and say, that I have already given commandment to my officers to make diligent search and inquire herein, and do certify accordingly, to the intent I may proceed therein as appertaineth; and would before this time myself have also inquired and proceeded, had I not so been of all sides oppressed and pestered with multitude of other necessary business, as I have been, to my great disquietness and trouble.

The fifth article insufficiently answered

When he had ended the reading of these answers, the commissioners said unto him that he had in the same very obscurely answered unto the fifth article, ministered the 13th of September; wherefore they willed him there expressly to answer by mouth, whether he had, according to the injunctions delivered unto him, declared the article beginning thus: "You shall also set forth in your sermon that our authority," &c.: whereunto he again answered, that he had already made as full and sufficient an answer in writing, as he was bound to make by law.

Bonner's obscure answer.

The judges then replied, that the answers already made in that part were obscure and insufficient, so that it appeared not certainly whether he had preached indeed according to the same injunction or not; and therefore they eftsoons willed him, as before, directly to answer whether he had so accordingly preached or no, the bishop still answering as before.

His froward contumacy.

The judges again demanded of him, whether he would otherwise answer or no? To the which he said, No, unless the law should compel him. Then they asked him whether he thought the law did compel him to answer more fully or no? He answered, No; adding further, that he was not bound to make answer to such positions.

The commissioners then, seeing his froward contumacy, told him plainly, that if he persisted thus in his frowardness, and would not otherwise answer, they would, according to law, take him 'pro confesso,' and, 'ex abundanti,' receive witness against him; and therewithal did recite again to him six of the first and principal articles, demanding his final answer thereunto: who said, as before, that he had already fully answered them by writing; but whereas they requested to have his notes, which he said he had made of his sermon, they should have them if they would send for them. And whereas in his answer to the sixth article, he doubted what the opinion of the rebels was, the judges declared unto him that their opinion was, "that the king's majesty, before his grace came to the age of one and twenty years, had not so full authority to make laws and statutes, as when he came to further years; and that his subjects were not bound to obey the laws and statutes made in his young age." Whereunto the bishop answered, that he was not of the opinion of the rebels mentioned in that article, as did well appear by his answers, as well unto the denunciation, as also unto the fifth article objected against him.

The rebels' traitorous opinions touching the king's power in his minority.

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Which ended, they, perceiving his scornful carelessness, presently did admit for witness, upon the articles objected against him, Master John Cheek, Henry Markham, John Joseph, John Douglas, and Richard Chambers, whom also they onerated with a corporal oath upon the holy evangelists, truly to answer and depose upon the same articles in the presence of the bishop, who, under his former protestation, like a wily lawyer, protested of the nullity of the receiving, admitting, and swearing of those witnesses, with protestation also to object against the persons and sayings of the witnesses in time and place convenient; demanding also a competent and lawful time to minister interrogatories against them, with a copy of all the acts to that day: wherewith the delegates were well pleased, and assigned him to minister his interrogatories against Master Cheek on that present day, and against the rest, on the next day before noon.

Witnesses against Bonner.

Protestation of Bonner against the witnesses.

All which interrogatories whoso listeth to peruse, may hereunder read the same, *the[1] bishop protesting, "de nimia brevitate et angustia temporis et de gravamine sibi in ea parte et aliter per hunc processum illato:"*

Certain Interrogatories exhibited by Bonner to be ministered against the aforesaid Witnesses, upon the articles above-mentioned, the eighteenth of September.

I Edmund, bishop of London, under my protestations heretofore made before you, do minister these interrogatories ensuing, against all and singular the pretensed witnesses already received and sworn, as hereafter to be received and sworn against me the said bishop in this matter; requiring and desiring under the said protestation, that all and singular the said pretensed witnesses may be examined in virtue of their oath upon the said interrogatories, and every part and parcel of them.

First, That all and singular the said witnesses, in virtue of their oath, be examined generally and specially of all and singular the interrogatories commonly used and accustomed to be made in such matters; especially touching their age, their condition, their dwelling-place, now and heretofore, by the space of these twelve years last past; with whom all this time they have also dwelled, and been familiar or conversant; with the names and the places and persons and other circumstances expedient in this behalf; and by whom they have been found and maintained, and for what purpose. *Et interrogetur conjunctim, divisim, et de quolibet.*

II. Item, Touching the pretensed articles made in this behalf, and injunctions mentioned in the same, that they and every of them, in virtue of the said oath, may be examined whether they know their said articles and injunctions to be true in all parts; how they know them to be true; by whom, when, and in what place: deposing the formal words of the said pretensed articles and injunctions in especial, as they are deduced.

Bonner's interrogatories concerning the first article.

The first article: And therein let them depose how he or they know the said articles and injunctions to be received from the king's majesty: how also he or they know that I, the said bishop, received the said injunctions at the hands of the lord protector's grace: how also they were sitting in the council chamber: moreover who were the rest of the council then sitting, specifying their names and surnames, or titles: also, whether the tenth of August this present year, or of the last year. Moreover whether the articles or injunctions were joined together, or apart: whether the tenor thereof, and the form and manner of the doing and following, touching me the said bishop, and also touching the preaching thereunto, was as is deduced in the first article: declaring moreover, when, where, and how, I, the said bishop, accepted the said injunctions, or promised to observe and follow the same, and by what express words. *Et interrogetur ut supra.*

(1) See Edition 1563, page 707.—Ed.

III. Item, Whether the said witnesses, or any of them were present at my last sermon made at Paul's cross: where they then stood, by whom, when they came to it, and at what part of the said sermon: how long they tarried thereat, at what part thereof or in all they were offended: what were the formal words, or at the leastwise in substance, that I, the said bishop, then uttered, or wherewith they were offended, and by what occasion: and who with him or them did hear it, and in what place their contests did stand; how long they tarried, and at what part they came thither or departed thence. *Et interrogetur ut supra.*

IV. Item, Whether the said witnesses or any of them were desired or required, by any person or persons, to be witness in this matter; and by whom, when, where, and how the same was done, and in whose presence. *Et interrogetur ut supra.*

V. Item, Whether they or any of them had consulted with others to come unto my sermon, for what purpose, by whom they were induced and moved, and how they agreed; and what they did after my said sermon for the impugnation or depraving thereof. *Et interrogetur ut supra.*

VI. Item, Whether they or any of them have been or be conversant or familiar with any that hath been known, noted, or reputed for a sacramentary, in denying the verity of Christ's true and corporal presence in the sacrament of the altar; and whether he and they detest and abhor and abstain from the company of all such persons as be known, noted, or suspected for sacramentaries in that behalf, and what opinion he and they have with their contests touching the said presence. *Et interrogetur ut supra.*

VII. Item, Whether they or any of them have wished me, the said bishop, to be deprived or put in prison; and whether they or any of them have reported and said that I shall be deprived or imprisoned, rejoicing thereof; and for what cause they have so wished or reported, or any of their contests. *Et interrogetur ut supra.*

VIII. Item, Whether they or any of them have been in times past a friar, preacher, minorite, Augustine, or Carmelite, monk, canon, observant, or religious person, professing solemnly poverty, chastity, and obedience, according to the laws, customs, or ordinances of this realm, then used and observed. *Et interrogetur ut supra.*

IX. Item, Whether they or any of them, being so professed, have been, or be since that time, married to any person; having likewise or otherwise been professed or loose, or been a widower; and how oft they have been married, and whether any of their wives be yet alive. *Et interrogetur ut supra.*

X. Item, Whether they or any of them have read the commission in this matter, and whether they or any of them do know or think, that the commission, injunctions, articles, and denunciation, do agree together or no: and wherein they think or know discrepancies or diversities to be between them in this behalf. *Et interrogetur ut supra.*

Concerning the second article.

XI. Item, If they, or any of them do depose, that I have not sincerely and wholly declared as is contained in the second article, let him and every of them be examined, in virtue of their oath, how they do know it, and by what means; declaring whom they think to have knowledge therein with them. *Et interrogetur ut supra.*

Concerning the fourth.

XII. Item, If they or any of them do depose that I have transgressed and offended in the fourth article beginning thus: 'Item, That ye have not declared,' &c. let them and every of them be examined, in virtue of their oath, whether they know that these words following, as matins, masses, now said after that sort in this realm, were and be put in the injunction pretended to be ministered unto me, the said bishop, or no. *Et interrogetur ut supra.*

Concerning the fifth.

XIII. Item, If they or any of them do depose that I have transgressed and offended touching the fifth article, let them and every of them be examined, in virtue of their oath, whether the injunctions pretended in this behalf were signed with the king's usual signet, or other at all; whether it was sealed with any seal: whether it was subscribed by the lord protector's grace, or any of the privy council: whether it was in full council sitting delivered unto me by the lord protector: whether it was delivered to me, the rest of the king's majesty's privy council there then sitting: whether on the said days as is contained in the fifth article: by whom it was written, when, and where. *Et interrogetur ut supra.*

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XIV. Item, If they or any of them depose, that I do defend the opinion of the rebels, let them be examined, and every of them, what rebels they be, what is their opinion, and how the law of this realm doth determine therein, declaring by what words and facts I, the said bishop, did speak and do; and at what time and place, and in whose presence such words or acts were spoken or done. *Et interrogetur ut supra.*

Concerning the seventh.

XV. Item, If they or any of them do depose, that I know, or have heard say credibly, that since the time of the said pretensed injunctions, certain persons within my diocese have heard, been at, or celebrated mass or evensong in the Latin tongue, and after the old rite and manner, other than according to the king's majesty's book, let them and every of them be examined, in virtue of his said oath, how they know that I so know, or have heard say; and of the name or names of the party or parties; and of the time and place when, and where it was; and whether any denunciation or detection were, according to the statutes and ordinances of this realm, made unto me or no. *Et interrogetur ut supra.*

Concerning the ninth.

XVI. Item, If they or any of them do say, that I know or have heard say of such notable adulterers and offences mentioned in the ninth article, let them and every of them be examined, in virtue of his and their oath, what they do know that I do know, or have heard say; and who be the persons; where they dwell; who hath denounced or detected them; and how I could and ought to have cited them and punished them in this behalf. *Et interrogetur ut supra.*

Concerning the tenth.

XVII. Item, Whether they or any of them do say, that I know certainly now, what Dr. Cox declared in his sermon at Paul's cross, as is deduced in the tenth article: let them be inquired and every of them, in virtue of their oaths, how they can prove it, by whom, and after what sort. *Et interrogetur ut supra.*

Concerning the eleventh.

XVIII. Item, If they or any of them do say, that I do know or hear certainly of the diversity of the rites of the common service of the church, now set forth, and of the ministers and parsons transgressing therein, let them and every of them, in virtue of their oath, be examined whether there hath been any detection or denunciation made to me thereupon; and how they know or can prove that I have been culpable and negligent herein. *Et interrogetur ut supra.*

XIX. Item, Whether they or any of them have been spoken unto or solicited herein to testify, and after what sort; by whom, when, and where; and what was their conference and communication therein. *Et interrogetur ut supra.*

XX. Item, That they and every of them declare and show the true and sufficient cause of their testimony, in all and singular the premises.

Bonner again protesteth against the witnesses.

After this the judge's delegate assigned the bishop to appear again before them upon Wednesday then next ensuing, between the hours of seven and eight of the clock before noon, in the hall of the archbishop's manor of Lambeth, there to show the cause why he should not be declared "pro confesso," upon all the articles whereunto he had not then fully answered, and to see further process done in the matter. *The[1] said bishop of London, being by the said judges delegate, at and in the time of his act and process sped the sixteenth day of September, examined openly, upon certain of the articles aforesaid, answered to them as followeth:

Touching the first, the judges' delegate demanded of him, whether he had received from the king's majesty by the hand of my lord protector's grace, and other of the king's honourable council in the council-chamber, certain injunctions in writing, beginning, 'By the king,' and ending, 'Forasmuch,' &c. Whereunto the said bishop answereth, that he hath already made a sufficient answer thereunto in writing.

To the second article the said bishop of London saith, that he hath already made a sufficient answer.

(1) See Edition 1563, p. 709.—Ed.

Touching the third article, the judges require the said bishop to deliver such notes of his sermon as, he saith, he made; which he promiseth he shall have, if they send for them.

To the fourth article he saith, he hath also answered heretofore.

Touching the fifth, it is answered as afore in the acts.

To the sixth he saith, he hath made a full and sufficient answer already; and because, as the judges said, he doubteth what the opinion of the rebels is, it is now declared unto him by the said judges, that this is their opinion; namely that the king's majesty, before his grace be come to the age of twenty-one years, hath not so full authority to make laws and statutes, as when he cometh to further years; and that his subjects be not bound to obey the laws and statutes made in the said young age, as appeareth by the tenor of the which article proceeding: and they requiring his answer thereunto. The said bishop answereth: that he is not of the opinions of the rebels mentioned in this article; and saith further, that this may appear by his answer made to the pretensed denunciation, and also by his answer to the five of their articles objected against him, on the thirteenth of September.*

And so Bonner, still protesting of the nullity and invalidity of all their proceedings, they did, for that present, depart.

The commissioners certify the king of Bonner's demeanour.

In this mean while the commissioners certified the king's majesty and his council, of the bishop's demeanour towards them, and what objections he had made against their proceedings, making doubts and ambiguities, whether, by the tenor of his majesty's commission, the commissioners might proceed not only at the denunciation, but also at their mere office; and also whether they might as well determine as hear the cause. Whereupon his majesty, by advice aforesaid, for the better understanding thereof, did, the 17th of September, send unto the commissioners a full and perfect declaration and interpretation of his will and pleasure in the aforesaid commission, giving them hereby full authority to proceed at their own discretions, as appeareth more at large by the tenor thereof ensuing:

A certain Declaration or Interpretation of the King, touching certain points and doubts in his former Commission, with License given to the Commissioners, as well to determine as to hear, in the case of Bonner.

Edward the sixth by the grace of God king of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, and of the church of England, and also of Ireland, in earth the supreme head; To the most reverend father in God, Thomas archbishop of Canterbury, metropolitan and primate of England; the right reverend father in God Nicholas, bishop of Rochester; our trusty and right well-beloved councillors, sir William Peter and sir Thomas Smith, knights, our two principal secretaries; and William May, doctor of law civil; and dean of Paul's; greeting: Whereas we of late, by the advice of our most entirely beloved uncle Edward duke of Somerset, governor of our person, and protector of our realms, dominions, and subjects, and the rest of our privy council, have addressed unto you, five, four, or three of you, our letters patent of commission, bearing date at Westminster the eighth day of September, in the third year of our reign; willing you by force thereof to hear the matters and cause of contempt therein expressed, and calling before you as well the denouncers thereof, as also the right reverend father in God Edmund bishop of London, against whom such denunciation is made, as in our said letters of commission more at large doth appear; we be now credibly informed, that upon the said commission divers doubts and ambiguities have and may rise: As, whether you, by the tenor of the said commission, may proceed not only at the denunciation, but also of mere office: And also, whether ye may as well determine, as hear the said cause.

Edward VI. A.D. 1549. For further declaration whereof we do now interpret and declare, that our full mind and pleasure, by the advice aforesaid, was by our said commission, and now is, that you should proceed as well by mere office, as also by the way of denunciation, and by either of them, or by any other ways or means at your discretions, whereby the truth and merits of the cause may be most speedily and best known; and that ye might and may as well finally determine as hear the said matters; in all your orders and doings cutting away all vain and superfluous delays, and having respect to the only truth of the matter. And this our declaration we send unto you of our sure knowledge and mere motion, by the advice aforesaid; supplying all default, ceremony, and point of the law, which hath, shall, or may arise of your doings by reason of any default of words in our said former commission or any part thereof, any law, statute, or act to the contrary notwithstanding. And therefore we will and command you to proceed in the said matters accordingly, as well to our aforesaid commission as this our declaration; and so fail ye not. In witness whereof we have made these our letters patent.

At Hampton-court, the seventeenth day of September, in the third year of our reign.

THE FOURTH SESSION[1] AGAINST BONNER, BISHOP OF LONDON, BEFORE THE KING'S COMMISSIONERS, IN THE GREAT HALL AT LAMBETH, THE EIGHTEENTH OF SEPTEMBER.

After this declaration being sent down and received from the king, the bishop of London (according to the commissioners' assignment the Monday before) appeared again before them upon Wednesday the 18th of September, in the great hall at Lambeth; where under his wonted protestation, first he declared, that although he had already sufficiently answered all things, yet, further to satisfy the term assigned unto him, to show cause why he ought not to be declared "pro confesso," upon the articles theretofore ministered against him, and to the which he had not fully answered, he had then a matter in writing to exhibit unto them, why he ought not so to be declared, which he read there openly; the copy and words whereof be as follow.

*Matter[2] exhibited up to the Commissioners by Bonner, why he ought not to be declared for cast and convicted.

I, Edmund, bishop of London, under protestation heretofore by me made before you, which I have heretofore repeated; and, especially, under protestation of the nullity and invalidity, injustice and iniquity, of your pretensed and unlawful process made by you against me; and, especially, against your pretensed assignation made by you the last session unto me appearing in your pretensed acts: do say, that your said assignation is unavailable, nothing worth in law, unlawful, unjust, and unreasonable; and I, therefore, not bound by the law to obey unto it, for just and reasonable causes hereafter following. First, it is true, notorious, and manifest, that the said pretensed assignation, in words and pronunciation, was made by you sir Thomas Smith, one of the pretensed commissioners in this matter, without express consent given unto you by your pretensed colleagues in the commission; or, at least, he, as a commissioner, did proceed herein with the rest of the said colleagues, and did induce the acts, prescribing to the actuary or scribe, what he therein should write.

Item, It is likewise notorious and manifest, that the said colleagues did, in your absence, begin to sit as commissioners and judges, by virtue of the said commission pretended to be sent unto you, and began to make process against me, as appeareth in the acts of the first session in this matter; by reason whereof ye ought not by the law to have intermeddled therein otherwise than

(1) In this session Bonner exhibiteth more matter in writing, why he ought not to be declared 'pro confesso.'

(2) This appeal of bishop Bonner, taken out of the First Edition, p. 709, is substituted for a brief abstract of the same document in later editions.—Ed.

the law doth suffer you to do; which ye have done indeed naughtily and unlawfully, contrary to justice and good reason, and are unmeet to be commissioner against me in this behalf.

Item, It is likewise true, notorious and manifest, that the answers being already given by me fully, lawfully, and sufficiently, so far as the law bindeth me, as well to the pretensed denunciation in that matter, as also to all and singular articles, that in any wise against me have been objected in this behalf; and nothing in the least wise sufficient and good in law to be alleged, declared, specified or apparent to the contrary in any specialty or particularity; by reason whereof I ought not further, without special allegation, declaration, specification, and appearance, to make other or more special answer therein, no cause in law sufficient and reasonable compelling and enforcing me thereunto. I am not by law bound to do further than I have done, referring me as well to my answers given to the said pretensed denunciation and articles, as, also, unto the king's ecclesiastical laws, used and observed commonly here within this realm.

Item, It is likewise true, notorious, and manifest, that in all proceedings hitherto, ye have proceeded so extraordinarily and unduly in this matter, that ye have confounded all kind of lawful process; sometimes proceeding 'ad denunciandum;' sometimes 'ex officio mero;' sometimes 'ex officio mixto;' contrary to the king's ecclesiastical laws, and contrary also to the commission directed in this behalf; referring me to all the same. And it may be said herein, that hitherto ye have proceeded against me summarily, against the true sense of the word, and proceeded also 'cum strepitu,' but 'sine figura judicii.'

Item, It is likewise true, notorious, and manifest, that divers of the articles pretensed are superfluous and impertinent, not relevant, though they were proved, containing in them untruth and falsity; some also be obscure, general, and uncertain, nor can have certain answers made unto them. And also others be depending of articles being denied, or at the least way qualified; some also captious and deceitful to bring the answer into a snare; some also containing matter of divers sorts, part whereof is not true, but false; and some also being articles of the law, and such sort that, by the king's ecclesiastical laws, a subject of this realm is not bound to make answer unto them, but lawfully may refuse and deny to do it, by reason of the said just and reasonable causes being in this behalf.

Item, It is likewise true, notorious, and manifest, that you sir Thomas Smith, when I, Edmund bishop of London, was last with the council in the council-chamber, at Whitehall: ye the said sir Thomas, after the departure of the lord protector from the said council, and after the departure of the rest of the lords from the said council, did write yourself certain articles and injunctions, amongst which was that of the king's majesty's minority and his authority in the same, which articles or injunctions ye writ yourself; and afterwards, also, ye copied them upon an altar or table within the said council-chamber; and you yourself, and none other, did then write the same, and deliver it to me. By reason whereof it cannot be, nor is, true, that which in the commission, denunciation, articles, and other things is deduced and objected against me in this behalf; referring me as well to the tenor of the said commission, denunciation, injunctions, and articles, as also unto my allegations and answers herein made unto the same, remaining in the acts of this cause and matter.*

When these fond and frivolous objections were thus read, the archbishop, seeing his inordinate and intolerable contempt towards them, charged him very sharply, saying thus:

The intolerable contempt and irreverent behaviour of Bonner, reproved. The words of the archbishop.

'My lord of London, if I had sitten here only as archbishop of Canterbury, it had been your part to have used yourself more lowly, obediently, and reverently towards me than you have; but, seeing that I, with my colleagues, sit here now as delegates from the king's majesty, I must tell you plain, you have behaved yourself too, too much inordinately. For at every time that we have sitten in commission, you have used such unseemly fashions, without all reverence and obedience, giving taunts and checks as well unto us, with divers of the servants and chaplains, as also unto certain of the ancientest that be here, calling them fools and daws, with such like, as that you have given to the multitude an intolerable example of disobedience. And I assure you, my lord,

Edward VI. A. D. 1549.

there is you, and one other bishop whom I could name, that have used yourselves so contemptuously and disobediently, as the like I think hath not before been heard of or seen; whereby ye have done much harm.

Bonner's scornful answer.

At these words the gross bishop (a beast, a man might justly term him) said scornfully to the archbishop, "You show yourself to be a meet judge."

The archbishop, then proceeding, laid to his charge how indiscreetly, the last day in the chapel, he had called all the people woodcocks.

Whereunto he answered, that the last session Hugh Latimer, one of the denouncers, being there present, had practised with the audience, that when he lifted up his hand to them, they should (and did as it were by a token given them) say as he said, and do as he did; as, at one time, upon the lifting up of his hand, they cried, "Nay, nay;" and at another time, "Yea, yea," and laughed they could not tell whereat; with such like fashions.

Vain suspicion of Bonner.

Unto which words Latimer, seeing his vain suspicion, replied, saying, that he lifted not up his hand at any time but only to cause them to hold their peace.

The words of secretary Smith.

Then secretary Smith said to the bishop, that in all his writings and answers that he had hitherto laid in, he would not once acknowledge them as the king's commissioners, but used always protestations, with divers ink-horn and naughty terms, calling them pretensed commissioners, pretensed delegates, pretensed commission, pretensed articles, pretensed proceedings; so that all things were pretensed with him.

All things pretensed with Bonner, that made against him.

Bonner and the rebels compared.

'Indeed,' said secretary Smith, 'such terms the proctors of churches use, to delay matters for their clients, when they will not have the truth known. But you, my lord, to use us the king's majesty's commissioners with such terms, you do therein very lewdly and naughtily. And I pray you what other thing did the rebels? For when letters or pardons were brought them from the king and his council, they would not credit them, but said they were none of the king's or his council's, but gentlemen's doings, and made under a bush; with such like terms. But now, my lord, because hitherto we cannot make you confess whether, in your sermon that you preached, ye omitted the article touching the king's majesty's authority in his tender age or not, but still have said that ye will not otherwise answer than ye have done, and that ye have already sufficiently answered (with many such delays), so as we can by no means induce you to confess plainly what you did, yea or nay; therefore, I say, to the intent we may come to the truth, we have dilated the matter more at large, and have drawn out other articles whereunto you shall be sworn; and then I trust, you will dally with us no more as you have done: for, although ye make your answers in writing, yet you shall be examined by us, and make your answers by mouth to the same articles; or else you shall do worse. Indeed I do not, as I said, discommend your protestations and terms of law, if it were in a young proctor that would help his client's cause; but in you, it may not be suffered so to use the king's commissoners.'

New articles and injunctions ministered to Bonner.

Then did the delegates minister unto him certain new articles and injunctions, and did there onerate him with a corporal oath in form of law, to make a full and true answer thereunto. The bishop, notwithstanding, still (according to his wonted manner) under his former protestation, protested of the nullity and invalidity of these articles, injunctions, and process, desiring also a copy thereof, with a competent time to answer thereunto. To whom the judges decreed a copy, commanding him to come to his examination to the archbishop the next day at eight of the clock before noon.

Bonner assigned the next day to appear.

Then the commissioners did receive for witness upon these new articles now ministered unto the bishop, sir John Mason, knight, sir Thomas Chalenor, knight, Master William Cecil, Armigel Wade, and William Hunnings, clerks to the king's majesty's council, whom they onerated with a corporal oath in the presence of the bishop, who, still protesting of the nullity of their receiving and swearing, objected against them and their sayings; and therewith, repeating his interrogatories already ministered, said, he had more to minister by to-morrow at eight of the clock. *Edward VI.* A.D. 1549. New witness against him.

The same day and time likewise the bishop exhibited unto the commissioners an information, or rather cavillation against Hugh Latimer, which also I thought to impart unto the reader.

*The[1] Information given against Hugh Latimer, Priest, of Saint Laurence Poultney, by Edmund, Bishop of London, the eighteenth day of September, A.D. 1549.

In the said act and session, Edmund bishop of London giveth information and saith: that that said Hugh Latimer, priest—pretending the good and tranquillity of this realm of England, as he saith, and that the same is very greatly and manifestly hindered and impeached, when any of the king's majesty's people and subjects do believe or say, that the king's majesty, our sovereign lord, in his minority, hath not full power and authority royal, as fully and justly as when his majesty doth come to full and perfect age: and, likewise, that it is also hindered and impeached, when any of the king's majesty's said people and subjects do declare or say, that the king's said people and subjects are not bound to obey the king's majesty in his said minority—hath, of late, in open audience reported and said, that the said Hugh Latimer hath, with his ears, heard divers persons of this realm, at sundry and divers times, unreverently, unobediently, and not faithfully, speak of the king's majesty—that now is, words in effect and substance as followeth: 'Tush! the king,' meaning the king of England that now is, 'is but a babe or child: what laws can he make? or what can he do in his minority? Let him have a toast and butter, or bread and milk; and that is more meet for him, than to make laws or statutes to bind us to obey them. We are not bound to obey, till he be past his minority, and come to his full and perfect age.'

And those words were spoken before you, my lord of Canterbury, my lord of Rochester, Master Thomas Smith, and Master William May, by the mouth of the said Hugh Latimer at your last session; and the said Hugh Latimer was neither controlled by any of you for these words nor any of them, nor yet commanded to bring in such persons as had uttered and spoken the said words, but passed in silence: saving that I, the said Edmund, did speak against the said Hugh Latimer in this behalf, telling them that I would detect and denounce hereof. By all which it appeareth that the said Hugh Latimer hath long concealed, and not opened the words aforesaid, in such places, and to such persons, as of bounden duty he ought and should; but kept the persons and sayings secret, either not taking this matter of such importance as he pretended, either else unfaithfully and untruly behaving himself towards the king's majesty and his council; worthy, therefore, to be convented and punished, with his aiders and abettors, favourers and councillors.*

These vain cavillations ended, the commissioners for that day finished their session, assigning the bishop to appear in that same place again upon Monday then next following, between the hours of six and nine, in the forenoon, then and there to show a final cause why he should not be declared "pro confesso." And so delivering him a copy of the articles, they departed; the contents whereof ensue: A new term assigned to Bonner to appear.

(1) A brief summary of this information being all that is inserted in recent editions, the above is extracted from the First Edition, p. 712.—Ed.

Edward VI. A.D. 1549.

Articles and Positions given by the King's Commissioners to the Bishop of London, to be answered by him jointly and severally in every point the second time.

I. That ye were sent for to the lord protector's grace, and the rest of the council, and came thither into the court at Westminster the tenth of August, or some other day of the same month.

II. Item, That at the same time the lord protector and divers other of the king's majesty's privy council sitting in council, ye were called in; and there the said lord protector did, on the king's majesty's behalf, declare unto you divers faults and abuses which were found in you, and gave you strait charge to amend them; adding threatening, that else you should be otherwise looked unto.

III. Item, That the said lord protector's grace did declare unto you, for better admonition and amendment of you, that you should have, from the king's majesty, by his advice and the rest of the privy council, certain articles and injunctions, to observe and follow, given you in writing.

IV. Item, That there and then the said lord protector commanded sir Thomas Smith knight, secretary to the king's majesty, to read a certain paper book of injunctions and articles unto you, the said secretary standing at the council-table's end, and you standing by and hearing the same.

V. Item, That the said lord protector there and then willed certain things in the said book of injunctions to be reformed, as whereas ye were appointed to preach sooner, at your request it was appointed unto you to preach the Sunday three weeks after the date of the said writing.

VI. Item, That in the said articles the lord protector's grace found fault, because an article or commandment unto you set forth and declared of the king's majesty's authority now in his young age and of his laws and statutes in the same time, was omitted; and therefore, either immediately before you came into the council chamber, or you being present and standing by, commanded the said secretary Smith to put it in writing, and annex it to the rest of the articles.

VII. Item, That the said secretary Smith, then and there did, immediately upon commandment, write into the said book or paper, wherein the rest of the articles were written, the said article, namely, You shall also set forth in your sermon, that the authority of our royal power is (as truth it is) of no less authority and force in this our young age, than was that of any of our predecessors, though the same were much elder, as may appear by example of Josias and other young kings in the Scripture; and therefore all our subjects to be no less bound to the obedience of our precepts, laws, and statutes, than if we were of thirty or forty years of age.

VIII. Item, That the lord protector did so deliver you the book or paper, willing, first, the said secretary Smith to amend all things as he had appointed.

IX. Item, That ye then and there did promise to the lord protector's grace, that ye would observe and fulfil all in the said injunctions and articles contained.

X. Item, That all things in the said book, put in and mentioned by the said secretary Smith, and the same so read to you by him, and you first agreeing that all that was by him so written was, by the lord protector's appointment, the said book was so delivered unto you then and there, by the said secretary Smith in the council chamber.

XI. Item, That you have the said book in your possession, or else know where it is, the true copy whereof in effect is annexed to these articles.

XII. Item, That ye were commanded in the same injunctions to preach the Sunday three weeks after the delivery thereof at Paul's, and there to treat upon certain articles, as is specified in the said book of injunctions, and especially the said article, beginning, 'Ye shall also set forth,' and ending, 'thirty or forty years of age.'

XIII. Item, That for the accomplishment of part of the said injunctions and commandment, you did preach the first day of September last past at Paul's cross.

XIV. Item, That at the said sermon, contrary to your injunctions, ye

omitted and left out the said article, beginning, 'Ye shall also set forth in your sermon,' &c., and ending, 'thirty or forty years of age.'

XV. Ye shall also answer whether ye think and believe that the king's majesty's subjects be bound to obey as well the laws, statutes, proclamations, and other ordinances made now in this young age of the king's majesty, as the laws, statutes, proclamations, and ordinances made by his highness's progenitors.

These articles being thus ministered to the said bishop of London, the next day being Thursday and the 19th of September, the forenamed commissioners sat in the archbishop's chamber of presence at Lambeth, attending the coming of the bishop of London; before whom there appeared Robert Johnson, the bishop's registrar, and there did declare unto the commissioners, that the bishop his master could not at that time personally appear before them without great danger of his bodily health, because that he feared to fall into a fever by reason of a cold that he had taken by too much over-watching himself the last night before, whereby he was compelled to keep his bed: nevertheless, if he could without danger of his bodily health, he would appear before them the same day at afternoon. This excuse the judges were content to take in good part. Yet, said master secretary Smith, if he were sick indeed, the excuse was reasonable, and to be allowed; "but," quoth he, "I promise you my lord hath so dallied with us, and used hitherto such delays, that we may mistrust that this is but a feigned excuse: howbeit, upon your faithful declaration, we are content to tarry until one of the clock at afternoon." And so they did, willing Master Johnson to signify then unto them, whether the bishop could appear or not.

Bonner, for fear of a fever, could not or durst not appear.

At which hour Robert Johnson and Richard Rogers, gentlemen of the bishop's chamber, appeared again before the commissioners, declaring that (for the causes afore alleged) their master could not appear at that time neither. Whereupon master secretary Smith said unto them,

Pretendeth again his fever.

'My lord of London your master hath used us very homely, and sought delays hitherto; and now, perhaps, perceiving these last articles to touch the quick, and therefore loath to come to his answer, he feigneth himself sick. But, because he shall not so deceive us any more, we will send the knight marshal unto him, willing him, if he be sick indeed, to let him alone, for that is a reasonable excuse; but, if he be not sick, then to bring him forthwith to us: for I promise you he shall not use us as he hath done; we will not take it at his hands. And, therefore, master Johnson (said he), you do the part of a trusty servant as becometh you; but it is also your part to show my lord his stubborn heart and disobedience, which doth him more harm than he is aware of. What! thinketh he to stand with a king in his own realm? Is this the part of a subject? Nay, I ween we shall have a new Thomas a Becket. Let him take heed; for if he play these parts, he may fortune to be made shorter by the head. He may appeal if he think good; but whither? To the bishop of Rome? So he may help himself forwards, I say, he cannot appeal but to the same king, who hath made us his judges, and to the bench of his council; and how they will take this matter when they hear of it, I doubt not. He would make men believe, that he were called before us for preaching his opinion of the sacrament, wherein I assure you he did both falsely and naughtily; yea and lewdly; and more than became him; and more than he had in commandment to do; for he was not willed to speak of that matter, and perhaps he may hear more of that hereafter: but yet we will lay no such thing to his charge, and therefore we will not have him to delay us as he doth.'

His excuse not well taken by the commissioners.

A good admonition sent to Bonner by Smith.

Edward VI. A.D. 1549. This ended, the delegates notwithstanding decreed to tarry again for him until two of the clock at afternoon the next day, being Friday, and the 20th of September.

*Interrogatories[1] educed and ministered by Bonner, the second time, against the Witnesses aforenamed and assigned; for them to be deposed upon by the Commissioners.

I. First, If they, or any of them, depose upon the first article and position, thus beginning: 'That it were sent,' &c., and ending thus: 'of the same month:' let them, in virtue of their oath, be examined, whether that they know or believe surely, that that writing of articles and injunctions, which sir Thomas Smith knight, one of the principal secretaries to the king's majesty, saith, was delivered by the hands of the lord protector's grace in the council-chamber, to me the bishop of London, had, amongst other things, this clause following: 'Given at our palace at Westminster the seventh day of August, in the third year of our reign.' And whether they know or believe, that there were any other articles and injunctions besides that writing bearing the said date; and, if they say so, let them be inquired and examined upon their oath, of the whole tenor thereof, and every part or parcel of the same, with the date thereof, seal, subscription, sign, and other circumstances expedient for knowledge in this behalf; and let them give a sufficient cause of their knowledge herein. *Et interrogetur conjunctim, divisim, et da quolibet.*

II. Item, Whether they, or any of them, do know or credibly have heard say, that I, the said bishop, received from the king's majesty, by the hands of the lord protector's grace, sitting in the council-chamber at council with the rest of the lords of the council the tenth of August, certain injunctions to be done and followed by me the said bishop, and articles by me to be preached. *Et*, &c.

III. Item, In case they, or any of them, do depose upon the contents of the second article, beginning thus: 'Item, that at,' &c.; and ending thus, 'I looked unto,' &c.: let them be examined in virtue of their oath, if they know certainly the time touched in the said article, and whether it be of the seventh of August or of the tenth thereof; or of what other special time, with causes of their knowledge therein; and whether the declaration touched in the said article was by mouth, or in writing; and the tenor thereof: with declaration of the former words in that behalf, and who were present thereat. *Et*, &c.

IV. Item, In case they, or any of them, do depose upon the third article, let them in virtue of their oath be examined of the time and place thereof, and what should be the articles and injunctions in every part; the date thereof, and causes of their knowledge therein, and who, and how many were there present. *Et*, &c.

V. Item, In case they, or any of them, do depose upon the contents of the fourth article, let them be examined as before, whether that pretensed paper or book of instructions and articles mentioned in the said article, was the selfsame in all points, that is spoken of in the first interrogatory; and whether the said paper or book was signed with the king's majesty's hand, or sealed with any his grace's seal or signet, or subscribed with any of the hands of the king's majesty's council; and let them give cause of their knowledge, and who and how many were present thereat, and of the time.

VI. Item, In case they, or any of them, do depose upon the contents of the fifth article, let them and every of them be interrogated and examined in virtue of their oath, whether the said book was delivered to me the said bishop, or not; and of the time thereof, with causes of their knowledge; and how many and who were present thereat, and of the special place where it was done.

VII. Item, In case they, or any of them, do depose upon the contents of the sixth article, let them be examined as before, whether any such article was written and delivered to me, the council sitting within the council-chamber; and of the time thereof, with causes of their knowledge; and how many and who were present thereat, and of the special place wherein it was done.

(1) For these interrogatories see Edition 1563, pp. 712, 713.—Ed.

VIII. Item, In case they, or any of them, do depose upon the seventh article, let them, in virtue of their oath, be examined of the special time and place; and whether, at the delivery thereof, the lord protector or the rest of the council were then present, or not; with the causes of their knowledge.

IX. Item, If they, or any of them, do depose upon the contents of the eighth article, let them be examined as before, whether the lord protector or the rest of the council were present in the council-chamber, or departed before master secretary Smith had the article touched in the seventh article before expressed, beginning thus: 'Item, that the said secretary,' &c.; and ending thus, 'forty years of age.'

X. Item, Let them, and every of them, in virtue of their oath, be examined whether I, the said bishop, at any time that motion was made either of sermon to be made by me, or else of articles to be declared by me, did only excuse mine inability for lack of exercise: but also add, that in case I should be enforced by the council to preach or declare, I would do the best I could, without further promises, or taking upon me to do.

XI. Item, If they, or any of them, do depose upon the tenth article, let them be examined in virtue of their oath, whether the things mentioned in the said article, were put into the book and amended, the lord protector and the rest of the council being present or absent; and who and how many were then present, with the causes of their knowledge therein.

XII. Item, If they, or any of them, do depose upon the eleventh article, let them be examined in virtue of their oath, whether they know, think, or believe, that that book which is in my possession, or else known where it is, be the very true book that was delivered in this behalf unto me; and whether they know, think, or believe, that the copy annexed to the articles be a true copy thereof, in all words and sentences agreeable unto the same; giving causes of their knowledge therein.

XIII. Item, If they, or any of them, do depose upon the contents of the twelfth article, let them be examined in virtue of their oath, by whom I was so commanded, as in the article is contained; by what words, in what place, before whom, in writing or by mouth, at what time and after what sort; giving causes of their knowledge therein.

XIV. Item, If they, or any of them, do depose upon the contents of the thirteenth article, let them be examined as before, whether they or any of them did hear me preach; when came they to my preaching; where did they stand; what words and sentences they then heard; who was with them there as co-tests; with cause of their knowledge; and how many of their acquaintance were then present.

XV. Item, If they, or any of them, do depose upon the contents of the fourteenth article, let them be examined, in virtue of their oath, how and by what means they know it was so; and whether of a malicious set purpose, or else by forgetfulness.

XVI. Item, If they, or any of them, do depose upon the fifteenth and last article, let them be examined as before, whether they be lawyers or no; specially whether they know certainly the laws, statutes, and ordinances of this realm in this behalf or not; giving sufficient causes of their knowledge in this behalf.

XVII. Item, Touching Master Cecil, one of the pretensed witnesses, let him be examined in virtue of his oath, whether the eighth day of September 1549, in open audience in the court kept in the Great Hall at Lambeth, he, the said Master Cecil, did not openly, and with vehemence, report and say, that I, the bishop of London, was the most inobedient and wilful that he had seen or heard of, and one that most evil behaved himself to the commissioners; with other words unseemly then spoken: specifying the said words, and to whom they were spoken; and how many and who answered unto them, and what they said.*

THE FIFTH ACTION OR PROCESS THE TWENTIETH OF SEPTEMBER, AGAINST BONNER BISHOP OF LONDON, BEFORE THE KING'S COMMISSIONERS.

At which day and time the bishop appeared himself personally before them in the same Chamber of Presence; where first he did

Edward VI. exhibit his answers unto the last articles ministered unto him the eighteenth of September; the contents whereof hereunder follow:

A. D. 1549.

The Answer of the said Bishop of London made unto the Articles ministered unto him the second time.

The answers of me, Edmund bishop of London, under mine accustomed protestation given unto the articles of late ministered and exhibited against me here in this court; with special protestation also, that I do not intend in any wise to make answer to any of the said articles otherwise than the law of this realm doth bind me to do, nor to speak or say contrary to any thing that in my former answers I have said or done; and that if it so chance me to do, it is not, nor shall it be, with my good will or full consent; and that so soon as I shall perceive it, I intend to revoke it, and so now as then, and then as now, do so in that case revoke, to all honest and lawful purposes.

To the first article I do answer and say, that there was a messenger, whose name I know not, that came unto me to Fulham, as I now remember, but I do not remember the day thereof; and he said that my lord protector's grace required me to come by and by to speak with him. And thereupon, having made the said messenger to break his fast, I repaired to the court at Westminster; but not upon the tenth day of August, but some other day of the said month.

To the second article I do say, that it is obscure, uncertain, and over general, especially in those words 'at the same time,' which may be referred to the tenth of August, and then answer already is made thereunto; and it may be referred to some other day of the said month of August, either before the tenth of August, or after. And because it remaineth undeclared, I am not bound in law to answer unto it, neither yet to these words and sentences in the said article, to wit, 'then, and there,' for they, without declaration, are uncertain, obscure, and general; and I, before the specification and declaration thereof, not bound herein to make an answer, especially having already made full and sufficient answer in this matter, according to the commission, as I do take it, and according unto the law; which also willeth, that if a certain answer be looked for, the position and article must before be certain.

He answereth in a general. To the third, fourth, fifth, sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth, tenth, eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth articles, he answereth all after one manner and sort, as thus: That it doth depend on the articles, to which for causes aforesaid, he saith, he is not bound in law to make answer, especially having already made. Saving that in the sixth he addeth thereunto, that he at no time heard the lord protector find fault, nor commanded, as is deduced in the said article, so far as he doth find. Also saving the seventh article, where he addeth, 'Nevertheless confessing and acknowledging, with heart and mouth, the king's majesty's authority and regal power and minority, as well and full as in his majority.'

Also saving the eighth, ninth, tenth, and eleventh articles, where he addeth, 'As they be deduced, they are not true; as appeareth in conferring one with another.'

To the twelfth and fourteenth articles, he addeth, 'As they be deduced, they are not true;' confessing, nevertheless, the king's majesty's authority and power regal, as before is expressed.

To the fifteenth article he answereth and saith, that it is a position in law, and that yet both now and heretofore he hath made answer thereunto in effect and substance, as appeareth in his former answers, and so shall do always according to the law and his bounden duty, acknowledging, as he hath already done, the king's majesty's regal power in his minority, to be no less than in his majority; and the subjects bound to obey unto his grace, his laws, statutes, and ordinances, and his said authority, as well in his minority as in his majority; not allowing, but expressly condemning the opinion of all rebels holding the contrary.

After this, perceiving that master secretary Smith was somewhat more quick with him than others of the commissioners, and that he

would not suffer him any longer to dally out the matter with his vain quiddities and subtleties in law, but ever earnestly urged him to go directly to his matter, and therewithal sometimes sharply rebuking him for his evil and stubborn behaviour towards them; Bonner, to deface his authority (as he thought), did also then exhibit in writing a recusation of the secretary's judgment against him; the form and manner whereof, as he exhibited it unto the judges, I thought here also to exhibit unto the reader as hereunder followeth:

Edward VI. A. D. 1549.

Bonner refuseth secretary Smith to be his judge.

The Recusation of the Judgment of Sir Thomas Smith, made by the Bishop of London the first time.

In the name of God, Amen. Forasmuch as equity, natural reason, and all good laws, do require that judges shall be of that integrity, wisdom, circumspection, learning, and indifferency, that, exercising the office and room of a judge, they may and shall do it without hatred, malice, or grudge against any person convented or called before them; uprightly, sincerely, and duly executing and doing their office unto them in any wise committed: and forasmuch also as all judgments and process ought to have their due course, and proceed without suspicion or corruption in any wise: and finally, forasmuch as very dangerous it is to appear and make defence before an incompetent judge, who commonly and accustomably, of private and unlawful corrupt affection to the one side, and for malice, hatred, and envy borne against the other side, rather serveth his carnal, corrupt, and wilful appetite, than by any thing else is moved to obedience and keeping of good order, law, or reason, touching him that is convented and compelled to make answer against his will: I therefore, Edmund bishop of London, having perceived and felt by all the sayings, proceedings, and doings of you sir Thomas Smith, knight, one of the two principal secretaries to the king's majesty, in this matter attempted and moved against me, that ye have been, and yet continually are, a notorious and manifest enemy of me the said Edmund, and much offended that I should in any wise allege and say, or use any such things for my most defence, as the law giveth me license and liberty to do; yea, hearing most favourably and effectually my denouncers and enemies with both ears in any thing that they shall allege, purpose, attempt, or do against me, though their persons in law are not in any wise to be heard or admitted, nor yet their sayings true; and not hearing me so much as with one ear in my lawful sayings and doings in this behalf; but, contrariwise, opening your mouth at large, ye have sundry times, against good wisdom and reason, outraged in words and deeds against me the said Edmund, saying, among other words: 'that I did as thieves, murderers, and traitors are wont to do, being myself (as ye untruly did say), inwardly indeed culpable; and yet outwardly otherwise unable to defend the matter against me, but only by taking exceptions, and making frivolous allegations against my judges and commissioners; and that I have been and am as sturdy, wilful, and disobedient, as may be in your judgment and opinion, maintaining and upholding the rebels and their opinions; and that I shall answer by mouth, or else smart and do worse; or else ye will send me to the Tower, there to sit and be joined with Ket and Humphrey Arundel the rebels:" over and besides divers other threatenings and comminatory words by you pronounced and uttered unseemly, and far unmeet to proceed out of the mouth of you, that are in such room and place as ye be in.

Causes why he refused secretary Smith.

Bonner layeth exceptions against him.

And moreover, increasing your malice, evil will, and grudge borne against me, ye have, amongst other things, untruly surmised, written, alleged, and said, that a certain book of articles and injunctions by the lord protector's grace in the full council, after a certain prescribed fashion and form in the denunciation, commission, and articles which, *de facto*, were induced, brought in, and objected against me, was delivered unto me: and, moreover, of an evil will and ungodly intent and purpose, contrary to the truth, ye have withdrawn, added, altered, and qualified divers things in the same, otherwise than they were spoken and done; and yet ye are not ashamed to allege, write, and say, that all is true, and one consonant and agreeable in all points with the other,

Edward VI. A.D. 1549.

whereas indeed it is not so.[1] And yet have further, *de facto*, against the law, and against the commission to you directed, and against my just and lawful allegations and sayings, proceeded unlawfully and unjustly against me, attempting many things against me unlawfully and unjustly, as appeareth in the acts of this matter, to the which I do refer me so far forth as they make for me, and be expedient by me and for me to be alleged and referred unto yourself also unlawfully and unjustly, *de facto*, with your colleagues; the which, without you, had begun the said matters, proceeding where by the law ye so ought not to have done indeed, but abstained therefrom, as heretofore sundry times I have alleged, appearing in the acts of this court; I do, upon these just and reasonable causes, according to the order of the king's majesty's ecclesiastical laws, refuse, decline, and recuse you the said sir Thomas Smith, as an incompetent, unmeet, and suspect judge, against me in this behalf; and decline your pretensed jurisdiction in this matter for causes aforesaid, desiring nothing but justice, and offering myself prompt and ready to prove them as far as I am bound, and according to the order of the king's majesty's ecclesiastical laws of this realm in this behalf, as time, place, and otherwise shall require.

The pope's laws termed the king's ecclesiastical laws.

The reply of secretary Smith to Bonner.

This recusation ended, the secretary told him plain, that, notwithstanding, he would proceed in his commission, and would be still his judge until he were otherwise inhibited; and said unto him further, "My lord! whereas you say in your recusation, that I said that you did like thieves, murderers, and traitors; indeed I said it, and may and will so say again, since we perceive it by your doings."

Bonner in a pelting chafe.

Whereupon the bishop in a great and stout rage replied, saying, "Well, sir! because you sit here by virtue of the king's commission, and for that ye be secretary to his majesty, and also one of his highness's council, I must and do honour and reverence you; but as you be but sir Thomas Smith, and say as ye have said, that I do like thieves, murderers, and traitors, I say ye lie upon me, and in that case I defie you; and do what ye can to me, I fear you not, and therefore, "quod facis, fac citius."

Whereat the archbishop with the other commissioners said unto him, that for such his unreverent behaviour he was worthy imprisonment.

Then the bishop, in more mad fury than before, said again unto him, "A God's name ye may do *de facto:* send me whither you will, and I must obey you; and so will, except ye send me to the devil; for thither I will not go for you.[2] Three things I have; to wit, a small portion of goods, a poor carcase, and mine own soul: the two first ye may take (though unjustly) to you, but as for my soul, ye get not, "Quia anima mea in manibus meis semper."

"Well," said the secretary, "then ye shall know that there is a king."

"Yea, sir," saith the bishop, "but that is not you; neither, I am sure, will you take it upon you."

"No sir," said again the secretary, "but we will make you know who it is." And with that the commissioners commanded the bishop and all the rest to depart the chamber, until they called for him again.

Now, in the mean while that the commisioners were in consultation, the bishop with Gilbert Bourn his chaplain, Robert Warnington his commissary, and Robert Johnson his registrar, were tarrying in a

(1) Here Bonner most proudly shameth not to belie the king's secretary and one of his majesty's council, charging him with altering and adding unto the council's injunctions.

(2) I pray God ye go not for yourself.

void quadrant-place before the door of the same chamber; where the bishop, leaning on a cupboard, and seeing his chaplains very sad, said unto them in effect as followeth: *Edward VI.* A.D. 1549.

'Sirs, what mean you? Why show you yourselves to be so sad and heavy in mind, as appeareth to me by your outward gestures and countenances? I would wish you, and I require you, to be as merry as I am (laying therewith his hand upon his breast); for, afore God, I am not sad or heavy, but merry and of good comfort; and am right glad and joyful of this my trouble, which is for God's cause; and it grieveth me nothing at all. But the great matter that grieveth me and pierceth my heart, is, for that this Hooper and such other vile heretics and beasts, be suffered and licensed to preach at Paul's cross, and in other places within my diocese and cure, most detestably preaching and railing at the blessed sacrament of the altar, and denying the verity and presence of Christ's true body and blood to be there: and so infect and betray my flock. But, I say, it is there in very deed, and in that opinion I will live and die, and am ready to suffer death for the same. Wherefore ye, being christian men, I do require you, and also charge and command you, in the name of God, and on his behalf, as ye will answer him for the contrary, that ye go to the mayor of London, and to his brethren the aldermen, praying and also requiring them earnestly, in God's name and mine, and for mine own discharge on that behalf, that from henceforth, when any such detestable and abominable preachers, and especially those who hold opinion against the blessed sacrament of the altar, do come to preach unto them, they forthwith depart out of their presence, and do not hear them; lest that they, tarrying with such preachers, should not only hurt themselves in receiving their poisoned doctrine, but also give a visage to the encouragement of others, who thereby might take an occasion to think and believe, that their erroneous and damnable doctrine is true and good: and this eftsoons I require and command you to do.'

Bonner's talk to his chaplains in the quadrant-place, before the chamber of presence at Lambeth.

Here Bonner's obedient heart bursteth out.

Bonner's popish message and charge to the lord mayor and aldermen.

And then turning himself about, and beholding two of the archbishop's gentlemen, who in the same place kept the chamber-door where the commissioners were in consultation, and perceiving that they had heard all his talk, he spake unto them also and said:

'And, sirs, ye be my lord of Canterbury's gentlemen; I know ye very well; and therefore I also require and charge you, in God's behalf, and in his name, that ye do the like, for your parts, in places where you shall chance to see and hear such corrupt and erroneous preachers; and also advertise my lord your master of the same, and of these my sayings, that I have now spoken here before you, as ye are christian men, and shall answer before God for the contrary.'

Bonner's trifling charge to the archbishop's gentlemen.

With this the commissioners called for the bishop again, who did read unto them an instrument, containing a provocation to the king, which he made in manner and form here following:

The first Appellation intimated by Edmund Bonner, Bishop of London.

In the name of God, Amen. It shall appear to all men by this public instrument that A.D. 1549, the 20th day of September, the third year of the reign of our most high and renowned prince Edward the Sixth,[1] by the grace of God king of England, France, and Ireland, defender of the faith, and in earth the supreme head of the church of England and Ireland, in a chamber within the palace of the said bishop, situated in London, and in the presence of me the public notary, and of the witnesses hereafter named, the aforesaid bishop did personally appear, and there did show forth in writing a certain protestation and appellation, the tenor whereof ensueth:

'In the name of God, Amen. I, Edmund bishop of London, say, allege,

(1) Bonner appealeth to the king, because he could not to the pope.

Edward VI. A. D. 1549.

and propound, before you being a public notary, and these credible witnesses here present, that although I, the aforesaid Edmund, have attained the bishopric aforesaid by the benevolence of the prince of famous memory king Henry the Eighth, and was lawfully elected and translated to the same, with his rites and appurtenances, and have of a long time possessed peaceably and quietly the same, and presently do possess, being taken as bishop and lawful possessor of the said bishopric, and am lawfully called, taken, and reputed notoriously and publicly; and, moreover, do keep residence and hospitality in the same, according to the order, state, person, and dignity, and as the revenues of the same would permit; and have exercised and done all things appertaining to my pastoral office, as the laws do require, as hereafter I trust by God's grace to do and observe; a man of good name and fame, neither suspended, excommunicated, nor interdicted, neither convicted of any notable crime or fact, always obeying readily the commandment of the church, and other my superiors in all lawful causes; nevertheless, fearing upon certain probable causes, likely conjectures, threatenings, and assertions of certain injurious men my enemies, or at the least, such as little favour me, that great damage may come to me hereafter about the premises or part of them; and lest any man by any authority, commandment, denunciation, inquisition, office, or at the request of any person or persons, may attempt prejudice or hurt to me or my said dignity, either by my excommunication, interdiction, sequestration, spoiling, vexing and perturbing by any manner of means; do appeal unto the most high and mighty prince our sovereign lord Edward the Sixth, by the grace of God king of England, France, &c., and in these my writings do provoke and appeal to his regal majesty. I do also require the apostles,[1] so much as in this cãse they are to be required, the first, second, and third time, earnestly, more earnestly, and most earnestly of all, that there may be given to me the protection, tuition, and defence of my aforesaid most dread sovereign lord, for the safeguard of me, my dignity and title, and possession in the premises, and to all that will cleave to me in this behalf. I do also protest, that I will be contented to correct, reform, and amend this my present protestation, and to the same to add, to take away, and to bring the same into the best form and state that may be devised by the counsel of learned men, or as the case shall require; and the same to intimate according to time and place, and the order of the law, and still shall require.'

Upon all the which things the aforesaid Edmund, bishop of London, did require the public notary hereunder written to make unto him, and the witnesses hereafter named, one, two, or more copies of this protestation.

These things were done the year, day, and time above written, there being present Gilbert Bourn, bachelor of divinity, John Harpsfield and Robert Colen, masters of arts, John Wakeling and Richard Rogers, learned men; being of the diocese of Worcester, Westminster, Coventry, Lichfield, and Gloucester, and specially requested to be witnesses of the same. And I, France Harward, of the diocese of Worcester, and public notary by the king's regal authority, forasmuch as I was present when the foresaid protestation, appellation, and other the premises were done, the year of our Lord, the year of the reign of the king, the day of the month and place aforesaid, the witnesses above named being present, and forasmuch as I did enact the same, therefore to this present public instrument, written faithfully with mine own hand, I have put to my mark, being specially requested unto the same.

Bonner requireth these things to be entered in register.

Which thing after he had read, he did, under his protestation, first intimate unto the archbishop, the bishop of Rochester, and Dr. May, and then protesting also not to recede from his recusation, did likewise intimate the same unto Master Secretary Smith, requiring the registrar to make an instrument as well thereupon, as also upon his recusation, with witness to testify the same.

Then the delegates did again proceed to the examination of the last answers, and finding the same imperfect, they demanded of him

(1) 'Apostles' is a term of canon law, and signifieth as much as letters reverential or dimissories.

(according to the first article), what special day of August he was sent for by the lord protector? To whom he obstinately answered, that he was not bound to make other answer than he had already made, unless they did put their articles more certain: neither would he otherwise answer as long as master secretary Smith was there present, whom he had before recused, and therefore would not recede from his recusation. *Edward VI.* A. D. 1549.

The secretary, seeing him so wilful and perverse, said sharply unto him, "My lord! come off, and make a full and perfect answer unto these articles, or else we will take other order with you to your pain."

"In faith, sir," then said the bishop again, "I have thought ye had been learned; but now, before God, I perceive well that either ye be not learned indeed, or else ye have forgotten it: for I have so often answered lawfully and sufficiently, and have so often showed causes sufficient and reasonable, why thereunto I ought not by law to be compelled (you showing nothing to the contrary, but sensuality and will), that I must needs judge that you are too, too ignorant herein."

"Well," said Master Secretary, "ye will not then otherwise answer?"

"No," said the bishop, "except the law compel me."

Then said the secretary, "Call for the knight-marshal, that he may be had to ward."

With that all the rest of the commissioners charged the bishop, that he had at that time sundry ways very outrageously and irreverently behaved himself towards them sitting on the king's majesty's commission, and especially towards sir Thomas Smith, his grace's secretary; and therefore, and for divers other contumelious words which he had spoken, they declared they would commit him to the Marshalsea. Bonner commanded to the Marshalsea.

By this time the marshal's deputy came before them, whom Master Secretary commanded to take the bishop as prisoner, and so to keep him, that no man might come unto him; for if he did, he should sit by him himself.

When the secretary had ended his talk, the bishop said unto him, "Well, sir, it might have become you right well, that my lord's grace here present, being first in commission, and your better, should have done it."

Then the commissioners, assigning him to be brought before them on Monday next before noon, between seven and nine of the clock in the hall of that place, there to make full answer to these last articles, or else to show cause why he should not be declared "pro confesso," did, for that present, break up that session.

Now as the bishop was departing with the under-marshal, he in a great fury turned himself again toward the commissioners, and said to sir Thomas Smith, "Sir, whereas ye have committed me to prison, ye shall understand that I will require no favour at your hands, but shall willingly suffer what shall be put unto me, as bolts on my heels, yea, and if ye will, iron about my middle, or where ye will." Bonner's great heart could not choose, but he must needs utter his stomach.

Then departing again, he yet returned once more, and foaming out his poison, said unto the archbishop; "Well, my lord! I am sorry that I, being a bishop, am thus handled at your grace's hand;

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but more sorry that ye suffer abominable heretics to practise as they do in London and elsewhere, infecting and disquieting the king's liege people. And therefore I do require you, as you will answer to God and the king, that ye will henceforth abstain thus to do: for if you do not, I will accuse you before God and the king's majesty; answer to it as well as ye can." And so he departed, using many reproachful words against sundry of the common people, who stood and spake to him by the way as he went.

Bonner's threat.

THE SIXTH ACTION OR PROCESS UPON MONDAY THE TWENTY-THIRD OF SEPTEMBER, HAD AGAINST BONNER, BISHOP OF LONDON, BEFORE THE COMMISSIONERS, IN THE GREAT HALL AT LAMBETH.

It was assigned, as ye heard, in the fourth act prosecuted the 18th day of September, that upon Monday then next following, being the 23d of the same month, the bishop should again appear before the commissioners within the great hall at Lambeth, then to show a final cause why he should not be declared "pro confesso," upon all the articles whereunto he had not fully answered.

According to which assignment, the same 23d day of September, the bishop was brought before them by the under-marshal (to whom for his disobedient and obstinate behaviour he was before that time committed), and there did first declare unto them, that his appearance at that time and place was not voluntary, but coacted; for that he was against his will brought thither by the keeper of the Marshalsea; and therewithal also, under his former protestation, recusation, and appeal, did then again intimate a general recusation of all the commissioners, alleging in the same, that because the archbishop, with all his colleagues, had neither observed the order of their commission, nor yet proceeded against him after any laudable or good fashion of judgment, but, contrariwise, had sundry times, as well in his absence as in his presence, attempted many things unlawfully against his person, dignity, and state, especially in committing him to strait prison, and yet commanding him to make answer: and further, because that he, with the rest, had proceeded in commission with sir Thomas Smith knight, supporting and maintaining all his evil doings (notwithstanding that he the said bishop had before justly recused and declined from him), he, therefore, did also there refuse and decline from the judgment of the said archbishop and his colleagues, and did except against their jurisdiction as suspect, and they, thereby, unmeet persons to proceed against him. Therefore, according to his former appeal, he intended to submit himself under the tuition, protection, and defence of the king's majesty; for whose honour and reverence sake (he said) they ought not to proceed any further against him, but quietly suffer him to use the benefit of all the recusations, provocations and other lawful remedies before alleged, with other superfluous words, at large to be read and seen, as followeth.

A general recusation of Bonner against all the commissioners.

He still sticketh to his former protestation.

The Second Recusation made by Edmund Bonner, bishop of London.

In the name of God. Amen. Forasmuch as both natural reason and all good policies of laws, especially of this realm of England, do admit and suffer

him that is convented before an incompetent and suspect judge, to refuse him and to decline his jurisdiction, inasmuch as the law and reason on the one side will process to run uprightly and justly, and that on the other side corruption and malice earnestly labour to the contrary, and need therefore to be bridled; and because you, my lord of Canterbury, with your colleagues in this behalf (deputed as ye say commissioners against me), neither have observed your said commission, neither yet proceeded hitherto against me after any laudable, lawful, or any good fashion of judgment; but, contrariwise, contrary to your commission, and against the law, good reason, and order, have, at sundry times and in sundry acts, attempted and done many things against me unlawfully, unseemly, and unjustly, and suffer the like to be attempted and done by others, not reforming and amending the same, as appeareth in divers and sundry things remaining in your acts: *Edward VI.* A.D. 1549.

And moreover, because you, my said lord, with your said colleagues, have (both in mine absence, being let with just causes of impediment, which, according to the laws of this realm, I have fully alleged, and very sufficiently and justly proved, according to the order of the king's ecclesiastical laws), injuriously, and much to the hinderance of my name, person, title, dignity, and state, and also otherwise, especially in my presence; against all laws, good order, and reason, without good cause or ground attempted and done many things against me, especially touching mine imprisonment; sending me to strait ward, and yet commanding me to make answer, as appeareth in your unlawful acts:

I, for these causes, and also for that ye my said lord and your said colleagues, proceeding with sir Thomas Smith knight (whom upon just and lawful causes I have refused, recused, and declined), have favoured, yea maintained, supported, and borne him in his unlawful and evil doings, do also refuse, recuse and decline you my said lord, with the rest of your said colleagues agreeing and joining with you; and do except against your proceedings, doings and jurisdiction as suspect, and thereby unmeet persons to proceed herein against me.

And further, I do allege, that having been provoked to the king's most excellent majesty, as appeareth by the tenor of my provocation remaining in your acts, whereunto I do protest that I intend to adhere and cleave, submitting myself unto the tuition, protection, and defence of his said majesty in this behalf, ye in any wise ought not (if ye regard the person and authority of his grace's royal power, as ye ought to do) to proceed herein against me; especially for the honour and reverence ye ought to have unto his majesty in this behalf. And because it appeareth that ye do not duly and circumspectly consider the same, as ye ought to do, but more and more do grieve me; that not considered, I both here to all purposes repeat my former recusation, provocation, and all other remedies that heretofore I have used and mentioned in your said acts; and also do, by these presents, refuse, recuse, and decline you my said lord, and your said colleagues, and your jurisdiction, upon causes aforesaid, offering myself prompt and ready to prove all the same, before an arbiter and arbiters, according to the tenor and form of the law herein to be chosen, requiring you all, for that honour and reverence ye ought to bear to our said sovereign lord, and his laws allowed and approved in this behalf, that ye do not attempt or do, nor yet suffer to be attempted or done, any thing in any wise against me, or unto my prejudice; but suffer me to use and enjoy the benefit of my said former, and this, recusation, provocation, allegation, and other lawful remedies mentioned in your said acts. And in case ye do *de facto*, where ye ought not *de jure*, attempt, or suffer any thing to be attempted or done against me in any wise herein, I protest herewith, and hereby, of my great grief and hurt in that behalf; and that not only I do intend to appeal from you, but also, according to the king's ecclesiastical laws, to accuse and complain upon you, as justly and truly I both may and ought to do.

Notwithstanding these recusations, and former appellations, the archbishop with the rest told him plain, that they would be still his judges, and proceed against him according to the king's commission, until they did receive a supersedeas, which if he did obtain, they would gladly obey.

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Then the bishop, seeing that they would still proceed against him, did there likewise intimate another appellation unto the king's majesty, expressing therein in effect no other matter, but such as is already alleged in the two former recusations and appeals; saving that he requireth that letters dimissory or appellatory might be given him according to the law, and that for his better safeguard he did submit himself under the protection of the king.

Another appellation of Bonner to the king.

*The[1] Second Appeal made and put in by the Bishop of London.

In this appeal he beginneth: 'In the name of God, Amen.' Then, first, he showeth therein, by what authority, and for what causes, he may lawfully make his appeal for his defence. Secondly, he showeth to my lord of Canterbury, and to his other colleagues, expressed in the said commission, how that against law, order, honesty, reason, yea and against the tenor of their commission, they have unjustly, unseemly, unreverently, and ungodly, grieved, evil-handled, and endamaged him, as well in sending for him after such sort as they did, as also in their unlawful and ungodly proceeding against him. And especially of this outrageous and uncharitable behaviour of sir Thomas Smith, secretary to the king's majesty; 'who,' saith Bonner, 'as exempt from law and reason, saith, He will follow his will therein, and not the law.' And thereof in complaining to the archbishop of Canterbury, and the rest of the commissioners in his appeal, he saith, 'They ought not so to do, especially in the denunciation and promotion of two vile famous sacramentaries.'

In consideration whereof he showeth he hath a just and lawful remedy granted by the laws of the realm, especially a recusation and provocation, which he had exhibited, and which remained in their courts, unto which he referred himself; which, he saith, had not been duly considered on their parts: but they had proceeded and done contrary, in making him prisoner in his own house, whereas he had good cause to be absent there-from by the laws of this realm; and also in sending him to the Marshalsea, which they neither could nor ought so to do, after his recusation and provocation duly and lawfully made from them to the king's majesty; and there he calleth him 'supreme head.'

And further he saith, because he was much damnified and grieved at their unjust and unlawful doings and proceedings against him, he therefore refused and recused them as before he had done, and did appeal to his sovereign lord king Edward VI.; and there he confesseth him again supreme head of the church.

After this, again, in this appeal he accuseth them of their unjust doings, and namely, sir Thomas Smith knight; who, contrary to the law, notwithstanding his recusation, provocation, and allegations against them, have appointed him a term to show cause why he ought not to be taken 'pro confesso.' And therein he doth ask and desire, first, second, third, yea, instantly, letters dimissory, appellatory, libels, or appellatories, to be given him according to order of law, submitting himself and his whole cause and causes, goods, dignity, state, and title, under the protection and defence of the king's majesty, according to law and custom in that behalf: unto which appeal, he saith, he will join, and prosecute it to all purposes thereof profitable for him in that behalf, according to the law, and not go there-from.

Further he saith, that the time of his first appeal remaineth unto him yet: and therefore, for that they are suspected judges for causes aforesaid, he maketh a new appeal; and therein intimateth his said recusation again with his present appeal, but they should do wrong to the king's grace; unto whom he maketh his appeal that, being delivered from them, he might prosecute his said recusation and appeal, as appertaineth and to the law is agreeable.*

The commissioners for all this stuck still unto their commission, and would not in any case defer; but urged him straitly to make a more full answer to his articles than he had done.

To whom the bishop said, that he would stand unto his recu-

(1) See Edition 1563, pp. 722, 723.—Ed.

sations and appellations before made, and would not make other answer. *Edward VI.*

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Then the delegates demanded of him what cause he had to allege, why he ought not to be declared "pro confesso," upon the articles whereunto he had not fully answered; the bishop still answering (as before) that he would adhere unto his appellation and recusation. Bonner denieth to answer.

Whereupon the archbishop, with consent of the rest, seeing his pertinacy, pronounced him "contumax," and in pain thereof declared him "pro confesso," upon all the articles which he had not answered. Bonner declared guilty.

This done, master secretary Smith showed forth a letter which the bishop of London had before that time sent unto the lord mayor and the aldermen of the city of London, the tenor whereof ensueth as followeth.

A Letter of Bonner to the Lord Mayor of London.

'To the right honourable and my very good lord, the Lord Mayor of London, with all his worshipful brethren; my very dear and worshipful friends; with speed.

Right honourable! with my very humble recommendations:—Whereas I have perceived of late, and heard with mine ears, what vile beasts and heretics have preached unto you, or rather, like themselves, prated and railed against the most blessed sacrament of the altar, denying the verity and presence of Christ's true body and blood to be there, giving you and the people liberty to believe what ye list; teaching you detestably, that faith in this behalf must not be coacted, but that every man may believe as he will! by reason whereof, lest my presence and silence might unto some have been seen to have allowed their heretical doctrine, and given credit unto them, betraying my flock of the catholic sort, ye know I departed yesterday from the heretic prater's uncharitable charity, and so could have wished that you, and all other that be catholic, should have done, leaving those there with him that be already cast away, and will not be recovered. For your tarrying with him still, shall not only hurt yourselves in receiving his poisoned doctrine, but also shall give a visage that their doctrine is tolerable, by reason that ye are content to hear it, and say nothing against it. And because I cannot tell when I shall speak with you to advertise you hereof, therefore I thought good, for mine own discharge and yours, thus much to write unto you, requiring and praying you again and again, in God's behalf, and for mine own discharge, that ye suffer not yourselves to be abused with such naughty preachers and teachers, in hearing their evil doctrine that ye shall perceive them go about to sow. And thus our blessed Lord long and well preserve you all, with this noble city, in all good rest, godliness, and prosperity. Written in haste, this Monday morning, the 16th of September, 1549. Bonner would not tarry Master Hooper's sermon.

Your faithful beadsman and poor bishop,
Edmund Bonner.

This letter being read, the secretary demanded of him whether he wrote it not: to whom he would not otherwise answer, but that he would still adhere and stand unto his former recusations and appeals; which the commissioners seeing, determined to continue this case in state as it was until Friday then next following, between the hours of eight and nine of the clock before noon, assigning the bishop to be there at the same time and place, then to hear a final decree of this matter, he still protesting as before. Bonner's case deferred.

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THE SEVENTH SESSION OR APPEARANCE OF BONNER ON TUESDAY THE FIRST OF OCTOBER, BEFORE THE KING'S COMMISSIONERS AT LAMBETH.

Upon Friday the commissioners, for divers urgent causes letting them, did not sit in commission according to their appointment, but deferred it until Tuesday the first of October then next following. Upon that day the bishop appearing before them, the archbishop made this declaration unto him:

That although as upon Friday last they had appointed to pronounce their final decree and sentence in this matter, yet forasmuch as they thought that that sentence (although they had just cause to give it) should have been very sore against him, they had not only deferred the same until this day, but, minding to be more friendly to him than he was to himself, and to use more easy and gentle reformation towards him, had also made such suit and means for him, that although he had grievously offended the king's majesty, and very disobediently behaved himself, yet, if he would in the mean while have acknowledged his fault, and have been contented to make some part of amends in submitting himself according to his bounden duty, he should have found much favour; so the sentence should not have been so sore and extreme against him as it was like now to be; for which they were very sorry; especially to see the continuance of such stubborn disobedience, whereby they were then more enforced to give such sentence against him.

Friendly words of the commissioners to Bonner.

The bishop, nothing at all regarding this gentle and friendly admonition and favour, but persisting still in his wonted contumacy, drew forth a paper, whereon he read these words following.

A Declaration of Bonner before the Commissioners.

I, Edmund bishop of London, brought in as a prisoner by his keeper, out of the Marshalsea, here before you my lord of Canterbury and your pretensed colleagues, do, under my former protestations heretofore by me made before you and remaining in your act, declare that this my presence here at this time is not voluntary, nor of mine own free will and consent, but utterly coacted and against my will; and that being otherwise sent for or brought before you than I am (that is as a prisoner), I would not, being at liberty, have come and appeared before you, but would have declined and refused to make any appearance at all, and would have absented myself from you, as lawfully and well I might have done; standing to, using and enjoying all and singular my lawful remedies and defences heretofore used, exercised and enjoyed, especially my provocation, and appellation heretofore interponed and made unto the king's most excellent majesty, to whom eftsoons, 'ex abundanti,' I have both provoked and appealed, and also made supplication, as appeareth in these writings, which, under protestation aforesaid, I do exhibit and leave here with the actuary of this cause; requiring him to make an instrument thereupon, and the persons here present to bear record in that behalf; especially, to the intent it may appear, I do better acknowledge the king's majesty's authority even in his tender and young age, provoking and appealing to his majesty as my most gracious sovereign and supreme head, with submission to his highness (as appeareth in my appellation and other remedies) for my tuition and defence, than some other (I do mean you, my lord of Canterbury and your said pretensed colleagues), who, by law and good reason, ought to have deferred and given place unto such provocation, appellation, and supplication, as heretofore lawfully have been by me interponed and made unto his majesty's most royal person and authority in this behalf.

Bonner pretendeth submission to the king.

As soon as the bishop had read these words, he did deliver as well that paper, as also two other, unto the actuary, the one containing an

appellation, and the other a supplication unto the king's majesty; which appellation beginneth thus: *Edward VI.* A. D. 1549.

The Third Appeal made and put in by the Bishop of London.

'In the name of God, Amen.'—Wherein first he showed 'how naturally every creature declineth gladly from that thing which goeth about to hurt it; and also seeketh help and remedy to withstand such hurts and injuries.'

Further, he showed 'that it is found by experience to be hurtful and dangerous to trust him that once hath hurt and beguiled, lest he might add more, rather than to take aught from.'

Moreover he showed, 'that he had found heretofore, at the hands of the archbishop of Canterbury and the rest of the colleagues in this matter, much extremity and cruelty, injuries, losses, and griefs, contrary to God's law, and the laws and statutes of this realm, and against justice, charity, and good order; being well assured, if they were not stayed but proceeded, they would add more evil to evil, loss to loss, displeasure to displeasure; as (said he) their servants have reported, and they agreeably do show the same.'

Again in the said appeal he showed 'that the bishop of Canterbury, and the other commissioners, ought to have considered and done better in that matter for honour and obedience to the king's majesty, which hitherto they have not done (said he), in that they have not given place to his provocations and appellations heretofore made unto his grace justly and lawfully, and upon good and just causes; namely, for the unjust griefs they did against him, which (he said) do appear in the acts of that matter; as in pronouncing him *contumacem* unreasonably, without good cause; and further in assigning the term *ad audiendum finale decretum*, and in committing him to strait prison, as appeareth in their acts. Therefore he did not only, *ex abundanti, ad omnem juris cautelam*, decline and refuse their pretensed jurisdiction as before, but also, by these presents here showed, he did appeal from the said archbishop of Canterbury, and the rest, unto the king's majesty, asking also those letters of appeal which the law doth admit; saying, he did not intend to go from his former provocations and appellations, but to join and cleave unto them in every part and parcel, submitting himself to the protection and defence of the king's majesty: and he therein made intimation to the archbishop of Canterbury, and to his said colleagues, to all intents and purposes that might come thereof.' Letters of appeal called Apostoli.

Furthermore, as touching the supplication above mentioned, which Bonner, as we said, put up in writing to the commissioners, the copy thereof hereunder likewise ensueth.

The Supplication of Bonner to the Chancellor of England, with all the rest of the King's Majesty's most honourable Privy Council.

Please it your most honourable good lordships, with my most humble recommendations, to understand, that albeit I have, according to the laws, statutes, and ordinances of this realm, made supplication, provocation, and appellation unto the king's most excellent majesty, from the unlawful and wicked process of the archbishop of Canterbury, the bishop of Rochester, master secretary Smith, and the dean of Paul's; as also as well from their unjust interlocutory, as also their definitive sentence, whereby in law I ought to have liberty to come abroad and prosecute the same, yet, such is the malignity of the judges against me, with bearing and maintenance of others, who sundry and many ways have sought my ruin and destruction, that I am here penned and locked up, used very extremely at their pleasure, and, for the contentation of the said master Smith, not suffered to find sureties, or to go abroad to prosecute and sue my said appellation.

In consideration whereof, it may please your said good lordship to take some order and redress herein, especially for that it is now the time that the king's subsidy, now due, ought to be called upon, and justice also ministered unto his majesty's subjects; which, being as I now am, I cannot be suffered to do. And thus, without further extending my letter therein, considering that your great

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wisdoms, experience, and goodness, can gather of a little, what is expedient and necessary for the whole, I do beseech Almighty God to preserve and keep well all your honourable good lordships.

Written in haste this seventh of October, 1549, in the Marshalsea.

Your honourable lordship's poor orator, and most bounden beadsman,

Edmund London.

The archbishop's answer to Bonner.

These things ended, the archbishop said unto him, "My lord! where you say that you come coacted, or else you would not have appeared, I do much marvel of you: for you would thereby make us and this audience here believe, that because you are a prisoner, ye ought not therefore to answer; which, if it were true, it were enough to confound the whole state of this realm. For I dare say, that of the greatest prisoners and rebels that ever your keeper there" (meaning the under marshal) "hath had under him, he cannot show me one that hath used such defence as you here have done."

"Well," quoth the bishop, "if my keeper were learned in the laws, I could show him my mind therein."

"Well," said the archbishop, "I have read over all the laws as well as you, but to another end and purpose than you did; and yet I can find no such privilege in this matter."

Then master secretary Smith did very sore burden and charge him, how disobediently and rebelliously he had always behaved himself towards the king's majesty and his authority. Whereupon the bishop, under his protestation, answered again, that he was the king's majesty's lawful and true subject, and did acknowledge his highness to be his gracious sovereign lord, or else he would not have appealed unto him as he had; yea, and would gladly lay his hands and his neck also under his grace's feet; and therefore he desired that his highness's laws and justice might be ministered unto him.

Bonner compared to the rebels of Devonshire.

"Yea," quoth Master Secretary, "you say well, my lord: but I pray you what other have all these rebels both in Norfolk, Devonshire, and Cornwall, and other places done? Have they not said thus? We be the king's true subjects; we acknowledge him for our king, and we will obey his laws, with such like: and yet, when either commandment, letter, or pardon, was brought unto them from his majesty, they believed it not, but said it was forged and made under a hedge, and was gentlemen's doings; so that indeed they neither would nor did obey any thing."

The people laughing at Bonner.

"Ah sir," said the bishop, "I perceive your meaning; as who should say that the bishop of London is a rebel like them." "Yea, by my troth," quoth the secretary. Whereat the people laughed.

Then the dean of Paul's[1] said unto him, that he marvelled much, and was very sorry to see him so untractable, that he would not suffer the judges to speak. To whom the bishop disdainfully answered, "Well, master dean! you must say somewhat." And likewise at another time as the dean was speaking, he interrupted him and said, "You may speak when your turn cometh."

Bonner with his taunts.

Contemptuous talk of Bonner.

Then said the secretary Smith, "I would you knew your duty." "I would," quoth he again, "you knew it as well as I:" with an infinite deal more of other such stubborn and contemptuous talk and

(1) Doctor May.

behaviour towards them; which the commissioners weighing, and perceiving no likelihood of any tractable reason in him, they determined that the archbishop, with their whole consent, should at that present there openly read and publish their final decree or sentence definitive against him; which he did, pronouncing him thereby to be clean deprived from the bishopric of London, and further, as in the same appeareth in tenor as is hereunder to be seen;[1] which sentence of deprivation ended, the bishop immediately did therefrom appeal by word of mouth, alleging that the same sentence there given against him, was 'lex nulla:' the tenor of whose words I thought here to express, according as they were by him uttered, in this wise as followeth:

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'I, Edmund, bishop of London, brought in and kept here as a prisoner against my consent and will, do, under my former protestation heretofore made, and to the intent it may also appear that I have not, being so here in this place, consented or agreed to any thing done against me and in my prejudice, allege and say that this sentence given here against me, is *lex nulla;* and so far forth as it shall appear to be *aliqua;* I do say it is *iniqua et injusta,* and that therefore I do from it, as *iniqua et injusta,* appeal to the most excellent and noble king Edward the Sixth, by the grace of God king of England, France, and Ireland,

The words of Bonner, appealing from the sentence definitive.

(1) *Sententia Deprivationis lata contra Edmundum Londinensem Episcopum.*

In Dei nomine, Amen. Nos Thomas, miseratione divina Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, totius Angliæ primas et metropolitanus; Nicholaus, eadem miseratione Roffensis episcopus; Thomas Smith miles, illustrissimi in Christo principis et domini nostri domini Edwardi Sexti, Dei gratia Angliæ Franciæ et Hiberniæ regis, fidei defensoris, et in terris ecclesiæ Anglicanæ supremi capitis, secretariorum principalium alter; et Wilhelmus May, juris civilis doctor, ecclesiæ cathedralis divi Pauli decanus; dicti illustrissimi principis et domini nostri regis ad infra-scripta, una cum eximio viro domino Wilhelmo Petro milite, 'ejusdem serenissimæ Regiæ Majestatis etiam secretariorum principalium altero, commissarii sive judices delegati; cum ista clausa, videlicet,' Deputamus vos quinque, quatuor vel tres vestrum, &c., recte et legitime deputati contra te Edmundum, permissione divina Londini episcopum—in causa et causis, in literis commissionalibus dictæ serenissimæ Regiæ Majestatis expressis et specificatis, rite et legitime procedentes et judicialiter inquirentes, auditisque per nos et intellectis ac primùm examine debito mature discussis meritis et circumstantiis causæ et causarum inquisitionis ejusmodi, servatisque ulterius per nos de jure in hac parte servandis; in præsentia tui episcopi antedicti, judicialiter coram nobis constituti ac protestantis de coactione et de cæteris (prout in ultima protestatione hodie per te facta continetur);—ad definitionem causæ et causarum hujusmodi prolationemque sententiæ nostræ, sive nostri finalis decreti, super eisdem ferendæ sic duximus procedendum, et procedimus in hunc qui sequitur modum. Quia (tam per acta, actitata, deducta, proposita, exhibita, allegata, probata, pariter et confessata, in causa et causis hujusmodi facta, habita, et gesta, quam per confessionem tuam propriam, factique notorietatêm, et alia legitima documenta) evidenter invenimus et compertum habemus te præfatum episcopum Londini inter cætera (pro meliori officii tui pastoralis administratione) in mandatis habuisse, ut de his, qui duas aut tres uxores ut maritas in unum haberent aut qui externos et non probatos ecclesiæ ritus in hoc regno sequerentur (quibus rebus tua diocesis Londinensis præcipue erat infamata), inquireres, teque ea facere omnino neglexisse: Item expresse tibi per Regiam Majestatem præscriptum fuisse, ut ipse episcopus adesses concionibus ad crucem Pauli habitis, tam ut eas honestares tua præsentia quam ut possis eos accusare, si qui male ibidem concionarentur; te tamen contra non solum abiisse, sed etiam scriptis literis majorem Londini et aldermannos ut inde recederent admonuisse et exhortatum fuisse: Item, inter alia quoque per Regiam Majestatem tibi injuncta in mandatis tibi datum fuisse, quod articulum quendam—statum reipublicæ (tunc perniciosissima rebellione proditorum contra illum articulum sentientium gravissime perturbatæ) præcipue concernentem, et propterea supremum, necessarium, et specialiter tibi injunctum, (videlicet: 'Ye shall also set forth in your sermon, that our authority of our royal power is (as of truth it is) of no less authority and force in this our younger age, than is and was of any of our predecessors, though the same were much elder, as may appear by example of Josias and other young kings in Scripture. And therefore all our subjects to be no less bound to the obedience of our precepts, laws, and statutes, than if we were thirty or forty years of age.')—apud Crucem sive suggestum divi Pauli Londini, certo die tibi in ea parte præfixo et limitato, in publica tua concione tunc et ibidem populo recitares et explicares; teque modo et forma præmissa eundem articulum juxta mandatum et officii tui debitum recitare et explicare minime curasse, sed contumaciter et inobedienter omisisse, in maximum Regiæ Majestatis contemptum, ac in ejus regni præjudicium non modicum, necnon in subditorum suorum malum et perniciosum exemplum; contumaciamque et inobedientiam multiplicem, tam in hac nostra inquisitione quam alias, perpetrasse commisisse et contraxisse: Idcirco nos Thomas, Cantuariensis archiepiscopus primas et metropolitanus judexque delegatus, antedictus, Christi nomine primitus invocato, ac ipsum solum Deum oculis nostris præponentes, de et cum expresso consensu pariter et assensu collegarum nostrorum prædictorum una nobiscum assidentium, deque et cum consilio jurisperitorum cum quibus communicavimus in hac parte, te Edmundum Londini episcopum antedictum a tuo episcopatu Londinensi, una cum suis juribus et pertinentibus commoditatibus et cæteris emolumentis quibuscumque, deprivandum et prorsus amovendum fore de jure debere pronunciamus decernimus et declaramus, prout per præsentes sic deprivamus et amovemus per hanc nostram sententiam definitivam, sive hoc nostrum finale decretum, quam sive quod ferimus et promulgamus in his scriptis.

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defender of the faith, and of the church of England and also Ireland (next and immediately under God here on earth) supreme head, and unto his court of chancery or parliament, as the laws, statutes, and ordinances of this realm will suffer and bear in this behalf; desiring instantly, first, second, and third, according to the laws, letters reverential, or dimissories, to be given and delivered unto me in this behalf, with all things expedient, requisite, or necessary in any wise.

And thereupon also the said bishop required the public notary or actuary, William Say, to make an instrument, and the witness aforesaid and others present to record the same: to whom so appealing, and requiring as before, the said judge's delegate said, that they would declare and signify to the king's majesty what was done in this matter; and thereupon would defer or not defer to his said appellation, according as his grace's pleasure and commandment should be given to them in that behalf.

And after all this, the said bishop of London said to them, "Jam functi estis officio. What will your grace do with me now, touching my imprisonment? will ye keep me still in prison? shall I not now be at liberty to prosecute mine appeal?" To whom the archbishop answering, said, that they perceived now more in that matter than they did at first, and that this matter was greater rebellion than he was aware of; and therefore they said that as yet they would not discharge him. And thereupon they committed him again to his keeper in prison.

The archbishop declareth Bonner's sentence in English.

This talk finished, the archbishop, considering that most of the audience there present did not understand the meaning of the sentence, being read in the Latin tongue, said to them, "Because there be many of you here that understand not the Latin tongue, and so cannot tell what judgment hath been here given, I shall therefore show you the effect thereof:" and therewith he did declare in English the causes expressed in the sentence, adding thereunto these words:

Bonner deprived and unbishoped.

"Because my lord of London is found guilty in these matters, therefore we have here, by our sentence, deprived him of our bishopric of London; and this we show unto you, to the intent that from henceforth ye shall not esteem him any more as bishop of London."

His disdainful words to the commissioners.

Then Bonner desired the archbishop to declare likewise what he had done, and how he had appealed. But the other, seeing his froward contempt, refused it, saying, you may do it yourself. Whereupon very disdainfully again he said, "Jam functi estis officio. What will your grace do with me touching my imprisonment? will you keep me still in prison?"

Bonner again committed to his keeper.

To whom the commissioners answered, that they perceived now more in the matter than they did before, and that his behaviour was greater rebellion than he was aware of. And therefore they would not discharge him, but committed him again to his keeper to be kept in prison; where he most justly remained until the death of that most worthy and godly prince king Edward VI.; after which time he wrought most horrible mischief and cruelties against the saints of God, as appeareth hereafter throughout the whole reign of queen Mary. From the executing of the which like tyranny, the Lord of his great mercy keep all other such, Amen!

Now, immediately after his deprivation he writeth out of the Marshalsea other letters supplicatory unto the lord chancellor, and the rest of the king's council, wherein he thus complaineth, that by reason of the great enmity which the duke of Somerset and sir Thomas Smith bare unto him, his often and earnest suits unto the king and his council could not be heard. He therefore most humbly desired their lordships, for the causes aforesaid, to consider him, and to let him have liberty to prosecute his matter before them; and he would daily pray for the good preservation of their honours, as appeareth by the words of his own supplication hereunder following. *Edward VI.* A.D. 1549.

Thus after the commissioners had finished with Bonner, he, being now prisoner in the Marshalsea, leaving no shift of the law unsought how to work for himself as well as he might, drew out a certain supplication, conceived and directed to the king's majesty, out of the said prison of the Marshalsea.

A Supplication made and directed by Edmund Bonner, late Bishop of London, to the Privy-Council.

To the right honourable, my lord chancellor of England, with all the rest of the most honourable privy-council:

Please it your most honourable good lordships, with my most humble commendations, to understand, that albeit heretofore I have made such suit, and to such persons as I cannot devise to make more, or to more higher; this is to wit, to the king's most excellent majesty, and his most gracious person in divers sorts, and also unto your most honourable good lordships being of his privy-council, for redress of such notable and manifest injuries and extremities as have been, contrary to all law, honesty, and good reason, inflicted upon me by my lord of Canterbury, my lord of Rochester, Dr. Smith, and Dr. May: yet, because the said Dr. Smith, being a minister to the duke of Somerset, and they both, my deadly enemies, hath sundry ways studied and laboured my ruin and destruction, staying and letting heretofore all my lawful remedies and suits, having therein help and furtherance of these two other aforesaid persons, being ready at foot and hand to accomplish all their desires and pleasures, I shall at this present (having for a time forborne to trouble, for good respects, your most honourable good lordships with any my suits, and especially for your other manifold great affairs in the king's majesty's business, myself yet, the mean while, neither wanting good will, nor yet just cause, being where I am, to make such suit) renew my suit, and most humbly beseech your most honourable good lordships to give me leave to make most humble supplication again to your said lordships, for honest and lawful liberty to prosecute my appellation and supplication heretofore made to the king's most excellent majesty; and, according to the law, to make my suit for redress of the said great and manifest injuries, extremities, and wrongs, done against me by the said persons. And your said lordships, over and besides the furtherance of justice many ways herein to me and others, and the collection of the king's majesty's subsidy now to be levied of the clergy in my diocese, which hitherto hath been and is stayed by reason of the premises, shall also bind me most greatly and entirely to pray daily for the good preservation of your said most honourable good lordships; in all honour, felicity, and joy, long to continue and endure unto God's pleasure.

Written in the Marshalsea the 26th of October, 1549.

Your lordship's most faithful and assured beadsman,

Edmund London.

Substance of a Supplication made and directed by Edmund Bonner, late Bishop of London, to the King's Majesty, out of the Prison of the Marshalsea.

In this supplication, first, after the used form of style, he prayed for the prosperous estate of the king long to reign. Then he showed that his

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faithful heart and service to him hath, is, and shall be, as it was to his father before.

Then he declared how he had been belied of evil men, and misreported not to bear a true heart to his grace, but a rebellious mind, in denying his royal power in his minority; whereas indeed, he saith, his grace should find him always, during life, both in heart, word, and deed, to do and acknowledge otherwise, and to be most willing to show, &c., and to do all other things for his grace, as willingly as any other subject, or as those that were his denouncers, who, he thought, were not sent of his grace, but pretensed commissioners, &c.

Further, he complained of his denunciation by certain commissioners (who said they were sent by his grace), alleging the same not to be lawful; and of his long and sharp imprisonment; and that the commissioners observed neither law nor reasonable order, but extremity. And whereas he had made appeal to his grace, and he could not have it; he desired to have law to prosecute and sue his appeal for his remedy, and that he (considering his vocation) might not be shut up and put from liberty, which his meanest subjects have.

Then he desired his grace's letters of Supersedeas against the commissioners, and that the matter might be heard before the council; and then he doubted not but to be found a true faithful man, and herein to have wrong. So in the end he concluded, that this (prostrating himself even to the very ground, and humbly kissing his grace's feet) was the only thing which he humbly desired, &c.

This done, and the supplication perused, the king eftsoons giveth in charge and commandment to certain men of honour and worship, and persons skilful in the law, as to the lord Rich, high chancellor, the lord treasurer, the lord marquis Dorset, the bishop of Ely, lord Wentworth, sir Anthony Wingfield and sir William Herbert, knights, Dr. Richard Wootton, Edward Montague lord chief justice, sir John Baker knight, with judge Hales, John Gosnold, Dr. Oliver, and also Dr. Leyson, that they, scanning and perusing all such acts, matters, and muniments of the said Bonner by him exhibited, produced, propounded, and alleged, with all and singular his protestations, recusations, and appellations, should, upon mature consideration thereof, give their direct answer upon the same, whether the appellation of the said Bonner were to be deferred unto; whether the sentence defined against him stood by the law sufficient and effectual, or not: who, eftsoons, after diligent discussion, and considerate advisement had of all and singular the premises, gave their resolute answer, that the pretensed appellation of Edmund Bonner aforesaid was naught and unreasonable, and in no wise to be deferred unto; and that the sentence by the commissioners against him, was rightly and justly pronounced.[1] And this was the conclusion of Bonner's whole matter and deprivation for that time.

Bonner's appellation found to be unreasonable.

His sentence, just and lawful.

(1) The editor subjoins the decision of these parties who determined upon the execution of the sentence of Edmund Bonner, bishop of London: they are quoted from the first edition of the Acts and Monuments, pp. 724—726.

An Instrument made and drawn of the Judgment and Sentence of certain noble Personages, with the Assent of divers Lawyers, why the Appeal of Bonner, made from the Sentence of his Deprivation, ought not in any effect or force to stand.

In Dei nomine, Amen. Præsentis publici instrumenti serie cunctis evidenter appareat, quòd anno Domini juxta supputationem ecclesiæ Anglicanæ millesimo quingentesimo quadragesimo nono, Regnique illustrissimi et serenissimi in Christo principis et domini nostri Edwardi ejus nominis Sexti, Dei gratia Angliæ Franciæ et Hiberniæ regis, fidei defensoris, ac in terra ecclesiæ Anglicanæ et Hibernicæ supremi capitis, anno quarto, mensis vero Februarii die tertio:—In mei (notarii publici Regiæque Majestatis) ad clausas ecclesiasticæ registriæ infra-scripti, testiumque inferius nominatorum, præsentia; honorandi et illustrès viri domini—Richardus Ryche miles, dominus Ryche, summus cancellarius Angliæ; Wilhelmus dominus Sanctus Johannes, præclari ordinis Gartheri miles, comes Wiltoniæ, magnus thesaurarius Angliæ; Henricus Marchio Dorset, ejusdem præclari ordinis Gartheri miles; ac reverendus pater Thomas Eliensis episcopus; Thomas dominus Wentworth; Antonius

Thus then, leaving Dr. Bonner awhile in the Marshalsea with his keeper, we will proceed (the Lord permitting) further in the course

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Wingfield, præclari ordinis Gartheri miles, hospitii ejusdem domini nostri regis contrarotulator; Wilhelmus Harbard, ejusdem præclari ordinis Gartheri miles, præfati domini nostri regis equitum magister; Nicholaus Wootton legum doctor, alter primariorum ejusdem domini nostri regis secretariorum; Edwardus Montague miles, primarius justiciarius dicti domini regis ad communia placita; Johannes Baker miles, cancellarius curiæ primitiarum et decimarum ejusdem domini nostri regis—hii quidem omnes ab intimis consiliis dictæ Regiæ Majestatis existentes, accersitis ad se venerabilibus viris, domino Jacobo Hales milite, ejusdem domini nostri regis ad communia placita justiciario, una cum Johanne Gosnold armigero, municipalium hujus regni peritis; necnon Johanne Olyver et Griffino Leyson, legum doctoribus: habentes (uti dicebatur) a Regia Majestate in mandatis, uti negotium appellationis—per dominum Edmundum nuper Londini episcopum interpositæ a quâdam sententiâ, sive finali decreto, privationis episcopatus sui Londini (in eum per reverend. in Christo patrem dominum Thomam miseratione divina Cantuariensem archiepiscopum totius Angliæ primatem et metropolitanum, de et cum consensu reverendi patris domini Nicholai permissione divina Roffensis episcopi, domini Thomæ Smith militis, et Wilhelmi May legum doctoris, ecclesiæ cathedralis divi Pauli Londini decani, vigore literarum commissionalium dicti domini nostri regis eis in hac parte directarum, in quodam negotio denuntiationis et inquisitionis versus præfatum dominum Edmundum, latâ et promulgatâ)—executerent ventilarent et considerarent, et tandem quod juris et equitatis in ea parte fore comperirent finaliter decerherent: Me notarium publicum et registorem infra-scriptum omnia et singula acta, exhibita, deducta, proposita, et allegata, ceteraque munimenta et instrumenta in dicto negotio per præfatos commissarios et coram eis qualitercunque habita, gesta, et facta, ex registro regio (penes me præfatum notarium et registorem remanente) proferre, et seriatim atque ex ordine declarare atque perlegere jusserunt. Quibus omnibus et singulis mature atque distincte lectis et recensitis et eorum contentibus hinc inde ventilatis tractatis atque ponderatis, præfati nobiles et honorandi domini, a consiliis dictæ Regiæ Majestatis, unanimi consensu et assensu in proximum diem sequentem super præmissis ulterius deliberandum esse censuerunt, atque interim se (tum episcopum tum jurisconsultos antedictos) an appellationi per dictum dominum Edmundum (sic ut præfatur) interpositæ esset deferendum, et an sententia, per præfatos delegatos regios contra dictum dominum Edmundum, nuper Londini episcopum, (ut præfatur) latas sit efficax et de jure valida, consulturos esse declararunt; præsentibus me notario et registore infra-scripto, necnon domino Thoma Challenor milite, et Armegillo Wade armigero, necnon Wilhelmo Say notario publico, testibus in ea parte exhibitis. Quibus ad hunc qui superius memoratur modum peractis, quarto die hoc ejusdem mensis Februarii, anno prædicto, dicti honorandi et illustres domini, Richardus Riche cancellarius, Wilhelmus St. Johannes comes et thesaurarius, necnon Wilhelmus Marchio Northampton, Henricus Marchio Dorset, etiam Johannes comes Warwici magnus magister hospitii domini nostri regis, Thomas Eliensis episcopus, Thomas dominus Wentworth, Antonius Wingfield contrarotulator, Wilhelmus Harbard magister equitum, Nicholaus Wootton secretarius, Edwardus Montague justiciarius, Johannes Baker cancellarius primitiarum et decimarum, Regiæ Majestatis antedictæ a consiliis intimis—assistentibus una cum eisdem Jacobo Hales justiciario, Johanne Olyver et Griffino Leyson legum doctoribus, ac Johanne Gosnold armigero, superius memoratis—simul convenientes: auditis per eos, et intellectis, et diligenter et mature discussis et ventilatis, meritis et circumstantiis dicti negotii appellationis; ac toto et integro processu (in ea parte habito) seriatim excusso atque rimato de et ex consilio jurisperitorum præfatorum cum quibus in ea parte communicarant; attentis per eos et diligenter pensatis tam verbis tenoreque et effectu dictarum literarum commissionalium (præfatæ Regiæ Majestatis commissariis sive delegatis in negotio memorato directarum), quam circumstantiis hujusmodi negotii; naturaque dictæ causæ et forma appellationis in hac parte interpositæ diligenter consideratis et inspectis: dictæ pretensæ appellationi nullo modo deferendum esse; maleque et sine aliqua rationabili sive legitima causa ex parte dicti domini Edmundi in dicto negotio appellatum, ac bene per memoratos commissarios sive delegatos pronunciatum fuisse et esse; appellationemque hujusmodi ad memoratum dominum nostrum regem et ejus curiam cancellariæ sive parliamentum ex nimis veris justis seu legitimis causis in hac parte interpositum fuisse et esse, pronunciarunt et declararunt: necnon sententiam sive decretum finale per dictos delegatos Regios (a quibus in hac parte fuit utcunque appellatum) firmum et rectum esse censuerunt et declararunt; silentiumque perpetuum dicto domino Edmundo quoad præmissa imponendum esse censuerunt et finaliter adjudicarunt. Quam quidem censuram, sive judicium, sic per eos ex unanimi assensu et consensu (ut præfertur) latam et communiter interpositam et pronunciatam honorandi et illustres domini mihi præfato notario et registori postmodum intimarunt et notificarunt, ac inde publicum instrumentum conficere mandarunt atque instanter requisierunt, ac sua nomina ipsimet præsentibus subscripserunt in fidem et testimonium præmissorum.

Sic subscribitur: Richard. Riche cancel.; Wilhelm. Wiltshire; Henricus Dorset.; Thom. Eliensis; Thom. Wentworth; Anthon. Wingfield; Wilhelm. Herbert.; Nichol. Wootton; Edward. Montague; Johan. Baker;. Johan. Olyver; Griffinus Leyson; Johan. Gosnold.

Breve regium de certiorari directum regiis commissariis, ad transmittendum in curiam cancellariæ sententiam deprivationis a literis contra dictum episcopum Londini latam.

Edwardus Sextus, Dei gratia Angliæ Franciæ et Hiberniæ rex, fidei defensor, et in terra ecclesiæ Anglicanæ et Hibernicæ supremum caput, reverendissimo in Christo patri Thomæ Cant. episcopo totius Angliæ primati et metropolitano, ac reverendo in Christo patri Nicholao Roffen. episcopo, prediléctoque et fideli consiliario suo Wilhelmo Petro militi, uni duorum principalium secretariorum, necnon dilectis sibi, Wilhelmo May legum doctori decano ecclesiæ cathedralis divi Pauli Londini, et Thomæ Smith militi, nuper uni secretariorum suorum, et eorum cuilibet, salutem! Volentes certis de causis certiorari de quadam sententia seu finali judicio vel decreto, per vos vel aliquem vestrum versus Edmundum Londini Episcopum, lato, et promulgato nobis; mandamus quòd sententiam judicium seu decretum prædictum nobis in cancellariam nostram sub sigillis vestris, vel trium vestrorum, cum celeritate certificetis una cum præsentibus. Teste meipso apud Westmonast., quinto die Feb., anno regni nostri quarto.

Certificatorium dictorum Regiorum commissariorum, super dicto Brevi Regio factum ad Curiam Cancellariæ, una cum tenore sententiæ deprivationis predictæ.

[To the King's most excellent Majesty in his High Court of Chancery.]

Excellentissimo et invictissimo in Christo principi et domino nostro, domino Edwardo Sexto, Dei gratia Angliæ Franciæ et Hiberniæ regi, fidei defensori, et in terra ecclesiæ Anglicanæ et Hibernicæ

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of our story, as the order of years and time requireth. And although the trouble of the lord protector[1] falleth here jointly with the deprivation of Dr. Bonner, yet, because he was shortly again delivered out of the same through the Lord's mighty working, I will therefore delay the tractation thereof, till the time of his second trouble, which was two years after; and so, in the mean time returning again into our discourse, intend, by the Lord's leave, to collect and continue the matters begun, touching the king's godly proceedings for reformation of religion in the aforesaid year of our Lord concurring—the year 1549.

Disputation of Peter Martyr with Dr. Chedsey.

And here first a note would be made of Peter Martyr and of his learned travails and disputation in the university of Oxford the said present year with Dr. Chedsey and others, about the matter of the sacrament; which was, that the substance of bread and wine was not changed in the sacrament, and that the body and blood of Christ were not carnally and bodily in the bread and wine, but united to the same sacramentally.

Act of parliament for compiling ecclesiastical laws.

In like manner, some touch or mention here also would be made of the ecclesiastical laws,[2] for the gathering and compiling whereof thirty-two persons were assigned by act of parliament the said present year, 1549. But because these be rather matters of tractation, than historical, I mean (God willing) to defer the further consideration thereof unto the end of the history of this king's days, and so to pass forward to other matters in the mean while.

supremo capiti, vestri humillimi oratores Thomas, permissione divina Cantuariensis archiepiscopus, totius Angliæ primas et metropolitanus, Nicholaus Roffensis Episcopus, et Gulielmus May legum doctor, ecclesiæ cathedralis divi Pauli Londini decanus, omnimodo obedientiam et reverentiam tanto excellentissimo principi et domino nostro supremo debitam, cum humillimæ subjectionis honore! Quum itaque a serenissima Majestate vestra literas mandatorias præsentibus annexas receperamus, quibus Celsitudinem vestram de sententia sive finali judicio vel decreto, versus Edmundum Episcopum Londini (virtute literarum vestrarum commissionalium nobis et aliis in ea parte directarum) per nos lato sive promulgato, certiorem reddere in mandatis habuimus: Nos hujusmodi mandato vestro regio juxta officii nostri debitum quam humillime obtemperantes, scrutinium in registro vestro regio (penes ejusdem causæ registorem et actuarium remanente) pro promissis fieri curavimus; ex quo inter alia ejusdem causæ acta, exhibita, et munimenta liquido apparet, quòd, primo die mensis Octobris, anno Dominicæ incarnationis 1549, regnique vestri florentissimi anno tertio, coram nobis commissariis sive delegatis antedictis—in aula manerii archiepiscopalis Cant. apud Lambehithe in comitatu Surrey, in prædicta causa (vigore delegationis nobis a Majestate vestra factæ, in præsentia notarii publici subscripti, nostri in eadem causa actuarii, testiumque inferius nominatorum), judicialiter et pro tribunali sedentibus et legitimè cognoscentibus—comparuit personaliter præfatus Edmundus Londini Episcopus: in cujus præsentia nos archiepiscopus antedictus, de et cum expresso consensu pariter et assensu dicti reverendi patris Roffensis episcopi, Thomæ Smith militis, ac præfati Gulielmi May legum doctoris, collegarum nostrorum una nobiscum judicialiter et pro tribunali sedentium, sententiam nostram definitivam, sive nostram finale decretum sive judicium, tulimus legimus et promulgavimus in scriptis, sub eo, qui sequitur, verborum tenore:

'In Dei nomine, Amen, &c. Præsentibus tunc ibidem Gulielmo Saieo notario publico ejusdem causæ actuario, necnon magistris Gulielmo Cooke, Johanne Cooke, et Richardo Lyal viris doctoribus, Hugone Latymero theologiæ professore, Johanne Josepho sacræ theologiæ baccalaureo, et multis aliis testibus ad hoc speciatim accersitis et ad præmissa audienda rogatis. Quæ omnia et singula nos archiepis. episcop. et decanus, vestræ Majestatis delegati sive commissarii antedicti, vestræ Celsitudini in almam vestram cancellariæ curiam certificamus et significamus per præsentes. In quorum omnium et singulorum fidem et testimonium nos archiepiscop. episcop. et decanus antedicti sigilla nostra præsentibus apponi curavimus. Datum quoad sigillationem predictam octavo die Februarii, anno Domini juxta supputationem ecclesiæ Anglicanæ 1549 et regni vestri florentissimi quarto.' [The historical date is 1550.—Ed.]

(1) The first trouble of the lord protector was about the month of October, 1549.

(2) Stat. an. 3 Ed. VI. [3 and 4 Edw. VI. c. 11.—Ed.]

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END OF VOL. V.

LONDON:—R. CLAY, PRINTER, BREAD-STREET-HILL.

00067489

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Government of Maharashtra
on 20 February, 2016